CBS - PROGRAMS SEE IT NOW - SPECIAL PROGRAMS

MATTER of "M" - RESEARCH FILE on SENATOR JOSEPH McCARTHY

6-A-1 MEMORANDA

See "Memorandum" - "This memorandum is based on the assumption that McCarthy's broadcast on April 6, 1954 involves an attack on Ed Murrow or the networks with the demand that they should be investigated by a Congressional Committee, presumably his own. It is, of course, important to be prepared to answer these charges. It is even more important to be prepared to identify them as a reprisal at the first available opportunity. One way this could be done would be to show a pattern of conduct by McCarthy in attacking, as a reprisal, any person who, in the exercise of his independent judgment, dares publicly to disagree with him or criticize him. - - - ." (unsigned) One complete set, one incomplete duplicate set.

See "Points to Consider, April 10, 1954"

6-A-2 INDEX

See "Memorandum for Mr. Salant, April 16, 1954, E.C. Perkins."

6-A-3 ABSTRACTS

See "Memorandum for Mr. Salant, April 16, 1954, E.C. Perkins" - "Files contain abstracts of each pertinent item examined and the filed material, where file copies have been kept. These appear under the headings and in the order in which listed in the Index. The Abstracts are bound in three separate folders, one devoted to Mr. Murrow (items indexed under I), one to the Junior Senator from Wisconsin (items indexed under II)*, and the third (items indexed under III) to Columbia !CBS itself. In this latter folder there also appears (under III G) matters pertaining to Mr. Paley."

6-A-4 ABSTRACTS - DUPLICATES

6-A-5 thru 6-A-59 PRIME SOURCES for Abstracts

Note: Filing system and folders with labels retained in same order as received. In some instances contents were missing and so noted, including Abstract II for "the Junior Senator from Wisconsin" referred to above*. However, some pages from Abstract II have been included in Abstracts I and III.

Research Staff Members: E.C. Perkins, D.H. Rivkin, R. Sloane, J.H. Pickering, J.E. Ryder

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FEATURE SERVICE FROM CBS RADIO

Press Information Department,
485 Madison Ave., New York 22, N.Y.
Phone: PLaza 1-2345

Spec Pr

March 14, 1958

QUOTE AND UNQUOTE

The following remarks were spoken by Edward R. Murrow on "We Take You Back," a special CBS Radio broadcast heard March 13, observing the 20th anniversaries of Mr. Murrow as a CBS News Correspondent and of CBS Radio's "World News Roundup :

Before the Anschluss, arranging broadcasts from Europe was a leisurely, civilized sort of business -- plenty of time to read and see your friends. It involved such things as relaying to this country the Vatican choir at Easter time; a speech by De Valera; folk music from Scandinavia; the song of the nightingale in a Surrey wood. After the Anschluss, things became rather more interesting and considerably more hectic. We began to recruit our own staff of reporters.

A radio reporter is a special kind of animal. He requires to know what he is writing about, must be able to write it; and after that's done he must be able to read it in such a fashion as to be believable.

In putting together our crew in Europe, I tried to concentrate on finding people who were young and who knew what they were talking about, without bothering too much about diction, phrasing and manner of speaking. There were occasional complaints from the home office on this score, which were generally answered by saying that we were trying to collect a group of reporters who would be steady, reliable and restrained, even though they might not win any elocution contests.

(More)

In those days before and during most of the war, we were not permitted to use recordings. Everything was live, and moved directly from the reporter's microphone into your home. There were no editors or re-write men who might tone down or hot up the copy as a result of their working in a more detached and tranquil atmosphere.

We had no budget; nobody gave orders. New York asked us only to find the news, try to report it, and keep our heads. When we made a mistake, we tried to be the first to correct it. I don't recall that anyone ever objected to an assignment; and we never developed the habit of second-guessing each other on stories. Risks were run as a matter of course. And no one ever tried to examine how the other fellow felt about it, or expound about his own reactions (you get more of that kind of stuff on a dull evening on television than I heard in Europe, North Africa or Korea). I think it would be fair to say that we were pridefully serious about our job, but not too serious about ourselves; and all felt that words were puny things indeed to use in the effort to collapse distance between the men who were fighting and those who were at home.

We argued with the censor, argued with each other. Sleep was a luxury; every day was important; and most of us were frequently filled with a sense of black futility bordering upon despair because we couldn't do a better job. But we didn't talk much about that, either.

It is difficult to realize or admit that twenty years have passed since that first multiple-point pick-up. For my own part, I have not yet reached the age where my reminiscences fascinate me. One of the advantages in reporting through a medium as fast as radio is that you don't have the time or the inclination to look back. The next

(More)

story is the important one. The place names all the way from the Nile to the Naktung, the names and faces of friends who are dead, and those who were lucky, are all a little vague. The door of memory is only slightly ajar, and it is necessary to close it completely when the red light goes on and the microphone is hot, lest we remember too much of the past, and understand too little of the present. The echoes of old broadcasts are not a good sonar device to determine either the present or the future.

This particular type of radio reporting is only twenty years old. The twenty-first year in humans is supposed to produce maturity and responsibility. The best in radio reporting is yet to be.

* * *

6-A-1 BRS

MEMORANDUM

This memorandum is based on the assumption that McCarthy's broadcast on April 6, 1954 involves an attack on Ed Murrrow or the networks with the demand that they should be investigated by a Congressional Committee, presumably his own. It is, of course, important to be prepared to answer these charges. It is even more important to be prepared to identify them as a reprisal at the first available opportunity. One way this could be done would be to show a pattern of conduct by McCarthy in attacking, as a reprisal, any person who, in the exercise of his independent judgment, dares publicly to disagree with him or criticize him. This pattern could be shown by the following facts:

1. General Marshall wrote a letter in support of Philip Jessup after McCarthy had attacked Jessup. McCarthy promptly attacked General Marshall as a traitor.

2. A Duke University professor, Hornell Hart, made a survey of the charges that McCarthy made against the State Department. He did not agree with all of them, although he agreed with more than he should. Nevertheless this man, and finally Duke University and its Trustees, e.g., Sidney Alderman, were all attacked.

3. The Milwaukee Journal and the Washington Post, neither pro-Democrat nor pro-Truman papers, criticized McCarthy. They are attacked by McCarthy as the Washington and Milwaukee editions of the Daily Worker.

4. James Wechsler ran a series of editorials criticizing McCarthy. Wechsler was summoned before the Committee.

5. Certain members of the American Society of Newspaper Editors acted as a board to report on whether there had been an attempt to intimidate the press. Their recommendations were reasonably mild. Many of the members of the board were called Communist sympathizers.

6. Time magazine ran a series of articles on McCarthy. McCarthy privately threatened Time with investigations.

The point of all thiss is to identify clearly and unmistakeably that any charges which may be brought either against the networks or Mr. Murrow are pure and simple reprisals, nothing more. The work on this should be done in advance so that it can

Benton
A P
"Left wing press" (murrow & cast

be released, either on a broadcast or otherwise, at a moment's notice. If McCarthy does not appear on the April 6th broadcast the material can still be used. It might be used also in a variety of other forms.

It is undoubtedly true that there are more illustrations of reprisal or threats of reprisal which I have not mentioned, but I am sure there are enough to make a fairly good pattern. I do not wish to give the impression that the reprisal technique is always instantaneous. Very often there is merely a threat of reprisal coupled with the patronizing and condescending attitude which he has taken, for example, towards Secretary Stevens, and even on occasions towards President Eisenhower. This is an attitude which indicates that the person who purportedly criticizes McCarthy does not have very much sense, and is undoubtedly being used as a dupe, but even if he does not discover this fact and abandon the criticism, he will soon be attacked. The underlying threat is clear. McCarthy is trying to silence any independent criticism of him by press and radio by a threat that any such criticism will be met with an attack and a smear, with the full strength of McCarthy's position as a Committee Chairman.

I mentioned the advisability of getting more and more people who have to deal with McCarthy on the basis of first hand knowledge. If McCarthy were to attack Mr. Murrow or the networks it would seem to me that it would be advisable to duplicate what the American Society of Newspaper Editors did with reference to the attacks on Wechsler and other newspapers. The precise suggestion is that at the same time Mr. Murrow or someone else on his behalf attacks McCarthy's policy of reprisal, a demand should be made for the establishment of a committee of persons prominent in broadcasting and television to deal with the problem of freedom of expression presented by official reprisals against news commentators expressing their independent judgment on controversial issues. I do not think this should be solely an issue of Murrow v. McCarthy or the networks v. McCarthy, and it should be broadened to include other persons who have been subjected to reprisals from quite different sources. A suggestion is that the committee might deal with both any actions taken by McCarthy against Murrow or the networks and the action, for example, taken by St. Marys County against Fulton Lewis. This appears on the surface to me to be equally flagrant case of official reprisals against a commentator and the inclusion of such a case in the terms of reference of a committee would make

it clear that the committee was not merely protecting freedom of liberal thought as opposed to freedom of conservative or even reactionary thought. In the event that the committee came up with the report criticizing both McCarthy attempting to have official reprisals against Murrow and with St. Marys County for reprisals against Fulton Lewis, that would not satisfy McCarthy. He would probably damn all the members of the committee as Communists and the nature of the reprisal process would be exposed once more. At first blush this might appear to give the process an air of futility, but it is only through repeating this process over and over again that McCarthy is going to be exposed. Two years ago the people purportedly acting in this independent capacity took a real risk. I believe now that the turning point is so close that the risk is not substantial.

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

UNITED NATIONS PLAZA AT 46TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK
CABLE ADDRESS INTERPAX
JAMES T. SHOTWELL
PRESIDENT-EMERITUS

April 6, 1954

Dr. Frank Stanton,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Avenue, New York.

Dear Dr. Stanton:

Some comment has been made in the press lately about Edward R. Murrow having been associated with a group of "Marxists" who are said to have met in my home for a period of time in the early 1930's. The intimation has been that, if Ed was not a Marxist himself, at least his thinking was closely allied with theirs. This same group was referred to by Frederick Vanderbilt Field in a letter which he wrote in 1938, and which was printed as part of the hearings before the Senate subcommittee which investigated the Institute of Pacific Relations in 1952. Field talked of a group of "about 18 or 20 people" who met at my house and ate my food one evening a week for about four months, and said that he arranged matters so that out of a meeting of 20 persons, "there were 19 Marxists or pseudo-Marxists and one violent anti-Marxist, Shotwell himself."

This is a completely distorted picture of what went on. At that time, I was Chairman of the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations, in which post I succeeded Dr. Millikan. In connection with my work on the Committee, I formed a discussion group, quite informal, of young people. It was this group to which Field referred. The group changed from time to time and was not, by any means, composed only of Marxists. Field was one of the group, and of course was a Marxist. There were a number of others whom he brought in, of the same stripe. There was also a strong group of anti-Marxists, however, which included Ed Murrow. The group met at my home, and there were extended discussions on Marxist theory in which Ed and the other anti-Marxists -- including myself -- debated the fallacies in the Marxist theory of economic history. All this discussion was on an entirely theoretical plane and there wasn't even discussion of practical Marxism.

The group broke up finally, principally because of a spoofing of the left wing group. I arranged to have a microphone wired from an upstairs room into the family radio set and then made an elaborate pretense of getting a Stalin broadcast on short wave, the actual "broadcasting" being done in Russian by a White Russian member of the anti-Marxist group. Translated, the broadcast was an attack by J. V. Stalin on Field and his associates, accusing them of being harmful to the Communist cause, and nothing but a group of parlor socialists. The spoof (which was the way we looked at it)

was not taken in good part by our left-wing group. They left at once and never came back.

This is the true story behind Field's 1938 letter, and one which clearly is no discredit to Ed. I have known Ed since 1931 or 1932 and the suggestions which have come from certain quarters during the last few weeks that he is, or ever was, a Marxist or Communist sympathizer are absurd. My only interest is to see that the record is set straight on this, and if this letter will be of any use to that end, you have my permission to use it n any manner which you see fit.

Very truly yours,

James T. Shotwell

James T. Shotwell

JOURNAL--AMERICAN
3/19/54

As Pegler Sees It

Murrow-McCarthy Feud And Moscow University

By WESTBROOK PEGLER

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WASHINGTON, March 19.

THE ALUMINUM COMPANY OF AMERICA IS AN OLD conservative monument to Andrew Mellon, a Republican typical of the Coolidge-Hoover Administration. The aluminum company is the financial "angel" or sponsor of the broadcasts of Edward R. Murrow, official and household political pundit of the Columbia Broadcasting System. Currently Murrow has been in a fight with Sen. Joe McCarthy on issues of veracity.

WESTBROOK PEGLER

There is a blind reference to Murrow in a Congressional publication, entitled "Hearings Before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act."

Pat McCarran, of Nevada, Democrat and Red-baiter, was chairman of the Judiciary Committee and of the subcommittee which held these hearings.

One entry in this volume is a letter written in March, 1938, by Frederick Vanderbilt Field, whose political notoriety in the investigations of communism need not be recanvassed here.

One paragraph said: "I feel very self-conscious about (Prof. James T.) Shotwell because of having gone to some considerable trouble to organize a stop-Shotwell movement among the younger people in New York six or seven years ago. The movement was so successful that I have often wondered whether we were justified in taking such an unfriendly attitude toward him in our IPR work."

"IPR" refers to the Institute of Pacific Relations, which became a hotbed of Communist conspiracy.

"AT HIS REQUEST," THE LETTER CONTINUED, "Barnes and I got together a group of about 18 or 20 people who met at Shotwell's house and ate his food one evening a week for about four months in order to engage in an open discussion of the original motivations of international relations."

The Barnes mentioned here is Joe Barnes, for a long time "foreign editor" of the New York Herald Tribune. He was a close associate, professionally and socially, of Mrs. Helen Reid, the actual publisher of this quondam Republican paper. Mrs. Reid is a girl from the other side of the tracks who became secretary to the rich New York and London society queen who was surviving head of the Reid family.

Helen married Mrs. Reid's son, Ogden, the heir to the hoorah. Ogden was a friendly fellow with a habit of slumming with the editorial staff. He had more ability than most of his rapscallion speakeasy friends gave him credit for.

When he died, the H-T lost more than just an amiable go-between of a rich management with a supercilious Anglican mother-country editorial tradition and the toss-

ming with the editorial staff. He had more ability than most of his rapscallion speakeasy friends gave him credit for.

When he died, the H-T lost more than just an amiable go-between of a rich management with a supercilious Anglican mother-country editorial tradition and the toss-pot mock-intellectuals of the Newspaper Guild in the speakeasy across the street. The H-T lost a good deal of its brain-power, too.

BARNES HAS BEEN "NAMED" BY NUMEROUS WITNESSES under oath as a Communist but has denied all such charges. He spent a good deal of time in Soviet Russia and handled Wendell Willkie's affairs on his fantastic pilgrimage to Stalin's stronghold after Willkie had served as a Trojan Horse nominee of the Republican Party in 1940.

Barnes and Field were intimate friends for years and Barnes married his pal's wife after the Fields were divorced.

Continuing, Field's letter said: "Barnes and I carefully stacked the cards so that out of a meeting of 20 there were 19 Marxists or pseudo-Marxists and one violent anti-Marxist, Shotwell, himself. Each meeting was more embarrassing than the last for, all being young, we were rather unmerciful in tearing to pieces every clause issued by this renowned scholar."

Advised that Edward R. Murrow had been one of this group, I telephoned Prof. Shotwell at his home in New York. He said yes, that Murrow had been a member of the circle but that Murrow was strongly anti-Marxist. Further than that he refused to be quoted except that devotion to communism and Marxism, as of then and as of now, was not the same.

In those days it was not plain that the Soviet State was the mortal enemy of the United States, although the very purpose of these ideological jam-sessions was to examine the inward meanings.

Shotwell himself claims that he demolished the Reds on all counts. He emphasized the point that all these ideologians were "young"—to excuse any Marxists of whatever degree. I replied in effect that I, too, had been young but never had thought of giving aid and comfort to an enemy of my country.

DR. J. B. MATTHEWS, THE VETERAN RED-BAITER and former fellow-traveler, told me had known Murrow, about the time referred to by Field. He also knew Field and Barnes.

Dr. Matthews never calls a man or woman a Communist who was merely a fellow-traveler. He never calls a Socialist a Communist, although some theoreticians argue that the one is but the egg from which the other hatches. Dr. Matthews said he did not regard Murrow as a Communist but did regard him as a Socialist at that time.

Murrow has stated that McCarthy was wrong in charging that he was a member of the "National Advisory Council" of a seminar of American study-boys and professors to Soviet Russia under the auspices of the University of Moscow in 1935. Murrow said this seminar was called off.

However, he was named on the American "Advisory Committee" of the "First Russian Seminar" in 1933, and his answer to McCarthy did not claim that that "seminar" was called off.

THE "SEMINAR AIMS" FOR 1933, set forth in a pamphlet obtained by Sen. McCarthy, who sent it to me, include the following language, taken out of context but without distortion or misrepresentation.

"Leaders, chosen for the most part from the advisory committee will accompany the seminar and supplement the general sight-seeing program with special lectures, talks and informal discussions.

"Interviews with and talks by leaders of Soviet culture and officialdom will form a prominent part of the seminar program." The last sentence says "propaganda pro and con, of all kinds, will be avoided as inimical to the interests of the seminar and repugnant to the intelligent traveler."

Dr. Matthews impressed on me the fact that the University of Moscow is an official agency of the Soviet Government. And he has always insisted that all Communists and all their agencies are always making propaganda, however repugnant it may be to whomsoever.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

Conference March 22, 1954, with ERM

E. C. P. March 23, 1954

BB, ARC, BRS and ECP conferred with ERM in his office on the afternoon of March 22 and covered the following matters:

ERM does not have any idea who among his "associates" or his writers might lend aid to a McCarthy investigation or provide material for it. He (ERM) has avoided inquiring into the political antecedents of members of his staff, having in mind that he might some day be interrogated under oath on that subject and wishing to remain in a position where he could say with honesty that he did not know. Until a year or so ago, however, as part of the CBS personnel records there was maintained a file covering political affiliations of at least certain employees. This file will be made available.

Re reference in the McCarthy memorandum to the IPR report: ERM was never actually a member of the Institute though he was acquainted with Field and Barnes in the 1930's. He has not seen Field since 1933-34.

ERM does not know what the reference in the McCarthy memorandum to "The Bulletin, League of Free Nations Association"

means. "The World Crisis--Our Way Our" address was reprinted in the bulletin of the American Council of Education, "The Educational Record", Vol. XXXI, No. 3, July 1950. Copy has been furnished by Mr. Salant.

ERM does not know what the reference to "Currents in Trade", in the McCarthy memorandum, means.

ERM has had no contact with the ACLU and has had no connection with Roger Baldwin other than a slight acquaintance. He was never a member of the ACLU.

A reference to the "hump-backed lady" in the McCarthy report is to one Ida Lou Anderson, formerly a professor at Washington State and ERM's speech teacher while at college. ERM said that he would be very much surprised if she had any political affiliations of any kind whatsoever.

"National Students Union" evidently refers to the NSFA, of which ERM was President for two years immediately after his graduation from college. This was an association of student body presidents which had as its stated functions at the time the improvement of self-government in colleges and universities and the improvement of relations between American students and foreign students. The society was, and was proclaimed to be, nonpartisan and nonpolitical. It was commended, at the time ERM was President, by President Hoover, John W. Davis, Rabbi Wise, Dean Gildersleeve, and others.

It sent American debating teams to various countries, including England. It issued an annual bulletin on student government, which appears to have been the same thing as the Year Book, copy of which for 1930 has been furnished. ERM recalls that there was a row during his presidency over the admission of Negro colleges to the Federation and that the dispute ended with such colleges being admitted. He states that he was associated on the executive committee of the Federation with Louis J. Gough, who was recently head of the American Legion.

ERM stated that further background as to the NSFA could be obtained from Chester S. Williams, Executive Director in 1932-33 and now engaged as a public consultant.

ERM lost touch with the Federation in 1934-35 and heard nothing of its affairs thereafter. He understands that the Federation was either taken over by or succeeded by the National Students Union.

ERM stated that the NSFA had, during his presidency, adopted a resolution against bearing arms outside of this country. Memoranda available elsewhere indicate that this may have taken place at a later date.

ERM pointed out that he had been the subject of attack by the Russian radio on a number of occasions. Particularly he recalled an attack made during the war at the time of

the Warsaw uprising when the Russians entered Poland and the British attempted an air lift into Warsaw to aid them, all of which ERM reported and commented on; and an attack at the time of his report relating to the Katyn massacre.

Dr. Shotwell is a good friend of ERM's and has told ERM that he is prepared to testify that the latter has not and never had any Communist leanings or sympathy. Shotwell is President Emeritus of the Carnegie Foundation for Peace, and is now retired. ERM will arrange an appointment when convenient.

With respect to Harold Laski, ERM first knew him in 1936 and classified him as a good friend despite the fact that the two have differed and do differ violently on politics. Laski dedicated his book ("Revolution of Our Times") to ERM without the latter's knowledge and presented him with a copy with the comment that this might serve as some "protection" from the frequent dinner invitations which ERM received from "conservatives". The only reference ERM recalls making to Laski on any of his programs was to refer to the fact that Laski was the only non-conservative who, at Churchill's defeat in 1945, was generous enough to give him credit for his great record. ERM once appeared on a BBC program with Laski and one Young, the latter being an overpowering conservative in politics. ERM's function was that of moderator.

ERM says that he may have been, but believes that he was not, a member of an organization in the 1930's known as the Society for the Promotion of Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union. The only information available about this Society, the name of which is uncertain in ERM's mind, is that Lawrence Duggan, Sr. was associated with it.

With respect to IIE, ERM states that Virginia Gildersleeve, former Dean of Barnard College, is fully familiar with the background of the Institute and able to assist in establishing his entire incidence.

In the same connection, ERM states that it felt to his lot to get rid of Lawrence Duggan, Sr. as a director of IIE when he (ERM) was Chairman of the Board. After some casting around for a suitable successor, Lawrence Duggan, Jr. was elected. Elizabeth Bentley is reported to have said that Mr. Duggan, Sr. was, at one time, on the edge of some Communist apparatus. More definitive information was not obtained at the time. After Duggan, Jr.'s death, the Institute passed a resolution honoring him, which resolution appears in the Institute's book on its thirtieth anniversary session, a copy of which was furnished.

6A1

MEMO FILE
File 6, Drawer A

THINGS TO BE DONE

Being right is not enough.

And the tears and the handshakes, the mail and phone counts and the publicity clips and editorials of those who agree with you is not enough.

We should know by now that there will be more from McCarthy; that the only proper way to anticipate his next utterance is to magnify the impossible.

It would be blatant stupidity not to spend time and effort and money to anticipate and prepare to defend against his next blast.

Much of this will never see daylight. But it must be ready, in the bank, for immediate use.

The approach to McCarthy needs a strategic and tactical plan. To think otherwise is to ignore recent history.

And it means ignoring McCarthy's warning that he will need "considerable time to put together all the pertinent facts in your record."

He has, I presume, files and, I know, a staff to do this.

You need files and a staff.

You need one person, preferably trained in law, to organize things. You are inclined to scoff at organization, in the sense of orderliness. I think for this issue, at this time, there must be a change.

Your man should be directly responsible for many things: with such assistance as he needs:

1. a complete file, with tape where possible, of everything McCarthy has said

or will in the future say about you.

2. a screening of all mail and telegrams to you; to check on the trend, to collect leads for further exploitation, to collect possible evidence that your reputation has been hurt by McCarthy with a view to eventual libel or slander action.
3. to act as a collection agency and evaluator of friendly tips, hunches, fact and rumor from your friends in this city and elsewhere.
4. to direct the preparation of an answer to every statement McCarthy makes about you.
5. to sift all material submitted to you in reference to this episode.
6. to act as your representative where it is physically impossible or impractical for you to appear.

It would seem obvious that there must be some set-up to get quick approval, where approval is necessary, from company officials.

And it would seem wise for someone in the company to decide and then relay to the responsible news officials, just how the continuing story of you and McCarthy is to be handled; whether objectively (as possible) or protectively or argumentatively.

There should be set up now, with as much flexibility as possible, a policy decision on such recurring problems as these: should SIN be made available for re-showing..to whom and when..should there be a continuance of what I understand are now current 'private' showings..should excerpts from the radio show be made available, on tape, to all, a few, none? Should such a decision bind only the past or be reviewed after each SIN or radio mention of McCarthy?

There is a need for research, inasmuch as McCarthy's files will produce whatever his tongue demands. This should include:

1. immediate availability of all matters pertaining to both of you starting with SIN show.
2. a record of all his speeches
3. a specially assigned man to accompany him on this week's speaking trip in which, in all likelihood, you will be a considerable target.
4. as much tape and film of McCarthy, from here on, as is possible to collect. This pertains only to forthcoming activities.
5. a summary of how many minutes, hours, words you have uttered in the past five years on radio, TV, etc. This, to show, how well known, and public your views are.
6. there should be a representative listing of the radio and TV subjects to which you have addressed yourself; a representative series of excerpts on your conclusions, admonitions, etc. I.E. from Harnessing the horse to the hydrogen bomb.
7. this research effort should also quickly collect all anti-Murrow statements by Moscow. All pro-Murrow statements by distinguished citizens in this country and abroad.
8. it should include an analysis, with typical cases, of the "label" file we have collected from the radio fan mail.
9. any correspondence you may have had with McCarthy.
10. a knowledge of what the Daily Worker has had to say about you in general and specifically. (See Indianapolis editorial)
11. a summary of awards you've received..from whom..and for what..in the words of their citations.

There will also be need of some personal research by you for your own personal files.

You must review your present and past friends and associates and decide how much you will say about each and under what conditions. We have had warning that "maybe he (M) is worried about the exposure of some of his firneds."

In addition to this there are other personal matters for personal consideration:
Your work schedule should be such so that you can be free immediately for consideration of last minute McCarthy attacks or plants.
You must be alert on practical matters: phone taps, inquiring unfriendly friends.. public or private attempts to draw you out on matters that had better be left for later.
There must be preparation..perhaps in standby recording from abroad..to make the radio show a minimum burden, should the circumstances warrant it.
There should be consideration of past intimidation and the possible future use thereof.
Quick, short answering of mail. It would be foolish to permit current manifestation of good will and support to be neglected. The unknown "they" might be helpful in the future.
An avoidance, even if contrived, of interviews with reporters either on the current fracas or under pretense of the bigger picture, until this picture is clearer.

FOLLOWING INFORMATION HAS BEEN RECEIVED REGARDING

PLANS FOR McCARTHY ATTACK ON MURROW

MOST IMPORTANT: Will use folders of 1933 and 1934 trips to Russia..quoting from glowing reports of what can be seen in "great experiment", etc...Also bringing in sponsorship by Intourist, VOKS, etc...Stephen Duggan, "Father of Lawrence," etc.

EDWARD R. MURROW...and associates (one of writers and at least one ad man, probably from Kenyon & Eckhardt)

Might find it helpful to check some of this material which is being prepared for use by McCarthy:

THEME: Murrow is a long time ally and associate of Communist Russia; he has been closely associated and identified with Commies, fellow-travelers, and subversives.

Material being researched:

1; Institute of Pacific Relations: Report #2050

p. 37: Testimony of Bozolepoy on VOKS (which sponsored Soviet trips)

p. 49: Holland report

2. Indianapolis Star: editorial of Feb. 24, 54: "Daily Worker praises Murrow"

3. The Bulletin, League of Free Nations Association: Vol. 1, No. 3 and No. 4 apparently trying to tie Murrow in with directors, notably Stephen Duggan, Lillian Wald, Owen Lovejoy.

4. William T. Gernaey testimony before Special Committee on Un-American activities 75th Congress, Vol. 2: p. 1482-83; 1494; 1561; 1654; 1658; 1660 (or either of pages which open at these spots).

Vol. 4: 2514 2516

Vol. 1: 90 115 116 125 162 248 250 254 423 424 438 440 462 527 536 570 689

. Object: League of Peace and Democracy.

5. THE WORLD CRISIS...OUR WAY OUT...Address given before Annual Meeting of the American Council of Education, Chicago, Ill. May 6, 1950.
   Object: to tie in Owen Lattimore.
6. Publishers Weekly..Nov. 8, 1947. Currents in the Trade. p. 2251.

Other research on: Civil Liberties Union to show that it was cited as subversive by : California Legislative Committee (will use quotes from Roger Baldwin..Harvard Class Book)
Ham Fish Committee in 1930 or 1931

Also attempt to show that hump-backed lady who was great influence on Murrow was either Pink or Communist.

Also tie in with National Students Union.

NOTE: A Dr. Shotwell who testified in IPR hearings that he was in a room with 19 Marxists and one anti-Marxists (himself)..attempt will be to have Shotwell swear Murrow was among 19.

Other themes being studied: Harold Laski
Anti-Conscription Campaign

This raises the serious question as to whether we should take the initiative in "contributing"information to McCarthy's investigator.

SCRIPTS PULLED OUT OF FILE

Laurence Duggan	December 21, 1948
Harry Dexter White*	November 9, 1953 November 11, 1953 November 12, 1953
Hiss-Chambers*	June 1, 1949 June 2, 1949 June 3, 1949 June 23, 1949 June 24, 1949 June 25, 1949 June 27, 1949 June 28, 1949 June 29, 1949 June 30, 1949 November 18, 1949 January 25, 1950
Owen Lattimore*	May 2, 1950 May 3, 1950 June 24, 1952 April 6, 1950
Dr. Oppenheimer	April 13, 1954
Hollywood Ten	October 27, 1947

* Scripts lawyers have

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Other themes being studied: Harold Laski

Anti-Conscription Campaign

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

CBS--Matter of M

D. H. Rivkin April 20, 1954

At the direction of Ned Perkins, I have sent the following documents to the files (attention of Bob Tangel):

1. Cumulative Index to Publications of the Committee On Un-American Activities

2. The McCarthy Record

3. Hart, McCarthy Versus The State Department

4. The Reporter (July 21, 1953) ("The Purgers and the Purged"--articles on USIS investigation)

5. The Reporter (April 27, 1954) ("The People Vs. McCarthy"--pp. 25-28)

6. The Saturday Review (April 3, 1954) (Review of Buckley book--pp. 15-16, 55, 61)

7. The Commonweal (March 26, 1954) (Cogley article on ERM--p. 618)

8. New Republic (March 30, 1953) ("McCarthy's Money")

9. The Financial Affairs of McCarthy (New Republic reprint, March 30, 1953)

10. Statement of Senator William Benton before the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections of the Senate Rules Committee, September 28, 1951, Relating to Senate Resolution 187.

11. Note from Elliot D. Pratt to ERM attached to file folder containing series of articles in the Las Vegas Sun by Hank Greenspun ("Is Senator McCarthy A Secret Communist?")

12. Memorandum of conversation with California State Selective Service Director Kenneth Leitch.

13. AFL News-Reporter (March 19, 1954) ("Joe's Record")

14. Letter from Morris Ernst to ERM dated March 16, 1954, attaching editorial from the Trenton Evening Times of February 28, 1954 ("McCarthy a Communist?")

15. Letter from Sanford H. Bolz to ERM dated March 10, 1954, attaching materials relating to McCarthy's Senate voting record.

16. Letter from Ben Custer to ERM dated March 16, 1954, enclosing letter from Julian Boyd relating to appointment of Clapp as Librarian of Congress.

17. Memorandum from DHR to AFM dated March 5, 1953, headed "Time--Libel--General, McCarthy Claim", containing a rough index of the McCarthy XBT in the Post-Standard case.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. MAULSBY

Time--Libel--General
McCarthy Claim

D. H. Rivkin March 5, 1953

The following is a rough index of the transcript of the examination before trial of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, held before William B. Mangin, at the offices of Bond, Schoeneck & King, 1400 State Tower Building, Syracuse, New York, on Saturday, March 29, 1952, at 10:10 a.m.:

Pages	
2-3	Protest by witness that hearings are closed.
3-6	Preliminary matters such as addresses, occupation, education, etc.
6-7	McCarthy's early political ventures; campaigns for District Attorney of Shawano County and for Circuit Judge.
7-11	Criticism of McCarthy by highest court of Wisconsin for running for the Senate while a member of the Circuit Court.
11-14	McCarthy's military service and the shrapnel episode.
14-38	Personnel of McCarthy's staff in 1950; histories and activities of staff (Driscoll, Kiermas, Kerr, Greeley, Nille, Surine); circumstances under which political contributions were delivered by Miss Jean Kerr; circumstances attending separation of Donald A. Surine from the FBI.
38-46	Fedder incident; "Chicago gangland midnight ride" involving alleged kidnapping by Surine.

Pages	
46-52	Surine's investigations at Suracuse University.
52-55	Surine's conference with Charles Davis.
55-61	Sources of Surine's pay and that of other investigators; persons who contributed to pay of investigators.
61-63	Identification of Robert Voorhees and Richard Amberg.
63-75	Circumstances attending publication of the Tydings-Browder composite picture in tabloid "From the Record".
75-79	Further colloquies as to necessity for open hearings and Surine's investigation.
79-87	Miss Kerr's testimony before Monroney committee as to questioning of Browder by Tydings.
87-90	Consideration of testimony of Perry Patterson; consideration of whether McCarthy considered all testimony at Monroney hearings before writing minority report.
90-93	McCarthy's telephone conversation with Mrs. Miller concerning necessity of defeating Tydings.
93-97	McCarthy's activities in Butler campaign.
97-109	Miss Kerr's activities respecting tabloid; method of handling Butler campaign contributions received at McCarthy office; Fedder's role in distributing tabloid; McCarthy's failure to criticize Miss Kerr for her Monroney committee testimony; discussion of whether McCarthy approved of Miss Kerr's taking money to Fedder, knowing that it was to be used to distribute the tabloid.
109-113	McCarthy speech on tabloid on Senate Floor on August 20, 1951.
113-117	Miss Kerr's vacation after Butler campaign.
117-118	McCarthy's speeches during Butler campaign.
118-120	McCarthy's practice of recording speeches.

Pages	
120-121	Sources of Surine's income.
121-124	Number of investigators retained by McCarthy.
124-128	Procedure followed in McCarthy office for handling reports and offers of information relating to Communism in government; relations of McCarthy office with FBI and McCarran committee.
128-137	Procedure followed in the case of Davis's offer of information; production of subpoenaed letters and other documents relating to Davis.
137-143	Affidavit of Charles Davis, dated October 21, 1951, relating to relations with McCarthy and Ferrand.
143-144	Letter to Davis from McCarthy, dated August 15, 1950.
144-145	Letter to McCarthy from Davis, dated September 7, 1950.
145-147	Letter to McCarthy from Davis, undated.
147-148	Letter to Davis from Surine, dated November 28, 1950.
148-151	Letter to Irelan (United States Attorney) from McCarthy, recommending perjury indictment of Davis.
151-152	Diary of John Carter Vincent.
152-154	Newspaper clippings relating to Davis case.
154-155	Letter from Hummelstein to Benton relating to Davis case.
155-156	Telegram from Staempli to Vincent in Berne.
156-159	Questioning as to whether McCarthy has further Davis documents; Davis's relations with Ferrand; other contacts with Davis.
159-162	Nature of Ferrand's employment.
162-163	McCarthy's personal contacts with Davis.
163-164	Buckley's connections with Gillette committee.

Pages

164-179 Number of American Communists and structure of American Communist Party; McCarthy's fight against Communists in State Department; tactics used by McCarthy.

179-182 Extent to which McCarthy's activities and investigations conflict with or complement those of FBI, Loyalty Review Board, and Civil Service Commission.

182-198 McCarthy's possession of loyalty files and minutes; sources of McCarthy's information for Senate speeches.

198-199 McCarthy's role in Remington case.

199-202 Sources of McCarthy's information.

202-203 Jessup case; Eisenhower letter.

The following is a rough index of the transcript of the examination before trial of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, held at an Adjourned Special Term at the Court House, Syracuse, New York, before Honorable Jesse E. Kingsley, Justice of the Supreme Court, on Monday and Tuesday, June 23 and 24, 1952:

Pages

3-15 Submission of requested communications between McCarthy and Ferrand; money payments by McCarthy to Ferrand; production of expense vouchers submitted by Ferrand; disbursements to Davis.

15-24 McCarthy's first contacts with Davis; personal contacts with Ferrand; Robert Morris's connections with Ferrand; further request for production of all correspondence with Ferrand.

24-29 Long-distance telephone calls relating to Davis case; telephone conversation with Pfortszeimer.

Pages	
29-35	McCarthy's connection with Davis proceedings; transcript of Davis trial; telephone conversations with FBI on Davis case; first letter from Davis to McCarthy; further contacts with FBI relating to Davis case.
35-36	Morris's recommendation of Ferrand to McCarthy.
36-39	McCarthy's use of Ferrand and others to investigate John Carter Vincent.
39-40	McCarthy's receipt of information from Ferrand.
40-42	McCarthy's investigation of John Carter Vincent.
42-43	Statement under oath by Ferrand in McCarthy's files.
43-45	Receipt by McCarthy of FBI or CIA reports on Davis.
45-48	McCarthy's efforts to check on Davis's reliability; McCarthy's decision that Davis was a "phony".
48-49	Telephone calls from Ferrand in Europe in 1950.
49-51	Davis letter to McCarthy; enclosure of Staempli telegram; Davis telegram to John Carter Vincent.
51-56	Davis trial in Lausanne; indictment and findings of Swiss court.
56-58	Ferrand letter to Davis.
58-61	Benton's charges against McCarthy; Weller story in Washington Star re same.
61-62	Press releases from McCarthy as to Davis case.
62-119	Various aspects of the Lustron matter, including: circumstances attending publication of booklet; McCarthy's participation in hearings on housing and formulation of Housing Act of 1948; contacts with various publishers; quality and purpose of booklet; profits realized by Lustron and McCarthy on booklet; contacts with Foley, Goodman, Simon, Denton, Widemer and Byers.

Pages

119-131 Cover story in Time Magazine, October 22, 1951.

131-156 Marking for identification of various articles on McCarthy (a list of the publications cited appears at pages 151-152).

156-158 Benton's speech in Congressional Record of August 13, 1951.

158-166 Attempts by counsel to establish elements of special damages sustained by McCarthy.

166-172 Documents to be produced at future examinations.

172-174 Persons ousted from positions of governmental responsibility as a result of McCarthy's activities.

3/24/54 Revised (6 Copies)

1. ~~FILES~~
2. ~~ECP~~
3. ~~JER destroyed~~
4. ~~DHR destroyed~~
5. ~~I file (SALANT)~~
6. ~~II file (SALANT)~~
7. ~~III file returned~~

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3. FILES
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5. DHR

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3/25/54 Revised

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3. Left Wing

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B. "Counterattack"

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   3. Left Wing

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Anti-Conscription Campaign

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6-A-1

Memo File

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. SALANT

E. C. Perkins April 16, 1954

I am sending to you herewith a copy of the index which we have utilized in collating and filing materials. The two-drawer, lock filing cabinet which we have used contains, in the upper part, abstracts of each pertinent item examined and the filed material, where file copies have been kept. These appear under the headings and in the order in which listed in the index.

The abstracts are bound in three separate folders, one devoted to Mr. Murrow (items indexed under I), one to the Junior Senator from Wisconsin (items indexed under II) and the third (items indexed under III) to Columbia itself. In this latter folder there also appears (under III G) matter pertaining to Mr. Paley.

In the case of program material, the file is far from complete. We were concerned lest we wreck Miss McDonough's program filing system and therefore made a practice of returning to her all of the original scripts coming from her files. Where duplicates were available and the item was considered potentially important, such duplicates were placed in the file itself. In the event that scripts containing material noted in the abstracts do not appear in the file, they may readily be obtained through Mr. Murrow's staff.

Two lines of further inquiry are being pursued. As I have advised you, Don Rivkin of our office is attempting to pull together some further materials on the Junior Senator. We also put in train, at your suggestion, certain inquiries as to War or State Department directives governing the Information Control Section's activities in Germany during the period when Mr. Paley was Deputy to General McClure. When it appeared, in 1948 or 1949, that Congressman Dondero's sniping attacks at Information Control might develop into a full dress investigation, some data was compiled by Army authorities which was intended to document the Section's activities and the authorities under which it operated. It is expected that these will become available, and the resulting information will be added to the file when this takes place.

I shall furnish you with an additional copy of the abstracted material on the Junior Senator when the additional data of which I spoke has been added. This will be a duplicate, in all essential respects, of the McCarthy folder appearing in the file and will be for your use or that of Mr. Murrow, as you see fit.

I do not presently propose any further work on this matter and we are prepared to relinquish our room on the 12th floor at your convenience on or after April 19. It will be necessary thereafter for us to have access to the filing cabinet in order to add the items which are now in progress,

so perhaps it can be stored in an accessible place where our attentions will still not be too distracting to others.

So that we may relinquish keys, etc., will you have your secretary advise me when you are ready to evict us?

MEMO FILE

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

Founders: Stephen P. Duggan, Nicholas Murray Butler, Elihu Root.

Organized: 1919.

Principal sources of finance:

(a) Carnegie Endowment for International Peace supported the Institute, in the main, for the first 15 years of its existence. U.S.A. a substantial contributer since 1943.

(b) Finances at present:

Principal Sources of IIE Income*
1949-1954

(All Figures Approximate)

	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
Government	$120,000	$250,000	$580,000	$490,000	$550,000	$560,000
3 Foundations**	230,000	240,000	230,000	230,000	180,000	230,000
Other	70,000	70,000	100,000	150,000	200,000	180,000
Ford	--	--	2,500	340,000	425,000	590,000

Stated objectives: "To develop mutually helpful relations between the United States and foreign countries through educational agencies" (1928)

To use educational means to "overcome the great

---

* Source: 2/19/54 Historical Review.

** Carnegie, Rockefeller and Commonwealth.

ignorance of the civilization and problems of foreign countries that the [first world] war disclosed as existing, and a similar ignorance of American civilization that existed in foreign countries" (1938)

"To encourage cultural relations among different nations regardless of their forms of government or ways of life." (1939; 1954).

Government affiliations:

1938--At State Department request, instituted campaign to counteract Nazi propaganda in South American countries.

War Period--Made files accessible to State Department for information as to personnel placed by Institute. Similar information refused to State Department in post-war years.

Administered Government scholarship programs under:

Contracts with U.S. Army

Smith-Mundt Act

Fulbright Act

Mutual Security Agency

Technical Cooperation Administration

In post-war years, U.S. Government has been one of principal sources of funds handled by the Institute.

Trustees (1935-1952):

Arthur S. Adams	1950-1953
Raymond B. Allen	1950-1954
Frank Altschul	1948-1954
Frank Aydelotte	1925-1942

L. H. Baekeland	1923-1943
Edward W. Barrett	1948-1950
William W. Bishop	1931-1946
Sarah G. Blanding	1947-1952
Dudley B. Bensal	1949-1954
Lindsay Bradford	1947-1953
Thomas E. Braniff	1951-1953
Ralph J. Bunche	1950-1952
Erwin C. Canham	1948-1952
Samuel P. Capen	1925-1946
Harry J. Carman	1942-1952
William G. Carr	1950-1953
Everett N. Case	1950-1952
J. McKeen Cattell	1930-1940
Joseph P. Chamberlain	1933-1949
Arthur H. Compton	1948-1953
John S. Dickey	1947-1950
Laurence Duggan	1946-1948
Stephen Duggan	1920-1950
Stephen Duggan, Jr.	1950-1953
John Foster Dulles	1931-1947
Frederick S. Dunn	1950-1952
Milton Eisenhower	1951-1953
Livingston Farrand	1928-1940
Virginia Gildersleeve	1927-1949
Kenneth Holland	1950-1954
Arthur A. Houghton, Jr.	1951-1954
Bryn J. Hovde	1947-1951
Walter A. Jessup	1935-1945
Alvin Johnson	1929-1947
Walter Ketschnig	1947-1952
Thomas W. Lamont	1932-1947
Waldo G. Leland	1941-1949
Samuel A. Lewisohn	1947-1953
Benjamin E. Mays	1948-1954
Leonard McCollum	1949-1954
J. Hillis Miller	1948-1952
John Bassett Moore	1920-1946
Mrs. Maurice T. Moore	1948-1953
Paul Monroe	1920-1947
Henry Morgenthau	1920-1947
Edward R. Murrow	1931-1952
William A. Neilson	1941-1946
James M. Nicely	1947-1953
C. Lathrop Peck	1928-1939
Arthur W. Packard	1931-1950
Henry S. Pritchett	1920-1939
Philip Reed	1947-1950
Dorsey Richardsen	1948-1953

Mrs. Henry Potter Russell	1950-1952
Leland Rex Robinson	1951-1953
Michael Ross	1948-1951
William F. Russell	1932-1940
Eustace Seligman	1951-1954
G. Howland Shaw	1946-1948
George N. Shuster	1948-1949, 1951-1954
Walter A. Siders	1930-1938
Robert G. Sproul	1949-1950
Mark Starr	1948-1952
George D. Stoddard	1948-1952
Jack Strauss	1949-1950
Ordway Tead	1948-1954
Juan Trippe	1947-1954
Eliot Wadsworth	1931-1936
Mary E. Woolley	1920-1947
George F. Zook	1947-1950

ERM connection:

Trustee, 1931 to date.

Assistant Director, 1931 to .

Member Executive Committee (Dates?).

Member, Advisory Council for Summer Session of the Anglo-American Institute of the First Moscow University Summer School, 1933-1935.

Statistics on Exchanges*
1919-1954

Foreign Professors and Specialists to U.S.A.	1,977
Foreign Students to U.S.A.	18,875
American Professors Abroad	54**
American Students Abroad	8,839
Total, 1919-1954	29,745
Total, 1945-1954	21,116

* Source: 2/19/54 Historical Review.

** Only in years 1919-1924.

ANGLO-AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF THE FIRST MOSCOW UNIVERSITY

Dates of connection: 1934-1935.

Origins: Experimental session of 25 persons at the American Summer School in Russia in 1933, under auspices of Zerbaugh (NYU), Kulp (Teachers' College, Columbia U.), Sellins (reputedly of NYU). Based on success of this venture, Soviet educational authorities organized Anglo-American Institute to offer regular instruction in English-Speaking summer courses. (IIE Summer School Announcement).

History: Operated summer session in 1934, with approximately 150 American students and teachers in Moscow for three weeks of courses accompanied and followed by Soviet-conducted tours. Session scheduled for 1935, but cancelled on or immediately prior to commencement by Soviet authorities. IIE thereafter severed connections with the Anglo-American Section. Arrangements satisfactory to the students, but not under auspices of the Institute, were made by the Soviets for the 200-odd students, who had then already arrived in the U.S.S.R. (See 16th Annual Report of the Director, 10/1/35, p. 11.)

Relation of EEM: Member of "Advisory Council" with Counts, Heber (Advisors), W. W. Charters, H. W. Chase, John Dewey, Stephen Duggan, Hallie Flanagan, F. P. Graham, R. M. Hutchins, Charles H. Judd, I. L. Kandel, Robert L. Kelly, John

A. Kingsbury, Susan M. Kingsbury, Paul Klapper, Charles R. Mann, W. A. Neilson, H. W. Odum, W. F. Russell, H. W. Tyler, E. H. Welkins, F. W. Withers. T. Woody, H. W. Zerbaugh.

Institute files indicate that ERM handled funds in connection with the summer school to the extent of transmitting them to Sellins, the active manager of the program.

Contemporaneous publicity: Editorial comment in Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph (Hearst) in issue for February 18, 1935, attacked the summer school for fostering revolution, etc. No indication that this contributed in any way to cancellation of the 1935 session.

Nature of Summer Session in 1934 (see Report for the Institute):

Inclusive dates: July 20 to August 15 (3-1/2 weeks), followed by tours.

Sessions were followed by Soviet-conducted excursions to various institutions, as: galleries, museums, schools, clinics, with accent on sociology and education.

Courses announced in Institute publicity were:

Comparative Art & Literature in U.S.S.R.
Elementary Education in U.S.S.R.
Secondary & Higher Education in U.S.S.R.
Experimental Educational Programs in U.S.S.R.
Institutional Changes in the Soviet Union
Social Backgrounds of Communist Society
Political Economics of the Construction Period
Psychological Research in the Soviet Union
Advanced Russian Phonetics & Grammar
Seminar in Soviet Social & Cultural Life
Crime and Punishment in the Soviet Union

Declared purposes of Summer Session:

". . . a means of furthering cultural contacts between American, English and Russian teachers and students."

". . . to provide foreign visitors to Soviet Russia with the academic facilities and programs necessary for serious study and research; . . . to publish material on Soviet educational, social and cultural movements for the information and use of educators and students in all English speaking countries . . . ."

"The spirit of the Anglo-American Institute is that of the true Soviet school. In its student organizations and student control of all physical and academic problems, the visitor to the institute will be enabled to see the workings of a Soviet University. Cultural and social activities will be provided for through the cooperation of Russian student bodies . . . In view of the imminence of the recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States, added importance attaches to an international education venture of this sort which seeks to further develop a more intimate contact between the students and educators of both countries."

Financial support: Tuition: $20 per course, with registration fee of $2.50, payable to Anglo-American Institute, First Moscow University, 545 Fifth Avenue, N.Y.C. (Address of "Intourist").

Not clear from available Institute files that passage money, living expenses, etc., were paid by individuals. This was evidently the case, however, from a letter by Stephen Duggan to Skvirsky, 9/18/34, commenting on aspects of the 1934 session in which he said (p. 2) that he considered Intourist (official Soviet travel agency in this country) to be "a mere profit making scheme of the ordinary capitalistic kind, viz.:

they want to get the biggest return for the least possible outlay."

No indication exists that the Soviet Government underwrote the Summer School's finances in any way, or contributed any funds to the Institute. It did evidently bear some expenses, as the salary of a liaison man between the University officials and the student group. See Duggan letter, p. 4.

Position of Intourist: Official Soviet travel agency for foreign countries.

Evidently acted as clearing house for visa matters, passages, etc. (Cf., IPR hearings, pp. 5161, 5162, 5191).

See note above as to Duggan's view of Intourist as an ordinary "capitalistic" venture by the Soviets.

Position of VOKS: Per Duggan letter of 9/18/34 to Skvirsky, VOKS was directly responsible for physical accommodations of Summer School registrants and was one of the Soviet agencies with which summer school authorities (Sellins, and, to at least an extent, Duggan) dealt.

Told name means "Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries" (IPR report, p. 20). Aim was (a) importation of literature, (b) exportation of literature, (c) invitation of students, artists, etc., from other countries to U.S.S.R. Per testimony before McCarran Committee, it checked persons

thoroughly and obtained NKVD clearance before inviting him, then would send tickets, etc. (IPR report, p. 37). Described (ibid.) as "cover organization" for getting information to Soviet intelligence and "sending infiltration of ideas and selling Communist ideas to the West."

Per report of Secretary General of IPR, 12/20-31/34, at that time VOKS represented 218 institutions and societies in the U.S.S.R. in the establishment of relationships with similar organizations elsewhere; furnished facilities to foreign students; "arranged for the American Institute which was held in Moscow last summer" (IPR Hearings, p. 4505; Report, p. 37).

Per the McCarran Committee (IPR report, p. 149), Carter, in 1937, said that Vox, in charge of all arrangements for visiting U.S.S.R., worked closely with the secret police; that Smirnov, its president, said it was important that social opinions and interests of "important Americans" be known to it.

Per E. C. Carter (IPR Report, p. 175), in 1937 VOKS paid all Carter's expenses from Vladivostok to Moscow on a trip in 1937--"thus in fact adding several hundred dollars to" the IPR treasury.

<u>Contemporaneous Institute programs with other countries</u> (see Institute Report for 10/1/35):

<u>Summer Schools</u>:

The Institute was accepting registrations, in 1935,

for foreign summer schools in five countries: England, Austria, France, Germany and Switzerland.

Other Programs:

The Institute placed, for 1935-36, fellowship and scholarship students in Austria, China, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Spain and Switzerland. Only one student (out of a total of 200) was placed in Spain. Two Spanish students (out of a total of 159) were placed by the Institute in U.S. institutions. No exchanges were effected with Russia.

Total Russian Students in U.S.

Tabulation by Institute shows following figures for Russian students and total foreign students in U.S. in years 1923-1935:

	Russian	Total
1923-24	391	6,984
1925-26	515	6,960
1926-27	340	7,541
1928-29	501	9,685
1930-31	473	9,961
1931-32	417	8,688
1932-33	327	6,894
1933-34	169	5,805
1934-35	152	5,887

Russian attitude toward Institute:

Per Duggan letter of 9/18/34, difficulties in relations with Soviet officials during 1934 session were not due to any hostility or apparent suspicion on the Russians' part,

but to plain inefficiency among them. Relations were sufficiently uneasy so that Duggan was prepared to sever IIE connection with the Anglo-American Institute if student reports on the 1934 session were generally unfavorable. It was not cancelled on this ground, and plans went forward for a 1935 session.

Per Institute's 16th Annual Report of the Director, cancellation of the 1935 session was effected by the Russians, after the arrival of some 200 American students, on the ground that the English-speaking professors had been requisitioned for government work.

In 1946, the U.S. Department of State requested the Institute to make a survey of colleges and universities in the U.S. to determine if there existed any interest in U.S.-Soviet exchanges of students, professors and specialists. A favorable response was obtained, but the Soviet government, when approached by the State Department, indicated it was not prepared even to discuss the matter (see Vol. XXIV, No. 9, pp. 18-19, of IIE News Bulletin, 6/1/49).

In 1948, the Communist press attacked the Institute and Stephen Duggan, E. R. Murrow, Foster Dulles, Thomas Lamont and Virginia Gildersleeve, as trustees, in an article entitled "The High Aims of Mr. Duggan", printed in Uchitelskaya Gazeta ("Teacher's Gazette"), No. 5, dated January 30, 1948. The

Institute was described as "the centre of international propaganda for American reaction, the nursery of a special detachment of American residents in all parts of the globe . . . a monopoly American Institution for international pedagogic relations, for training legal 'pedagogic' spies and informers and for establishing an 'American Column' in every country." A full translation (summary?) is attached.

Endorsements By Prominent People: *

"The United States Government has also endeavored to foster such educational interchange in every way possible. The cooperation and assistance which it has received in this program from the Institute, and from the colleges and universities of this country, have been deeply appreciated. I am sure that the plan of the Institute for expanding its services will increase its rich experience in educational exchange and further benefit this country in its cultural relations with other nations."--Harry S. Truman.

"In these troubled days, the far-sighted policy of international education has become a firm foundation on which will ultimately rest the peace for which all the world is so earnestly yearning. I can assure you of my very best wishes and my full cooperation in the great achievements that lie ahead for the Institute of International Education."--Dwight D. Eisenhower.

"Further development of the Institute should be of distinct advantage to the perpetuation of the ideals of UNESCO."--Robert Hutchins.

"The Institute in reaching its thirtieth anniversary as a private organization which has so long recognized and fulfilled its obligation, deserves the thanks of the citizens of the U. S. and a deep appreciation of the services your Institute has rendered."--Eleanor Roosevelt.

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* Source: IIE pamphlet published in December, 1948, used for Institute publicity.

MEMORANDUM FOR DICK SLOANE

E. C. Perkins April 12, 1954

I am attaching seven prints of photographs showing documents, the titles of which are more or less illegible. Also attached is a memorandum in which an attempt is made to decipher this material. I would appreciate it if you would do some sleuthing and see if you can identify those items which appear to be printed pamphlets. The memorandum may be of some assistance in this.

I would like to have the photographs back when they have served your purpose, and would like to have copies of such documents as you are able to identify.

Memo file

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.

485 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York · PLaza 1-2345

RICHARD S. SALANT
Vice President

April 12, 1954

Dear Ned:

Here are the enlarged stills of the "documentation" which the Senator shuffled around at the end of his broadcast. I think they might be quite helpful.

Sincerely,

Dick Salant

Mr. E. C. Perkins
Cravath, Swaine & Moore
15 Broad Street
New York, N. Y.

Enclosures

Edward Scovatt

ECP

April 10, 1954

Points to Consider

1. Importance of exposing the tricks of McCarthy and how they play into the hands of the Soviets regarding the H-Bomb delay and how that might lead to the death of the nation. This can probably best be done by a full treatment of the record, showing what was involved in the decision, who was involved in the discussion and decision, and what were the reasons pro and con in the context of the time. It is vital in this connection to make understandable the reluctance of some scientists to venture into the area of global destruction, and to make it clear that their reluctance did not influence the decision.

2. McCarthy himself said, "The issue is simple: it is the issue of life or death for our civilization. If I am giving comfort to our enemies, I ought not to be in the Senate. If on the other hand, Mr. Murrow is giving comfort to our enemies, he ought not to be brought into the homes of millions of Americans by the Columbia Broadcasting System. This is a question which can be resolved with very little difficulty."

Consideration should be given to a formulation of a challenge by which this precise question should be put up to a jury in a court of law - which has been and is giving comfort to the enemy by his words and actions?

Having put the question, McCarthy insists upon being judge, jury and executioner. If he is confident that the record will support him and will convict Murrow, why is he afraid to let the question be decided by due process? Why does he dodge the courtroom?

3. Device used on Person-to-Person with Marx Friday night should be used further to bring out human details of Murrow's past - with the light touch.

4. Some method should be found to forewarn of McCarthy's implied method of changing the subject - of getting off the hot spot. He is likely to claim as the investigation of the Committee gets under way that it must be concluded quickly or set aside so that he may bring in his evidence that Communists and Traitors were responsible for the deliberate delay on the H-bomb, and are even now tying our hands behind our back - "that the nation may well die". He will scoff at the "tempest in the teapot" over subordinates designed by

left-wingers to suppress his exposure of their most diabolical plot. At least, he will conjure up one sensation after another to bury the hearings. If he can get a postponement to make a speech in Texas, he can probably manage to derail the hearing while he rushes off to catch some traitor in the act of crippling our H-bomb program. This raises the most serious dilemma, for which some considered strategy should be prepared. See the George Rothwell Brown piece for a hint of one of the lines he might be expected to use.

Ecp

Suggested Murrow comment - (After first paragraph on p. 10 of April 6 -

The last few sentences you have heard from Senator McCarthy's April 6th film require close examination. In this passage he has borrowed and employed several Communist tricks.

First comes the "straw man" trick. He starts his question with a phrase he has repeated several times before, "If there were no Communists in our Government..." Who ever claimed there were no Communists in our government? Certainly this reporter has reported specific cases where the FBI and Security Boards have found and thrown out Communists. McCarthy is simply using the trick of the "straw man".

Second, comes the trick of the "loaded question". Without making any assertion or giving any proof, he blandly asks why there was a delay of 18 months on our hydrogen bomb research. Without saying so, he tries to put over the idea that Communists in our government caused such a delay. This is just the type of "loaded question" the Communists used when they first launched the "big lie" that U.S. airmen dropped Germ-bombs on North Korea. They asked this, "If the Americans are against germ warfare, why have they refused to sign the Geneva convention outlawing it?"

You will recall that early in the speech McCarthy called me "the leader and the cleverest of the jackal pack which is always found at the throat of anyone who dares expose

individual Communists and traitors." Then as he led up to his H-Bomb tricks, he accused "the jackal pack of Communist-line propagandists, including the friends of Mr. Edward R. Murrow," of delivering 400 million Chinese to Communism.

Third, he used the trick of guilt by implication. Without taking responsibility for asserting it, McCarthy planted the suggestion that Murrow was somehow guilty of causing an 18 months delay in our hydrogen bomb research.

Note carefully the fourth trick - the terror trick. He says twice, "our nation may well die". Why? "Because of that 18 months' deliberate delay."

This is the most important passage in the speech. Here McCarthy makes a desperate effort to change the subject - to get himself off of the hot spot he is in. He plays upon the fear of death - not only of the victims of a bombing attack - but death of the nation itself.

He does not name anyone as responsible for the unproved "deliberate delay". He just asks two more loaded questions, and leaves the terror thought to burrow into the subconscious minds of his listeners.

There actually was a difference of opinion over whether to proceed with the hydrogen bomb experiment. Representative Sterling Cole, Republican of and now Chairman of the Joint Atomic Energy Commission, was among those who opposed going forward with the H-bomb work. Harry

Truman supported by Dean Acheson settled the question with the decision of January 31, 1950 to go ahead.

Following his filmed "loaded questions" on April 6, McCarthy refused to offer any proof of delay or name any persons responsible. But he did say that the Senate Committee of which he is now Chairman took up the matter of possible Communist influence in delaying the hydrogen bomb a year ago - in 1953. One has a right to ask, what did the Committee find? Why didn't we hear about such a dire thing for 12 months? And why does McCarthy bring up the issue with loaded questions and vague forebodings of national death at this time?

I I 5
(copy in memo)

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

National Student Federation of America

E. C. Perkins April 9, 1954

The National Student Federation of America (NSFA) was founded in 1925 at a convention of students held at Princeton University. The original meeting was convened to discuss United States participation in the World Court, and evidently was not associated with any particular student movement or group. There was not in existence at that time any general-purpose student organization, as distinguished from political or religious student groups. The aims of the Federation are stated in its 1930 year book to be as follows:

> "We would achieve a spirit of co-operation among the students of the United States of America to give consideration to questions affecting students' interests; we would develop an intelligent student opinion on questions of national and international importance; we would foster understanding among the students of the world in the furtherance of an enduring peace. In working toward these ends the Federation acts independently of any political party or religious creed."

The foregoing is the preamble to the Federation's Constitution.

The program developed by the Federation over the years included an annual congress of student leaders in affiliated colleges and universities; publication of a monthly magazine, the "Student Mirror"; furnishing of a weekly news

service to college papers; operation of a survey and information bureau for student information; arrangement for debate team tours of England and certain European countries; operation of a travel bureau for students abroad; providing representation for American students in international organization. The 1932 booklet of the National Union of Students on summer vacation tours, which was circulated by NSFA, evidently as part of its travel bureau activities, is said (by Chester Williams) to have scheduled a tour in the U.S.S.R., but it is not known whether the tour was conducted or whether any Americans joined it. The announcement in the booklet stated that:

> ". . . a pall of mystery still seems to overhang the Soviet Republic, and it is impossible to attain with any degree of certainty to even the most elementary facts about it. Many who have visited it have returned with the shining eyes of the enthusiast. Others consider that the gigantic experiment is failing. At least one ought to visit Russia and try to form one's own conclusions or at all events to be able to check the opinions of others and to sift the corn of fact from the chaff of propaganda. . . ."

During the period 1930-1932, when E. R. Murrow was President of the Federation, its travel program was developed in collaboration with John Rothchild, director of "Open Road". Open Road, a travel bureau which specialized in student tours, put heavy emphasis on trips to the Soviet Union and was connected with the IIE sponsorship of the Moscow State University Anglo-American Institute's Summer Session in 1934. It does not appear that NSFA sponsored any trips to Soviet Russia

directly, however.

According to "Political Processes in American National Student Organizations", a Ph.D. thesis by Martin M. McLaughlin printed in Notre Dame in April, 1948, the NSFA consistently represented the conservative element among student groups throughout its existence. In 1931, there appeared the National Student League, formed by secession of the left-wing element of another organization, the Student League for Industrial Democracy. Its purpose was stated to be to give active support to militant organizations of workers and farmers and to oppose all preparations against the Soviet Union. During the period 1934-35, a further splinter group broke off from the National Student League and, with certain radical elements of the NSFA, organized the American Student Union. During the depression period, when there was fertile ground among student organizations for Communist propagandists, the ASU turned distinctly to the left. While the NSFA was accepted as representing the moderate view, the line between the Communists, Socialists, liberal and even conservative youth became difficult to draw because of the broad areas of agreement among all groups on such matters of unemployment, "red scares", war and Fascism. The NSFA was a group member of the United Student Peace Committee during this period, which Committee advocated legislation to eliminate compulsory

military drill in colleges, to oppose war, to maintain civil rights and academic freedom and to maintain stringent neutrality. There is some reason to believe that as early as 1930-31, the Federation was on record as opposing armament programs and militarization of all types.

Edward R. Murrow was President of NSFA for two terms during the period 1930-32. Thereafter, he continued as a member of the Advisory Board, apparently until the dissolution of the organization during World War II.

Associated with E. R. Murrow in administration of the NSFA were the following:

Margaret Taylor: An active NSFA leader in the late 1930's who married Edward C. Carter's son and worked, for a period of time, for the IPR. She was the subject of some inquiry in the IPR hearings as having been connected with Frederick Vanderbilt Field and Corliss Lamont in the activities of IPR.

Joseph Cadden: Sometime after 1934, Cadden was secretary of NSFA. He was a controversial figure because of the leftist emphasis of his writings. He shifted with the Communist Party line on the Nazi-Soviet pact and the Nazi attack on Russia. He was subsequently executive secretary of the American Youth Congress, secretary for Congressman Marcantonio and secretary for the American Labor Party in the

Bronx. In 1948 he was a leader among the Wallace Progressives. His wife was a leader in the ASU and the Civil Rights Congress.

Marvin Breckenridge: An important figure in the NSFA and a member of its first Executive Committee, along with Frederick Vanderbilt Field and Corliss Lamont, and others. She was thereafter an administrative assistant in the National Democratic Committee (1934-36), and subsequently married a Foreign Service officer (Patterson). She did broadcasts for E. R. Murrow during the war from Sweden.

Mrs. Lawrence Ross: Secretary to Martha Beihle, also worked for the president and executive secretary of the Federation for a period of time. Her husband subsequently was head of the Communist Party in Los Angeles and editor of the Western Worker. He turned against the Party and testified against Bridges. Mrs. Ross is said to have been a Communist also.

Sylvia Sugarman: Secretary to Murrow in about 1930 and connected with NSFA until 1938 or 1939. She married a lawyer, Sidney Sugarman, who was a member of the NLRB and reputed to be in the Lee Pressman cell. This is evidently not Judge Sugarman.

Frederick Vanderbilt Field: A member of the first Executive Committee and probably of the Advisory Board.

Corliss Lamont: A member of the first Executive

Committee and probably a member of the Advisory Board.

Both Field and Lamont spoke, in 1935, on CBS's talks program during the period when Murrow was its director. Others speaking at the same time were James Wechsler and Harold Laski. This appears from contemporaneous NSFA news releases, indicating that they appeared under NSFA auspices.

Of the activities of the Federation, Herbert Hoover, then President of the United States, wrote, under date of November 13, 1930:

> "Wisely directed efforts looking toward greater enlightenment upon international problems and a more intelligent sympathy between nations deserve commendation and support. The work of the National Student Federation in this field is most promising and encouraging."

In the Federation's 1930 year book, Dr. Stephen Duggan appears as one of the leading speakers at the Federation's first annual Congress. Others were Dr. Henry Noble MacCracken and Dr. Alexander Meicklejohn. Laurence Duggan is mentioned on page 67 of the year book as one of the "invited friends" at a meeting of the Executive Committee.

The NSFA petered out during World War II. The 1942 Congress, though scheduled, was cancelled, the apparent reason being lack of transportation facilities due to wartime conditions. It was not thereafter revived, and went out of existence without the benefit of formal dissolution. Its files were destroyed in about 1950, having been abandoned in

a warehouse on the lower East Side which was itself torn down at that time.

The only youth organization of distinct leftish tendencies with which NSFA was affiliated appears to have been the American Youth Congress which was organized in the summer of 1934. This was the group which started under the auspices of Mrs. F. D. Roosevelt and went out of existence after the German attack on Russia. It made headlines when student representatives booed President Roosevelt on the White House lawn because he criticized the Russian attack on Finland in 1940. NSFA is said to have been a participating organization during most of the period of this group's existence. The New York Times is said to have reported in December, 1940, that the NSFA was "one of the founders of the American Youth Congress" but which withdrew from the Congress because of its "alleged radical tendencies". On January 1, 1941, Murray Plavner, National Director of the National Foundation for American Youth, said in the New York Times that the breaking away of the NSFA from the American Youth Congress left "only two non-Communist influences which still keep the American youth from crumbling into dust." These "influences" were said to be the Y.M.C.A. and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Memos

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. CONNELLY

CBS--Matter of M

D. H. Rivkin April 8, 1954

Two matters of particular immediacy occur to me in connection with the April 6, 1954, telecast:

1. The false equation of anti-McCarthyism and pro-Communism.

Apart from specific factual inaccuracies and distortions, the most obnoxious aspect of the McCarthy performance of Tuesday evening was the underlying premise that it is impossible at the same time to be anti-Communist and anti-McCarthy. The syllogism runs: official Communist publications attack McCarthy; Murrow attacks McCarthy; ergo, Murrow is a Communist.

All previous McCarthy critics have been impaled upon that dialectical device. McCarthy in each case more or less successfully purveyed the perverse doctrine that the Communist inclinations of Time, The Commonweal, the Christian Science Monitor et al. were proved by the fact that those publications expressed criticism of McCarthy which in some degree paralleled that of the Daily Worker. Such parallelism, the argument runs, cannot be merely fortuitous. The

argument posits a two-dimensional universe in which all of mankind must necessarily be arrayed in pro-McCarthy (i.e., anti-Communist) and anti-McCarthy (i.e., pro-Communist) camps.

It occurs to me that the most dramatic and convincing method of blunting that particular McCarthy sword is to demonstrate that it is double-edged. It is ironic that the syllogism would be devastating if logically applied to the career of its progenitor; for McCarthy's position on public issues over the past eight years has consistently paralleled that of the official organs of the CPUSA.

I believe that that parallelism could be established by a comparison of McCarthy's Senate voting record, particularly in the area of foreign relations, with the declared position of the CPUSA on the issues before the Senate since 1946. Jack Pickering has supplied me with a record of McCarthy's votes in every Senate roll-call since 1946. I think it would be profitable to collect official Communist pronouncements on each of those issues, and I am confident that the collection would verify that McCarthy has, in nearly every case, voted in conformity with official Communist doctrine. The utter illogic of the McCarthy syllogism would certainly emerge from such an exercise.

It should be added that the foregoing could be

supplemented with a documentation of McCarthy's affirmative services to Communism, some of which were suggested in my memorandum to you of April 5, 1954.

2. The false assumption that Communists reveal their true objectives or policies in their official publications.

An alternative approach suggests itself. McCarthy devoted a large part of his telecast to a description of Communist techniques of subversion. The Party, he assured his listeners, is a clandestine conspiracy which thrives on fraud and chicane.

Is it likely that the true objectives or policies of such an organization would be revealed in publications which can be purchased at any news stand? After all, we have the authority of Louis Budenz for the proposition that the Party speaks an "Aesopian" language which simply does not mean what it says; and McCarthy himself was at pains to point out that the Daily Worker could most effectively praise Wechsler by damning him. Could not an effective argument be made that the Daily Worker acknowledges its great debt to McCarthy by the violence of its abuse of him?

I should like to speak to you about the foregoing at your convenience.

dup

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. PERKINS

J. E. Ryder April 7, 1954

Besides ERM's anti-Communist programs mentioned on page 3 of your "Materials for CBS Statement on ERM", there should be added the following:

ERM With The News--2/4/54, File I J 4 b.

ERM devotes a great deal of time to a report on the "common front", a new plan which calls for Communist alliance with the Socialist Parties of Western Europe, Latin America and the Far East. ERM says this is a development of more importance than anything that has happened so far in Berlin.

"This Is London"--6/3/45, File I J 4 b.

Reds have promised to shoot 50 Nazis for every Red soldier murdered in Eastern Germany. Reds also controlling information in Eastern Germany.

"This Is London"--9/2/45, File I J 5.

ERM advocates tough policy with respect to Russia in Europe.

"ERM With The News"--10/27/48, File I J 5.

ERM favors Western alliance.

"ERM With The News"--2/8/54, File I J 6.

Critical comment on Russian tactics throughout the world during the first days of the Berlin Conference.

"ERM With The News"--2/9/54, File I J 6.

ERM blasts Soviet disarmament proposal at Berlin Conference.

"This Is London"--10/14/45, I J 6.

ERM says revolutionary CP supports British longshoremen's strike.

"ERM With The News"--9/19/50, I J 14.

With reference to Indo China, ERM says: "Even though Communism may have been thwarted for the time being in Western Europe, and in Korea, it still has a bewildering variety of opportunities for probing and bleeding actions without committing Russia to an overt act of aggression."

"This Is London"--5/13/45, I J 19.

Yalta agreement not being carried out.

"See It Now"--11/3/53, File I J 20.

Interview with Lt. Quinn who had in a Communist prison camp admitted charges of germ warfare. ERM: "Well Lieutenant, we have had ample evidence placed before the world in the past several days of every form of physical torture, violence and disgusting inhumanity practiced against U. N. prisoners." ERM on other programs, Mr. Aaron tells me, has attacked Communist charges of germ warfare.

"See It Now"--2/23/54, File I J 20.

Report on education of military personnel as to the evils of Communism.

"ERM With The News"--2/9/54, File I J 20.

"Compromise in Indo-China could be a defeat for this country of immeasurable magnitude."

Address--American Council--5/6/50, File I K 3.
on Education

ERM advocates strengthening alliance with Western Europe as an effective means of defense against Russia.

"See It Now"--3/8/53, (Not yet filed).

Report on Stalin's death. Critical comment on Russian revolution and the ensuing struggle for power. Review of Stalin's regime. ERM says:

"This is Stalin's birthplace at Gori in the Crimea, where it all began. Now it's a shrine. It's a long way from Gori to Moscow, to Teheran, to Yalta, to Potsdam, to a tomb in the Red Square. The route is littered with the corpses of former comrades and of murdered nations. No one knows how many millions died. Those who lived tried to make Stalin a god. He was extremely cruel, cunning and ruthless. He wanted only the world. He made great and telling use of Lenin as a symbol. Others will so use Stalin. They will rule in his shadow. Their tactics may change, but their objective must remain the same. For unless they are willing to deny their doctrine and their dogma, unless they are willing to reverse their revolution, to commit public political suicide, they must go on down that road that Stalin charted.

"It may have been atwist, many twistings and turnings as it has had in the past, but there is no excuse for us not understanding where these evil men propose to end up. For Stalin wrote it in a book, spelled it all out, so that we may all read and see. And this is what he wrote on the subject of Lenin: "But the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the power of the proletariat in one country does not yet mean the complete victory of socialism. After consolidating its power and taking the peasantry into the proletariat, the victorious country can and must build up a socialist society. But does this mean that it will thereby achieve the complete and final victory of socialism? That is, does it mean that withthe forces of only one country, it can finally consolidate socialism and fully guarantee that country against interventionism or restoration? No, it does not. For this the victory of the revolution in at least several countries is needed. Therefore the development and support of revolution in other countries is an essential task of the victorious revolution. Therefore the revolution in the victorious country must regard itself not as a self-sufficient entity but as an auxiliary, as a means of hastening the victory of the proletariat in other countries. Lenin expressed his thoughts succinctly when he said that the task of the

victorious revolution is to do the utmost possible in one country for the development, support and awakening of the revolution in all countries. These in general are the characteristic features of Lenin's theory of proletarian revolution.'"

41

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. PERKINS

J. E. Ryder April 7, 1954

Besides ERM's anti-Communist programs mentioned on page 3 of your "Materials for CBS Statement on ERM", there should be added the following:

"ERM With The News"--2/4/54, File I J 4 b.

ERM devotes a great deal of time to a report on the "common front", a new plan which calls for Communist alliance with the Socialist Parties of Western Europe, Latin America and the Far East. ERM says this is a development of more importance than anything that has happened so far in Berlin.

"This Is London"--6/3/45, File I J 4 b.

Reds have promised to shoot 50 Nazis for every Red soldier murdered in Eastern Germany. Reds also controlling information in Eastern Germany.

"This Is London"--9/2/45, File I J 5.

ERM advocates tough policy with respect to Russia in Europe.

"ERM With The News"--10/27/48, File I J 5.

ERM favors Western alliance.

"ERM With The News"--2/8/54, File I J 6.

Critical comment on Russian tactics throughout the world during the first days of the Berlin Conference.

"ERM With The News"--2/9/54, File I J 6.

ERM blasts Soviet disarmament proposal at Berlin Conference.

"This Is London"--10/14/45, I J 6.

ERM says revolutionary CP supports British longshoremen's strike.

"ERM With The News"--9/19/50, I J 14.

With reference to Indo China, ERM says: "Even though Communism may have been thwarted for the time being in Western Europe, and in Korea, it still has a bewildering variety of opportunities for probing and bleeding actions without committing Russia to an overt act of aggression."

"This Is London"--5/13/45, I J 19.

Yalta agreement not being carried out.

"See It Now"--11/3/53, File I J 20.

Interview with Lt. Quinn who had in a Communist prison camp admitted charges of germ warfare. ERM: "Well Lieutenant, we have had ample evidence placed before the world in the past several days of every form of physical torture, violence and disgusting inhumanity practiced against U. N. prisoners." ERM on other programs, Mr. Aaron tells me, has attacked Communist charges of germ warfare.

"See It Now"--2/23/54, File I J 20.

Report on education of military personnel as to the evils of Communism.

"ERM With The News"--2/9/54, File I J 20.

"Compromise in Indo-China could be a defeat for this country of immeasurable magnitude."

Address--American Council--5/6/50, File I K 3.
on Education

ERM advocates strengthening alliance with Western Europe as an effective means of defense against Russia.

"See It Now"--3/8/53, (Not yet filed).

Report on Stalin's death. Critical comment on Russian revolution and the ensuing struggle for power. Review of Stalin's regime. ERM says:

"This is Stalin's birthplace at Gori in the Crimea, where it all began. Now it's a shrine. It's a long way from Gori to Moscow, to Teheran, to Yalta, to Potsdam, to a tomb in the Red Square. The route is littered with the corpses of former comrades and of murdered nations. No one knows how many millions died. Those who lived tried to make Stalin a god. He was extremely cruel, cunning and ruthless. He wanted only the world. He made great and telling use of Lenin as a symbol. Others will so use Stalin. They will rule in his shadow. Their tactics may change, but their objective must remain the same. For unless they are willing to deny their doctrine and their dogma, unless they are willing to reverse their revolution, to commit public political suicide, they must go on down that road that Stalin charted.

"It may have been a twist, many twistings and turnings as it has had in the past, but there is no excuse for us not understanding where these evil men propose to end up. For Stalin wrote it in a book, spelled it all out, so that we may all read and see. And this is what he wrote on the subject of Lenin: "But the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the power of the proletariat in one country does not yet mean the complete victory of socialism. After consolidating its power and taking the peasantry into the proletariat, the victorious country can and must build up a socialist society. But does this mean that it will thereby achieve the complete and final victory of socialism? That is, does it mean that withthe forces of only one country, it can finally consolidate socialism and fully guarantee that country against interventionism or restoration? No, it does not. For this the victory of the revolution in at least several countries is needed. Therefore the development and support of revolution in other countries is an essential task of the victorious revolution. Therefore the revolution in the victorious country must regard itself not as a self-sufficient entity but as an auxiliary, as a means of hastening the victory of the proletariat in other countries. Lenin expressed his thoughts succinctly when he said that the task of the

victorious revolution is to do the utmost possible in one country for the development, support and awakening of the revolution in all countries. These in general are the characteristic features of Lenin's theory of proletarian revolution.'"

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Memo File

WILMER & BROUN
TRANSPORTATION BUILDING
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

RICHARD H. WILMER
E. FONTAINE BROUN
JOHN H. PICKERING
HUGH R. H. SMITH

HENRY T. RATHBUN
SUSANNA E. BEDELL
JOSIAH A. SPAULDING
EDWIN D. ETHERINGTON

CABLE ADDRESS
WILBRO

TELEPHONE
METROPOLITAN 8-0654

April 6, 1954

Dear Ben:

Enclosed herewith are three copies of the text of a cable from McClure stationed at Tehran, Iran, which was given to me this afternoon and which I read to Edward Perkins over the telephone.

A check is being made of the documentation referred to in the cable. A cable is also expected from Germany as to information available there.

The basic directive has been called for from the closed files at the Alexandria record center.

McClure's successor in early 1947 was Gordon E. Textor, a retired general officer who resides at 112 Van Winkle Drive, Falls Church, Virginia, and who is undergoing a series of check-ups at Walter Reed Hospital. If desired, arrangements will be made for us to interview him.

We are to receive further progress reports as additional information becomes available.

Faithfully yours,

JOHN H. PICKERING

Benjamin R. Shute, Esq.
Messrs. Cravath, Swaine & Moore
15 Broad Street
New York 5, N. Y.

Encls.

E

COPY

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

E. C. P. April 5, 1954

Congressional Record for March 31, 1954, p. 4033, lists all individuals who took refuge in the Fifth Amendment before the five major committees (two Senate, three House) investigating Communism during the year 1953.

The main report delivered at the national conference of the Communist Party U.S.A., published in New York in October, 1953, pages 1, 31, 32 and 33, attacking McCarthy and "McCarthyism".

Daily Worker for March 9, 1954, editorial and seven articles attacking McCarthy. Murrow program listed as "one of best bets on TV".

March 10 Daily Worker, editorial and 11 articles attacking McCarthy.

Daily Worker for March 17, 1954: 4 articles attacking McCarthy, one praising ERM.

Daily Worker for March 26, 1954: 2 articles attacking McCarthy; cartoon of McCarthy; article praising Murrow.

Benson?

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. CONNELLY

CBS--Matter of M

D. H. Rivkin April 5, 1954

This memorandum discusses certain aspects of the McCarthy career which are of particular interest in connection with the April 6, 1954, telecast:

1. Imputation of Communism or Communist Influence to Critics.

A hallmark of the McCarthy method is the Senator's predilection for ascribing Communism or Communist influence to political adversaries and to all who have had the boldness to criticize him or his methods. That characteristic is most dramatically illustrated in the case of his attacks upon all media of communication which have criticized the Senator's activities over the past eight years. The current assault upon CBS is merely the most recent of a series of such assaults upon newspapers, magazines and radio broadcasters, the more prominent of which will be reviewed herein.

a. Wisconsin Newspapers.

✓ (i) Milwaukee Journal.

After McCarthy's election to the Senate in 1946, the Journal editorialized hopefully that "Joseph McCarthy

has it in him to be a good Senator and a good Representative of his state." When the Journal later found McCarthy's tactics impossible to condone and criticized him editorially, McCarthy promptly labelled the militantly anti-Communist Journal as "the Milwaukee edition of the Daily Worker". McCarthy purported to find Communist influence over Journal editorial policies in the fact that a certain New York lawyer had been married to the younger sister of the wife of a Journal executive. On August 6, 1950, speaking at the convention of the Wisconsin Retail Food Dealers Association, McCarthy urged the retailers to withdraw their advertising. "Keep in mind", he warned, "when you send your checks over to the Journal . . . you are contributing to bringing the Communist Party line into the homes of Wisconsin." McCarthy also asked housewives to boycott advertisers who bought space in the Journal. Anderson and May, McCarthy: The Man, The Senator, The "Ism" 273-74 (1952) (hereinafter cited as A & M); McCarthy, A Documented Record, The Progressive 60, Vol. 18, No. 4 (April 1954) (hereinafter cited as Progressive).

(ii) Madison Capitol Times.

William, T. Evjue, editor of the Capitol Times, declared editorially that the Associated Press devoted too much space to McCarthy and that the AP acquiesced in McCarthy's

slant of the news. Evjue also ran a series of articles exposing various aspects of McCarthy's malodorous financial transactions. McCarthy promptly responded that "The Madison Capitol Times is closer to the Daily Worker than any other newspaper in the country." McCarthy also sent out, without postage under Senatorial frank, an 11-page booklet to Capitol Times subscribers. The booklet raised four questions about Communist influence over the Capitol Times. Evjue rejoined that "Senator McCarthy is not so much concerned over any Communism in connection with the Capitol Times as he is over the fact that it was this newspaper that exposed his tax difficulties." A & M 269, 272-73.

(iii) Sheboygan Press.

In a speech before 35 school children, McCarthy charged that the Press was pro-Communist. The newspaper responded: "Having played himself out with grownups, he is now trying to sell his stock in trade to students, those who have yet to determine how they will vote when they reach 21 years of age." A & M 285.

b. Time Magazine.

Time Magazine did not initially commit itself for or against McCarthy. In its issue of October 22, 1951, however, Time printed a four-page cover story in which it criticized McCarthy's methods and stated that he was not

effective as a Communist hunter. That article convinced McCarthy that Time was Communist-infiltrated, and he deplored "the depth to which this magazine will sink in using deliberate falsehoods to destroy anyone who is hurting the Communist cause." McCarthy appealed to the magazine's advertisers to withdraw their patronage, claiming that the purpose of the story was to "obstruct the fight against Communists." Progressive 59-60; A & M 277-79.

c. The Commonweal.

In August, 1953, McCarthy charged that one of the writers for The Commonweal had refused, on Constitutional grounds, to testify before the Jenner Committee and from that fact "you can draw your own conclusions". The editors of The Commonweal promptly asked McCarthy to identify the writer to whom he had referred. Five weeks later, McCarthy replied by asking the editors "what connection Thomas Davin has with The Commonweal". In its issue of November 27, 1953, The Commonweal reported that it has assured McCarthy that Davin had never at any time written a single line for the magazine and that four of the present five editors of the magazine had never heard of Davin. The editors therefore requested that McCarthy make a public correction of his misstatement of fact. In a letter dated November 12, 1953, McCarthy renewed his attack on The Commonweal, stating that

"I feel that you have done and are doing a great disservice to the Catholic church and a great service to the Communist Party . . .". Progressive 55-56; A & M 307-08, 395-99.

It is relevant to note here that the following Catholic magazines, among others, have condemned McCarthy: America, The Wage Earner, The Catholic Worker, and The Michigan Catholic. A & M 399; Progressive 40, 55-56; Wisconsin Citizens' Committee, The McCarthy Record 127 (1952) (hereinafter cited as Record).

d. Christian Science Monitor.

McCarthy charged that he had seen Richard Stout, a distinguished and firmly anti-Communist writer for the Christian Science Monitor, "shaking the hand of Rob Hall of the Communist Daily Worker". Stout emphatically denied ever meeting Hall, but McCarthy nonetheless iterated that the "venomous, distorted" news published in the Christian Science Monitor was a result of the paper's Communist proclivities.

e. The Washington Post.

At a pre-trial examination in his action against the Syracuse Post-Standard, McCarthy gratuitously commented that "I read substantially the same editorial in the Daily Worker as in the Washington Post." A & M 286; McCarthy v. The Post-Standard Co., examination before trial of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, before Hon. Jesse E. Kingsley, on June 23 and

24, 1952, p. 144.

It should be noted here that the above is only a representative sampling of newspapers which have been charged by McCarthy with serving the Communist cause. Nearly every one of the nation's leading newspapers have at one time or another come under attack by McCarthy by reason of their alleged Communist leanings; those leanings were, of course, proved by the fact that they had taken editorial positions hostile to McCarthy. 7

In May of 1953, McCarthy directed Harvey Matusow, a former Communist, to provide his Committee with a list of the names of all Communists who had infiltrated the news media. "I realize", McCarthy told Matusow, "that this will be a monumental task, so I will not set any date by which you are to complete it." Matusow told a Montana audience during the 1952 campaign that there were 126 "dues-paying Communists" on the staff of the Sunday New York Times; the entire staff of the Sunday Times totalled only 93. Progressive 60.

It is also relevant to recall that the ten papers voted the nation's best by American newspaper publishers (The New York Times, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, the Christian Science Monitor, the Louisville Courier Journal, the Kansas City Star, the New York Herald Tribune, the Chicago Daily News,

the Washington Post, the Baltimore Sun, and the Milwaukee Journal) have all warned their readers, in one form or another, against the McCarthy menace. A & M 287-89. Presumably, those papers are the New York, St. Louis, Boston, Louisville, Kansas City, Chicago, Washington, Baltimore and Milwaukee editions of the Daily Worker.

f. Individuals.

Apart from his venomous attacks on all newspapers which have given him anything but unqualified support, McCarthy has flung the charge of Communism at a number of individual newspapermen and broadcasters, among the more prominent of whom were the following:

? * (i) Drew Pearson.

Pearson wrote several columns exposing various aspects of McCarthy's tangled finances and condemning some of McCarthy's antics in the Senate. McCarthy picked a fight with Pearson at the Sulgrave Club in Washington in order to draw attention to his quarrel with Pearson, and on the wave of publicity that followed, largely as a result of the efforts of Fulton Lewis, Jr., he delivered a two-hour speech against Pearson on the Senate floor. In that speech, McCarthy, among other things, said that "It appears that Pearson never actually signed up as a member of the Communist Party and never paid dues . . . [But] if the loyal American

editors and publishers and radio-station owners refuse to buy this disguised, sugar-coated voice of Russia, the mockingbirds who have followed the Pearson line would disappear from the scene like chaff before the wind." He urged all Americans to notify their newspapers that they do not want "this Moscow-directed character assassin" to be printed in their papers. B & B 294. Shortly after that speech, the Adam Hat Company withdrew its sponsorship of Pearson's radio program, although it denied that that action was in response to McCarthy's intimidation.

It should be pointed out that Pearson had been the first to publish the facts about the Russian spy ring in Canada; a year before Elizabeth Bentley testified about the existence of a Washington spy ring, Pearson had told how the ring had photographed blueprints of the B-29 and smuggled the secret photographs to Russia; James Dunn, then Ambassador to Italy, had credited Pearson's Friendship Train and Democracy for Italy Letters with helping to defeat the Communists in the 1948 Italian election. This is a strange record, indeed, for a "Moscow-directed character assassin." Among the many persons who defended Pearson against the McCarthy attack was Walter Alessandroni, chairman of the American Legion's Committee on Un-American Activities. Progres-

sive 59; A & M 274-75.

(ii) James Wechsler.

Wechsler, editor of the New York Post, had been a Young Communist in his teens, but his abandonment of Communism had been unequivocal. On April 23, 1953, Wechsler was summoned--on 18 hours notice--to testify before the McCarthy Committee, which was then investigating subversive books in American overseas libraries. Actually, Wechsler was never questioned about the content of his books; rather, McCarthy devoted his entire interrogation of Wechsler to an attempt to prove that the latter was a crypto-Communist whose abandonment of Communism was a sham.

Wechsler introduced, as part of his defense, a statement issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party in December, 1952, which said that the activities of Wechsler, along with a group of anti-Communist labor leaders, were largely responsible for wrecking the Communist attempt to roll up a big vote for the Progressive Party in the 1952 elections. The Communist pronouncement charged that "the Reuthers, Dubinskys, Wechslers et al, paralyzed independent political action by protecting the myth that [Adlai] Stevenson was an obstacle to the advance of reaction." After introducing the exhibit, McCarthy asked, "Did you write that

statement?". Wechsler was accordingly called upon solemnly to deny under oath that he was the author of Communist statements denouncing himself.

McCarthy charged, among other things, that the New York Post "is next to and almost paralleling the Daily Worker." He also stated "if you or I were a member of the Communist Party and we wanted to advance the Communist line, perhaps the most effective way of doing that would be to claim we deserted the Party; and if we got in control of the paper, use that paper to attack and smear anybody who actually was fighting Communism. Now, without saying whether you have done it, you would agree that would be a good tactic wouldn't it? . . . I feel that you have not broken with Communist ideals. I feel that you are serving them very, very actively."

The Wechsler testimony was referred to a committee appointed by the American Society of Newspaper Editors. A majority of the Committee was unable to agree that the McCarthy interrogation of Wechsler constituted an offense to freedom of the press. Four members of the Committee wrote a supplemental report in which it was stated that the people "suffer some diminution of their right to know fully and comment freely upon their government whenever a single newspaper, however worthy or unworthy, is subjected by one

Senator, however worthy or unworthy, to inconvenience, expense, humiliation, ridicule, abuse, condemnation, and reproach, under the auspices of governmental power." The supplementary report was drafted by J. R. Wiggins, managing editor of the Washington Post. McCarthy's only response was to invite the Committee to "investigate the extent to which the chairman of your Committee, Mr. Wiggins, through his paper, the Washington Post, has prostituted and endangered freedom of the press with constant false, vicious, intemperate attacks on anyone who dares expose any of the undercover Communists . . .". Progressive 60-62.

(iii) Joseph and Stewart Alsop.

In the July 9, 1950, issue of the Saturday Evening Post, Joseph and Stewart Alsop reported their critical impressions of McCarthy's activities. McCarthy wrote Ben Hibbs, editor of the Saturday Evening Post, on August 15, 1950, that it "is disturbing to find that this article is almost 100 per cent in line with the official instructions issued Communists and fellow-traveling members of the press and radio by Gus Hall, National Secretary of the Communist Party." Hibbs replied that his publication felt "that the tactics you have employed succeed only in muddying the waters and playing into the hands of the enemy." Progressive 60; A & M 280-81.

(iv) Elmer Davis.

Angered by Davis's commentaries on his activities, McCarthy rejoined that "Stanislaw Mikolajczk, one of the anti-Communist leaders of Poland, had warned the State Department, while Davis was head of the Office of War Information, that OWI broadcasts were 'following the Communist line consistently,' and that the broadcasts 'might well have emanated from Moscow itself.'" A & M 283-84.

(v) Marquis Childs.

When Childs published an unfriendly column, McCarthy made him a member of the "Communist camp-following"set. A & M 283.

(vi) Martin Agronsky.

Agronsky, a commentator for the American Broadcasting Company, made certain comments which were not complimentary to McCarthy. At McCarthy's instigation, the Houston American Legion Post passed a resolution, which McCarthy inserted in the Congressional Record, voicing disapproval of Agronsky's "left-wing philosophy". Agronsky's sponsors did not, as requested, drop him but rather praised his objectivity. A & M 281-82.

In all the above cases, McCarthy's response to criticism was one of instantaneous and seemingly reflexive counter-accusation. McCarthy has never been known, in his entire

public career, to attempt to set the record straight when the inaccuracy of his charges has been disputed or proved, and has never admitted the possibility that a person, a publication or an institution could be at the same time anti-Communist and anti-McCarthy. Hornell Hart, Professor of Sociology at Duke University, in a brochure entitled "McCarthy Versus The State Department" (Rev. ed. 1952), reviewed McCarthy's career and concluded that the Senator responds "to factual accusation by denunciation rather than by refutation." (p. 11)

Indeed, McCarthy's response to the Hart study is itself instructive. Hart sent a preliminary draft of his survey to McCarthy and requested factual criticism. Instead, he received from Jean Kerr, then McCarthy's secretary, a letter calling the survey "a typical Communist Party line smear attack upon Senator McCarthy." When it became clear that Hart intended to proceed with the publication of his study, McCarthy on October 19, 1951, wrote to President Edens of Duke University as follows:

> "The purpose of this letter is to call your attention to the fact that this preliminary draft contains a vast amount of the vicious, false and libelous attacks which have been leveled at me by the Daily Worker and some of the Communist camp-following elements of the press and radio. . . .
>
> "This is to notify you personally of Mr. Hart's project, in case you are not aware of it at this

> time, and that I shall hold the University legally accountable for the publication of this document. . . ." (p. 12)

On October 13, 1951, McCarthy wrote a second letter in which he warned:

> "Unless I hear from you on or before November 10 that you are taking steps to have retracted the false and defamatory statements made, I shall assume that the material in the publication meets with your approval." (p. 12)

McCarthy never instituted the legal actions which were vaguely threatened in the quoted communications.

William F. Buckley and L. Brent Bozell, in McCarthy and His Enemies (1954) (hereinafter cited as B & B), a recently published attempt to make McCarthy intellectually respectable, gently chide the Senator for his playful tendency to impugn the loyalty of his critics:

> ". . . He is especially fond, for example, of referring to the Washington Post as the 'Washington edition of the Daily Worker'; to the New York Post as the 'uptown edition of the Daily Worker'; to the Milwaukee Journal as the 'Milwaukee edition . . .' etc. Yet such statements are more uncouth than vicious; they can probably be dismissed, even, as jocular indulgences in what Life magazine has called 'groin-and-eyeball' polemics. . . ." Ibid. 297.

The authors volunteer the following counsel, primarily, it would seem, from the point of view of good public relations, rather than sound morality:

> "It would be preferable, from McCarthy's standpoint, if he had never attempted a logical explanation of his statements about these papers' and Pearson's Communist motives. Any way you look at it, of course,

> he is in these cases guilty of smearing. Had they occurred in the course of emotional responses to the uncounted smears and unmatched viciousness that all these persons and newspapers have heaped on McCarthy through the past few years, they might be understandable. But they did not, and therefore they cannot be classed with, say, letters from Mr. Truman to music critics." Ibid. 298-99.

2. Communist Support.

In 1946, the Communists were in control of the Wisconsin CIO. Communism had not as yet been purged from the Allis-Chalmers CIO Local in Milwaukee; Harold Christoffel, Local CIO Head, was later convicted of perjury for denying Communist Party membership; the state secretary, the key man in the organization, was Melvin Heinritz, a member of the Communist Party; the Milwaukee city garbage workers, among others, were Communist dominated; above all, the Wisconsin CIO News was diverted to the role of a propaganda sheet for the Communists. In short, the Communists controlled the CIO leadership in Wisconsin and exerted a powerful influence over the 75,000 CIO members.

Senator Robert LaFollette was one of the most prescient Americans with respect to the Communist menace. He was appalled at the mood in which President Roosevelt approached the Yalta Conference and called on the President to urge him to take a more realistic view of Russia's intentions. On May 31, 1945, Senator LaFollette made a speech on the Senate floor, in which he warned against the aggressive designs of the Soviet

Union. As a result of that speech, and of his long record of anti-Communism, the Wisconsin Communists resolved to make the defeat of Senator LaFollette a major objective. The vehicle for the fight against LaFollette was the CIO. In a series of articles, the Wisconsin CIO News furiously attacked LaFollette, falsified his Senate voting record and linked him with Fascist groups.

The effectiveness of the assault can be measured by the results of the 1946 election. LaFollette's primary strength had always been ~~great~~ in the labor areas of Milwaukee, Racine and Kenosha. When the results were in, however, the back-country counties, where McCarthy had counted his main support, went for LaFollette, but the heavy labor precincts, which had theretofore been the source of LaFollette's strength, dramatically repudiated him. For example, in 1940, LaFollette had carried Milwaukee by 55,000 votes; in 1946, McCarthy carried that city as well as the other industrial areas of Wisconsin. McCarthy's 5,396-vote plurality could simply not have been attained without Communist support.

McCarthy never repudiated the Communist support. On the contrary, when reporters asked McCarthy about the Communist attack upon his opponent, McCarthy is reported to have answered "Communists have the same right to vote as anyone else, don't they?" Progressive 63-65; A & M 101-05.

3. McCarthy's Affirmative Services to Communism.

Apart from his acceptance of or acquiescence in Communist support for his 1946 campaign, a strong case can be made to the effect that McCarthy, far from being the arch-enemy of Communism, has in fact been affirmatively useful to the Communist cause in this country and abroad. The following is a random selection of episodes which would seem to confirm that assertion.

a. RIAS.

When the Central Committee of the East German Communist Party met on June 21, 1953, four days after the uprising in East Germany, it mentioned only one Western agency by name--RIAS, Radio in the American Sector. RIAS was acknowledged to be the most dangerous and effective anti-Communist weapon which the United States possessed in Europe.

At the same time that the highest Communist authorities were paying RIAS this most sincere compliment, McCarthy seemed to be preparing to do the Communists an invaluable favor by undermining and demoralizing RIAS. On June 17, 1953, after the first wave of insurrection had swept the Soviet Sector of Berlin, word reached West Berlin that McCarthy intended to call RIAS deputy director Gordon Ewing back to Washington for questioning. No charges were

contained in the news despatch, but McCarthy's reputation had spread to Europe, and everyone in RIAS took it for granted that Ewing might well be accused of every offense in human experience. In fact, McCarthy seemed to be preparing accusations that RIAS was dominated by a Communist clique.

The latter charge was, in the opinion of every competent observer, preposterous. RIAS had been uncompromisingly and skillfully anti-Communist and was by far the most popular radio station not only in Berlin but in the entire Soviet Zone. Its programs were generally high level and its political effect devastating. That fact was acknowledged by the Communists themselves, who ran press campaigns, circulated leaflets and voiced open threats to intimidate Eastern Germans from listening to RIAS programs.

When news of the McCarthy decision reached Berlin on June 17, 1953, a group of top German employees took alarm and rose to the defense of Ewing and RIAS. They issued a statement saying that they assumed that questioning by McCarthy would necessarily involve impugning RIAS policy and humiliating RIAS personnel. The statement, issued on June 21, 1953, said in effect that the German employees would

resign if McCarthy's insinuations brought changes in the composition of the German-American team which had been so successfully programming RIAS.

McCarthy, incapable of comprehending the importance of the first great popular uprising against the very system which he proports to be fighting, ignored the signs of the storm about to break and issued his statement on RIAS after the first strikes had started. On the following day, when the top editors of RIAS should have been occupied with nothing other than coping with the crisis, they had instead to deal with an irresponsible attack from behind. This amounted to sabotage in its most literal sense, and there seems to be little question that McCarthy was doing the Kremlin a service which the combined efforts of all of Russian espionage and subversive services were unable to render. (Cable from Richard C. Hottelet, CBS correspondent in Germany, to Charles Collingwood, dated June 22, 1953, enclosed with letter from Hottelet to Murrow dated March 20, 1954).

? b. Fort Monmouth

It is not the purpose of the present memorandum to review the bizarre history of McCarthy's so-called "investigation" of the Signal Corps establishment at Fort Monmouth, New Jersey. It is worth pointing out, however,

that all the sensational charges of espionage and worse which emanated from the investigation stemmed from the fact that the only news respecting the progress of the inquiry was given out by McCarthy himself, when he periodically emerged from behind the closed doors of the hearing room. It is also important to bear in mind that the more sensational of these charges--that 26 out of 57 secret documents missing from the laboratory had shown up in the Russian Zone of Eastern Germany, that an "eminent scientist" who had fled the Soviet Zone reported that he had heard Communist scientists say that "the Russians could get anything they wanted out of Fort Monmouth", etc.--were exploded when they were impartially examined.

While there is some dispute as to the factual findings of the McCarthy Committee in the Fort Monmouth case, there does not appear to be any dispute--at any rate among competent observers--that the end result of the inquiry was devastating from the point of view of the efficiency of the installation. The Federation of American Scientists, after hearing a report from its own committee which looked into the Fort Monmouth case, adopted a statement saying that the McCarthy investigation was wrecking morale among the scientists at Fort Monmouth and could "result in a net gain for those who work against the interests of the United States."

Scientists, the statement continued, will seek work elsewhere rather than endure the kind of treatment suffered at McCarthy's hands at Fort Monmouth. "The effect on our national security," the Federation statement declared, "would be extremely serious if such investigative methods are allowed to spread to other areas of this country's scientific effort." Progressive 44-46.

At a conference of scientists at Columbia University, Professor Ernest C. Pollard, Yale University physicist who was chairman of the Scientists Committee on Loyalty and Security of the Federation, reported that "a high percentage of the scientists [at Fort Monmouth] not implicated in the present investigations are now planning to seek employment elsewhere." Pollard's committee found that the "atmosphere of suspicion and distrust" created by the McCarthy charges had "seriously disrupted" the vital defense work of "developing the continental radar defense network" of the United States. New York Times, January 30, 1954, p. 6, col. 6.

The most telling appraisal of the Fort Monmouth investigation was that written by Walter Millis, the New York Herald Tribune writer on military affairs. In his column of December 8, 1953, Millis wrote:

> "This really vital and sensitive military installation has been wrecked--more thoroughly than any Soviet saboteur could have dreamed of doing it--by the kind of anti-Communism of which

Sen. McCarthy has made himself the leader.

> "The Fort Monmouth situation is truly scandalous. It is so scandalous that some who have looked into it, thoroughly conservative in outlook and Republican in politics, are talking about demanding a Congressional investigation--not into the alleged espionage (of which on Secretary Stevens' word, no evidence of any kind has been discovered by the Army) but into the processes of witch-hunting, bigotry, cowardice, race prejudice, and sheer incompetence which have turned one of our top-level military-scientific operations into a mare's nest of exasperation, fear, and futility . . .
>
> "The personal injustice involved is not here considered. The impairment of the national defense is something which no one whose life may one day hang upon the excellence of our radar screens can dare to disregard." Progressive 47.

Dr. Harold C. Urey, a foremost atomic scientist and Nobel Prize winner, told the Associated Press with respect to the Fort Monmouth inquiry that "I don't believe the U.S.S.R. has a better agent in the country than Sen. McCarthy." Progressive 47.

c. <u>International Information Administration</u>.

Again, it is not possible to review in detail the sequence of events surrounding what McCarthy chose to call an investigation of the Voice of America and the other operations of the International Information Administration. Two episodes in that history may, however, be adverted to for the purpose of demonstrating McCarthy's contribution to

the Communist enemies of United States:

(i) Baker East and Baker West.

In 1951, the Voice decided to build the world's two most powerful broadcasting stations, Baker West at Seattle, Washington, and Baker East in the Cape Hatteras area of North Carolina. In the opening days of McCarthy's investigation in February, 1953, McCarthy sought to create, and created, the impression that the sites for the two stations were deliberately chosen in order to facilitate the jamming of American broadcasts by Russia.

One Lewis McKesson, a disgruntled former engineer of the Voice, testified that the locations for the two stations were improper because of interference with radio transmission by the auroral absorption belt, and that in his opinion the more southerly locations of Los Angeles and Florida would have been more appropriate. Dr. Newbern Smith, chief of the Central Radio Propagation Laboratory of the Bureau of Standards, testified that the CRPL was never contacted with respect to the location of the two transmitters.

Official records which were not submitted to the McCarthy investigators and which McCarthy did not make any attempt to bring out at the public hearings, established that the Voice consulted not only the CRPL but that it had also sought and received the expert counsel of the research labora-

tories of RCA, the Signal Corps, and the Research Laboratory of Electronics of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Furthermore, repeated tests by those agencies confirmed that the decision of the Voice officials with respect to the selected sites was in all respects proper and correct from a technological point of view.

McCarthy, as stated above, did not make any attempt to set the record straight, but rather encouraged a widespread public belief that "sabotage" was responsible for the selection of the two sites. The impression created, in short, was that the sites had been deliberately chosen so that they would be ineffective from the point of view of counter-propaganda.

On February 17, 1953, work on the Baker East and Baker West transmitters was suspended by the State Department; work was canceled a month later on March 20, 1953, in face of the wide public impression of "sabotage" in the location of the two transmitters.

American taxpayers lost $8,000,000 which had already been spent on the construction of the two transmitters, and the free world lost what would have been the most powerful extant radio transmitters, capable of penetrating deep into Communist territory with the message of the United States. Progressive 34-36.

(ii) Expert Appraisal of McCarthy Hearings.

Among the deleterious effects on Voice operations attendant upon the McCarthy investigation, the following could be developed: the loss to the Voice of competent, experienced and patriotic civil servants with many years of ~~indeed~~ irreplaceable experience in the field of counter-propaganda--e.g., Reed Harris, Theodore Kaghan, etc; the demoralization of the remaining staff of Voice and other IIA subsidiaries; the destruction of discipline and orderly personnel practice and the encouragement a kind of internecine espionage among IIA personnel; and the feeling on the part of Voice script writers and programmers that they should prepare their material with a view to how it would sound to some hypothetical future investigator, rather than to an intended audience in Iran or Italy or China. The Reporter, Vol. 9, No. 2, pp. 17-33 (July 21, 1953).

Raymond Swing, who resigned from the Voice in May, 1953, wrote a "Survey of the Wreckage" in which he concluded:

> "The upshot of all the drama that has brought the Voice to public notice is an administrative order that leaves it a weaker agency, deprived of some of its best workers, divested of much of its audience, and with wounds from intrigue and slander still festering. Here is an organism of American power that has performed good works against odds and under forbidding handicaps. The works were not good enough. But that was inevitable under the influences of Congress and the State Department. Now the State Department is out. But otherwise nothing has been solved, and the enfeebled organi-

zation that remains cannot serve the nation even as well as its predecessor." Ibid. 33

The U. S. Advisory Commission on Information (composed of Irwin Canham, editor of the Christian Science Monitor, Philip D. Reed, chairman of the board of General Electric Co., Ben Hibbs, editor of the Saturday Evening Post, and Justin Miller, chairman of the board of the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters), reported to President Eisenhower on February 3, 1954, that the kind of investigation conducted by McCarthy had seriously crippled the nation's global propaganda effort. "It is not too much to say," the Commission reported, "that the desirable results sought through the activities of the information program are largely offset, if not destroyed, by the constant counter-barrage which is so generously distributed to the peoples of the world." The Commission noted that the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, headed by Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper of Iowa, had "rendered thoroughly and extremely constructive" service in revealing both the strengths and weaknesses of the information program. The wide and unfavorable publicity which resulted from the McCarthy investigation, on the other hand, "gave the agency such a bad name that professionally competent persons were reluctant to accept employment in it." The McCarthy investigation, the Commission stated, had "produced unfavorable

impressions abroad on the very persons to whom the program is directed." Progressive 39-40.

X d. The Bohlen Appointment.

In February, 1953, President Eisenhower nominated Charles E. Bohlen for the post of American Ambassador to Moscow. Bohlen had entered the foreign service under President Hoover in 1929 and had served for 24 years in the State Department. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee examined the qualifications of Bohlen and unanimously voted their approval of his high qualifications for the post.

Notwithstanding the unanimous confirmation by a Committee composed, among others, of Republican Senators Taft, Knowland, Ferguson, Hickenlooper and Wiley, McCarthy attacked Bohlen with nearly unprecedented vitriol. So venomous was the McCarthy assault on the Bohlen nomination that Senators Taft and Sparkman took the unprecedented step of reviewing Bohlen's FBI file. Senator Taft reported to the Senate on March 25, 1953, that "There was no suggestion anywhere by anyone reflecting on the loyalty of Mr. Bohlen in any way, or any association by him with Communism or support of Communism or even tolerance of Communism." Even the accolade of Mr. Taft, however, did not pacify McCarthy. His tirades, which included imputations of disloyalty to Mr. Bohlen and dishonesty to President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles, continued up to and beyond the Senate

confirmation of the Bohlen appointment by a vote of 74 to 12.

Once again, McCarthy made a valuable contribution to Communism. Ambassador Bohlen's departure was delayed for weeks by McCarthy's attacks, and the delay came at a time when ex-perth American representation at Moscow was important to the new Republican makers of foreign policy. Furthermore, it was the period immediately following Stalin's death when vital decisions affecting grave issues of peace and war were under consideration in Moscow; the United States was the only major power that did not have an ambassador in that capital.

A survey conducted by The New York Times on March 29, 1953, found America's allies inquiring whether American diplomats in the future were going to be bullied into making distorted reports to please McCarthy. America's prestige was found to be "visibly tarnished" by the character of the McCarthy assault upon an eminent American statesman. Progressive 77-78.

e. Impact on Foreign Policy.

Any primer of American foreign policy would state as a first principle that the survival of America and of the free world is dependent upon the existence of robust friendships and alliances. NATO, the ANZUS pact, the RIO declaration and latterly Secretary Dulles' emphasis on "joint action" are all symbolic of the dependence of America upon strong and self-respecting allies abroad.

And yet it is precisely in this sensitive area of foreign relations that McCarthy has created the greatest havoc and has made his greatest contribution to Soviet Russia. The impact of McCarthy's irresponsibility in the Bohlen affair has been discussed briefly above. His demoralization of the State Department and the creation of a Foreign Service "competent to serve a totalitarian government rather than the Government of the United States as we have heretofore known it," New York Times, January 16, 1954, p. 8E, col. 7, the ill-will European junket of Cohn and Schine, his attack on Clement Attlee and other leading British politicians, his excoriation of American allies for their "blood trade" with Communist China, and his private State Department which "negotiated" an "agreement" with Greek shipowners, have weakened America's capacity to fight effectively in the international arena. In all these ways, he has advanced the principal strategic objective of Soviet Russia--to loosen the bonds that hold the nations of the West together under American leadership. For example, McCarthy's attack on those allies who trade with Communist countries caused Secretary Dulles to tell his press conference of December 1, 1953, that such charges undermined "the very heart of American policy."

The European attitude towards McCarthy and the extent to which he has compromised the esteem in which the

United States is held in those countries can be indicated by a sampling of European press comment. La Croix, the French Catholic daily, stated on June 19, 1953, that "Far from being a formidable foe of Communism, McCarthy is fast becoming a precious ally of Communism." Lord Beaverbrook's conservative Daily Express said that "McCarthy is seeking to promote bitterness between Britain and America, thereby playing Malenkov's game." German newspapers have seen in McCarthy's career a reenactment of their own unhappy experience in the late 1920's and early 1930's. Literally thousands of adverse European comments on McCarthy activities have appeared and serve to demonstrate the extent to which those activities have sullied the name of the United States among its European allies. It is a strange irony that that enormous contribution to Communist objectives is a gift to the Kremlin from one who purports to be the only truly militant anti-Communist in the United States. Progressive 76-90; Record 119-24.

f. Contributions to American Communism.

McCarthy's affirmative contributions to the Communist cause are not, however, limited to the international sphere. His services to domestic Communism are not less striking.

Herbert Philbrick was an FBI counterspy within the

Communist Party for nine years and it was his testimony that was decisive in the conviction of the 11 Communist leaders. When his book, "I Led 3 Lives" was published, Philbrick conducted a press conference at which he warned against various "anti-Communist" techniques "which had played into the hands of the Communists", and he urged that the fight against Communism be left to experts. Asked specifically during the press conference about the work of Senator McCarthy and how it was regarded by the Communists, Philbrick was quoted as stating:

> "'According to the leaders of the Communist Party, McCarthy has helped them a great deal. The kind of attacks he has made do three things that the comrades like:
>
> "'1--They add greatly to the confusion, putting up a smoke screen for the party and making it more difficult than ever for people to discern just who is a Communist and who is not.
>
> "'2--They make the party appear a lot stronger than it is.
>
> "'3--They do considerable damage to some of the "stupid liberals" whom the party hates.'"

Party members "just love" the "name-calling" of McCarthy, according to Philbrick. Record 120-24; Progressive 43.

Considerations such as those confirmed by Philbrick's experience caused the Trenton <u>Evening Times</u> to editorialize on February 28, 1954:

"Some of the most devastating and persistent attacks on the Communist Party have come from individuals who were Communists back in the mid-thirties, but who have broken with the Party, like James Wechsler, editor of the New York Post. Senator McCarthy has attacked Mr. Wechsler and spread doubts of his loyalty. Isn't one of the hopes of the Communist Party the ruination of the reputations of those who are the severest critics of Communism?

"Senator McCarthy has 'held in contempt', as he phrases it, a General who refused to testify for Senator McCarthy because of orders from his superiors. This General was abused by Senator McCarthy for obeying his orders. Isn't one of the great goals of the Communist Party the undermining of the American Army?

"Senator McCarthy has spread doubts through American public life, and isn't this one of the purposes of the Communist Party?

"Senator McCarthy, for all of his charges, has yet to uncover a Communist in a high or important place. Isn't it a desire of the Communists to spread confusion without endangering the really important members of the Communist Party?

"By sidetracking the FBI and using FBI undercover agents for much of his testimony, Senator McCarthy has undermined the effectiveness of the FBI in keeping a close watch on the Communist Party. Isn't it one of the real hopes of the Communist Party to undo the former high standing and effectiveness of the FBI?

"In the face of these accomplishments, Senator McCarthy has been doing the work of the Communist Party.

"Isn't it proper now to ask: Is Senator McCarthy really a Communist?" (Enclosed with letter from Morris L. Ernst to Murrow dated March 16, 1954.)

g. McCarthy as a Witness.

Perhaps the ultimate question posed by the Trenton Evening Times is not altogether fanciful. If Joe McCarthy were called as a witness before Senator McCarthy, could not the latter make out at least a prima facie case that the former was an active participant in the Communist conspiracy? The committee chairman would need only establish the following:

(a) McCarthy all but destroyed the usefulness of RIAS at a critical period in its history;

(b) a leading military critic assures us that McCarthy "wrecked" the Fort Monmouth installation;

(c) the Voice of America and other operations of IIA have been reduced to a posture of craven timidity at the very time when their effectiveness depends upon boldness and imagination;

(d) McCarthy delayed the Bohlen appointment at a juncture when Bohlen's presence in Moscow would have been of maximum usefulness;

(e) McCarthy has done more than any single living human being, with the possible exception of Vyachslev Molotov, to weaken the fabric of American alliances;

(f) McCarthy gladly accepted Communist support in the 1946 elections and helped to accomplish the

prime objective of the Communist Party to defeat his consistently, solidly, effectively anti-Communist opponent, Senator Robert LaFollette;

(g) immediately following his election, McCarthy was quoted as saying that "Russia does not want and isn't ready to fight a war" and that "Stalin's proposal for world disarmament is a great thing and he must be given credit for being sincere about it"--statements which showed a naivete about Soviet Russia and its intentions which today he would brand as treason or worse, Progressive 65, A & M 104, 106;

(h) McCarthy employs ex-Communists on his staff, while loudly proclaiming that ex-Communists of the Wechsler stripe cannot altogether efface the stain of their youthful Communist affiliations; and

(i) McCarthy's voting record in the Senate in every way parallels the official Communist position on all foreign policy issues, A & M 376-77, letter from Sanford H. Bolz to Murrow dated March 10, 1954.

Such a record of parallelism has been more than sufficient to justify McCarthy's indictment of respected public servants in the past, and one might well inquire whether there is not some sinister and carefully hidden fact which would

explain that parallelism. Such a record, Chairman McCarthy would surely say, at very least demonstrates Joe McCarthy's "unusual affinity" for Communist causes. Consistent stupidity, as McCarthy said of George Marshall and Dean Acheson, can rarely be explained by chance, and consistent adherence over a long period of time to official Communist positions cannot, under the process of reasoning which McCarthy is urging upon the nation, be accepted as merely fortuitous.

dup
6-A-1

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

J.E.R. April 3, 1954

SEE IT NOW November 23, 1952

The first part of the program was devoted to showing the way turkey is prepared in the armed services, and reporting on the headquarters of President-elect Eisenhower at the Commodore Hotel.

The last part of the program was a film on a discussion in Harrison, New York with respect to a loyalty oath proposed to be required of all people using school buildings. The statements of the speakers presented appear well balanced in that it does not seem that an excessive amount of time was given to either side of the argument.

Comment by ERM:

"Both sides were able to present their side of the argument. But it was all quite academic. Several hours earlier, the school board had passed the resolution, and the board members had been the first to take the oath . . . The school board had the last word. They signed the oath. But as for us, the last words we remember were those of the Reverend Chator as he quoted the distinguished jurist Learned Hand." Screen shows Reverend Chator quoting Hand: "That community is already in the process of dissolution, where each man begins to eye his neighbor as a possible enemy . . ."

ERM concludes by saying he finds unusual the procedure of decision preceding debate. He says Harrison dispute presented because there is a tendency in this country to confuse dissent with desertion. He says it is important that the individual be permitted to be right and also to be wrong.

J.E.R.

MEMO FILE

MEMORANDUM TO MESSRS. SALANT and MURROW

E. C. P. April 2, 1954

One point deserves consideration in connection with the McCarthy dispute and Mr. Murrow's future replies.

On the March 12, 1954, "This is the News" program, Mr. Murrow referred to the 1935 Moscow Summer School, listing the members of the Advisory Board, and giving their connections with educational and other institutions. He then stated that the Russian authorities abruptly, and without satisfactory explanation, canceled the proposed summer school before it began and that most of the prospective members spent the summer traveling in the Soviet Union.

It is the fact that the 1934 summer session was held and that some 200 American students and teachers attended the course in Moscow. Attention has been called to this in the Hearst press, in Pegler's column and in Counterattack. The record should probably be set straight on this.

It should also be borne in mind that Institute files which I have examined show that Mr. Murrow was the IIE representative who conducted all of the early negotiations with Open Road (American Tourist Agency) and Intourist (Russian Tourist Agency) preparatory to the 1934 session. He also participated in its administration to the extent of its handling

funds and transmitting them to the Summer School representative in Moscow (Sollins).

The statements made by Mr. Murrow as to cancelation of the 1935 session are, of course, entirely accurate.

Materials for CBS Statement on ERM

1. Public service broadcasts and films made, during 1950-1954, for the following organizations or programs of action:

SHAPE (film dealing with Western Democracies' cooperative answer to threat of Communism);

Civil Defense (four official films narrated for Federal Civil Defense Administration);

Crusade for Freedom (narrated program celebrating Crusade's first anniversary);

American Red Cross (introduction to TV program launching 1953 Fund drive; spot announcements made during earlier years in support of drive);

Voice of America (participation in Commentators' Round Table on the presidential elections broadcast, Kaltenborn also on program);

CARE (participation in program announcing formation of CARE);

National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis (participation in recorded interview program with Foundation medical director);

Army and Air Force Recruitment Service (Armed Forces Day salute program featuring excerpts from "I Can Hear It Now");

Marine Corps Recruitment (spot announcements, 1950, 1951 and 1952);

Herald Tribune Fresh Air Fund (spot announcement for 1953 campaign).

2. Public appearances:

April, 1953: Chairman of dinner honoring Ordway Tead--conducted interview-discussion with four City college presidents.

Council of State Governments: December 1952, addressed Eleventh General Assembly of States, group of State section of state. Addressed Governors' conference in 1949.

Armed Forces Information School: June 1951, addressed students at Fort Slocum.

3. Organizations with which connected:

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (Trustee since 1951. Other Trustees include John W. Davis, John Foster Dulles, David Rockefeller, T. J. Watson, Dwight D. Eisenhower).

Woodrow Wilson Foundation (former director. Other directors at time included Frank Altschul, Allen Dulles, John Dickey, Cleveland Dodge, T. K. Finletter, Grayson Kirk, Herbert Lehman, Francis B. Sayre, Sumner Welles, Alger Hiss, Henry Wallace).

Committee on Present Danger (member. Organization now defunct? Others on Committee includes James B. Conant, Frank Altschul, James P. Baxter, Vanevar Bush, Charles Dodds, William J. Donovan, Robert P. Patterson, and a large number of others).

Anti-Communist Record: January 5, 1954 SIN program on Communist China (dramatization of "Human Wreckage" seeping out of Red China into the free port of Hong Kong to escape Chinese Communism).

1952 series of programs for Committee on Present Danger (series of appearances on interview programs), in support of building strength of Western European alliance as a defense against the Soviet menace, including appearances by Conant, Bush and others.

March 2, 1954 news broadcast (comments re Caracas conference stressing problem to united Western Hemisphere front against Communist infiltration created by Latin-American attitude toward U.S. intervention in internal affairs; statement that danger of Communism in Latin-America doesn't look dangerous. "Latin America is a natural breeding ground for social and political extremism. . . . a happy hunting ground for Soviet intrigue." Solidarity against Communism can be built up by our greater concern for Latin-America's economic and social problems. Horace: "'Your own property is at stake when your neighbor's house is on fire.'"

1945 London broadcasts (strong anti-Communist treatment of Polish and Austrian problems during closing days of war in Europe; specific treatment of incident involving arrest of 16 Polish leaders; Warsaw uprising).

4. Awards received:

George Foster Peabody Awards for reporting of news in 1943, 1949, 1951 and 1952.

George Polk Memorial Awards in 1952 and 1953 (for SIN; for 1953 Christmas telecast from Korea).

Overseas Press Club Awards in 1940 (foreign radio news reporting); 1948 (best interpretation of foreign affairs); 1950 (best radio and TV interpretation of foreign news); 1951 (best radio interpretation of foreign news); 1953 (best television interpretation of foreign affairs); and 1954 (best consistent television presentation of foreign affairs).

National Headliners Club Award in 1938 (Vienna Broadcasts during Hitler putsch); 1944 (report on flying mission to Berlin); 1948 (best foreign on-the-spot radio reporting for coverage of Princess Elizabeth wedding).

Billboard's Radio Editors Poll for 1944 (one of two most outstanding broadcasts of 1943).

Elected President of Association of American Correspondents in London, 1945.

Cited by Writers' War Board in 1945 ("Consistently expresses the Democratic philosophy in cogent, forceful terms . . . fosters international understanding.").

Motion Picture Daily's radio poll "First" in 1947 (best news commentator and analyst; best news job by radio).

DuPont Award for 1948 ("Distinguished and meritorious . . . public service through the medium of radio").

Alfred I. du Pont Foundation Award in 1952 ("Outstanding and meritorious service to the American People").

Award from One World Committee for 1950 ("In recognition of the outstanding quality and impartiality of his work as a radio commentator").

Institute for Education by Radio, Ohio State University Award for 1950.

Sylvania Television Award in 1952 (for SIN); 1953 (PTP).

American Cancer Society Citation for 1952 (April 27 SIN telecast).

Variety Showmanagement Award in 1952 (for SIN); 1953 (PTP).

Lord & Taylor Award in 1953 ("Intellectual adventurer" who, in SIN series, "translated journalism into a visual medium").

National Award of the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission in 1954 ("Outstanding and enduring contributions

for the promotion of human dignity, security and freedom").

Russwurm Award in 1954 ("Outstanding achievement in making possible a richer conception of Democratic principles and in tribute for upholding those highest traditions considered as the ideals of the American way of life").

1953 Emmy Award (Academy of Television Arts and Sciences).

Look 1953 TV Award (for SIN).

Amusement Division of Federation of Jewish Philanthropies Special Award for splendid achievement in radio and TV during 1953.

5. Honorary degrees, etc.:

LL.D.: Washington State College, University of North Carolina, Muhlenberg College.

Dr. of Humanities: Rollins College.

Dr. of Journalism: Temple University.

To receive Dr. of Humane Letters of Hamilton College in 1954.

Appointed Honorary Officer of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire by King George VI in 1947.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. PERKINS

March 31, 1954

1. I have the Lattimore and Laski books on my desk at the office and will summarize their relevant points Saturday. In brief, the Laski book could be quoted easily, but Ed has the good answer that the dedication to him in no way makes him an endorser. Joe will be near the barrel bottom, and vulnerable, if he uses it. The Lattimore book contains only the reference to Ed mentioned in Counterattack. Any vulnerability re Lattimore would be in Ed's scripts.

2. Attached is a folder of Ed's scripts mentioned in last week's Counterattack. All are innocuous. They consist of Radulovich, Harry Dexter White, and three re Churchill and the Big Four Conference (the 5/12/53 script at page 2 includes a quote from Ted Kaghan re McCarthy; and the 5/13 script a quote from E. B. White). Also in the same folder is the script of the 1/4/53 year-end roundup, which is good.

3. Dr. Shotwell--OX 7-3131; home, 257 West 86th Street, EN 2-0858.

4. Also enclosed is a miscellaneous file re E.M. You have most of this already; but see John Pickering's

summary of his talk with Van Arkel (two copies; ARC also has a copy, as do I).

Salant

5. Does Salant or E.M. wish to (or have they tried to) get from CBS man Schoenbrunn in Paris his dope on Schine and Cohn in Europe? Hensel says Schoenbrunn is a good source.

6. If we don't have it, spend $1 for "The McCarthy Record"--Anglobooks, 475 Fifth Avenue. Also, Cosmopolitan Magazine, May, 1952--long article for (and probably by) Joe McCarthy.

Review

7. I have detailed notes on Chester Williams' story of early days of NSFA, 1928-29-30, when Ed was President and Williams Executive Secretary. Williams has located the NSFA files and is summarizing them in the memo you will have Friday. NSFA was the conservative organization in the youth field. The splinter groups which broke off inclined to go left. Williams believes J. B. Matthews did a study of NSFA circa '37 or '38 for the Dies Committee. Maybe Wilbur or J. Pickering could locate this.

?

B. R. Shute

P. S. You can reach me in Pittsburgh, and I will be in the office Saturday a.m.

B.R.S.

Draft--3/31/54

Memo

Statement Re National Student Federation of America

Neither Edward R. Murrow nor the National Student Federation of America, of which Mr. Murrow was President in 1930, has, or has ever had, any connection with the National Student Union. The National Student Federation was organized as a Federation of student government bodies in 1925. It was, under its charter and in the conduct of its affairs, non-sectarian and nonpolitical.

The Federation continued in existence, holding annual conventions for the exchange of student thought, until 1942, and during this period encouraged various student activities, including the exchange of debating teams with foreign countries and the organization of student European tours. In November 1930 (when Mr. Murrow was President of the NSFA) President Herbert Hoover said of these activities:

> "Wisely directed efforts looking toward greater enlightenment upon international problems and a more intelligent sympathy between nations deserve commendation and support. The work of the National Student Federation in this field is most promising and encouraging."

During the war years, the Federation was unable to carry on its program. The 1942 convention was cancelled and the Federation thereafter went out of existence.

Several other student organizations came into existence after 1930, some of them as a result of secession

of radical elements from the NSFA. One of these was the American Student Union. Any attempt to confuse the National Student Federation with the American Student Union is wholly without basis in fact.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

CBS--Matter of M

Richard Sloane March 30, 1954

Second List of Names Given to
Me by ECP This Evening

Alexander Kendrick appears in committee document dc at page 125 where he is identified as Rev. A. G. Kendrick, of Denver, Colorado, in a list of sponsors of the Stockholm appeal taken from the folder entitled "Prominent Americans Call For Outlawing Atomic Warfare." Rev. A. G. Kendrick of Denver, Colorado, appears again at page 139 where is is identified as one of "166 more notables to sponsor a peace group listed in Daily Worker, March 15, 1951, at pages five and eight.

Sid Katz appears in committee document dc at page 156 as chapter executive board member, local 111, UPW-CIO, among signers of an advertisement in New York Times, April 13, 1949, at page 36 captioned "Labor Wants Peace Talks Not A Pact For War--A Statement On The North Atlantic Pact".

> "The United States Senate which recently filibustered the civil rights bills to death, has been called upon to push through the North Atlantic Pact at top legislative speed.
>
> ". . .

"Sid Katz . . ."

Committee document a at page 10361 to 10362 not available to me tonight.

Irvin Gitlin appears in Committee document ca at page 2075 not available to me tonight.

William L. Shirer appears in committee document s at page 113, not available to me tonight.

Hans V. Kaltenborn appears in committee document a at page 563 where the committee reports, "In 1938 the League of American Writer promoted jointly with the Communist American Student Union and the Communist Friends of the American Lincoln Brigade a story contest. They offered $1,000 in prizes for the best manuscripts written on revoluntionary subjects. The judges for the contest were Elliot Paull, Donald Ogden Stewart, Jean Starr Untermeyer, H. V. Kaltenborn . . . "

Committee document II at page 1020 contains the text of a letter from Dr. K. O. Bertling who was the director of the Amerika-Institut in Berlin. The second paragraph of that letter reads, "I also want to mention to you Mr. Hans V.

KALTENBORN, 9 Garden Place, Brooklyn, whom you can also reach by telephone. K. is a descendant of former war minister von Kaltenborn-Stacau, and studied at Harvard University where he was my predecessor as president of the Harvard German Society. His name is on everybody's lips because he probably has the greatest influence as radio reporter on European politics. Unfortunately though, for several years he is not feeling very kindly toward Germany, and I therefore urge that you first of all discuss the matter with Mr. Dennis, when and how it would be possible to crank up Kaltenborn's engine for your purposes. In any event it is to be assumed that Mr. Kaltenborn should be receptive for informations which he could get through you.: This letter was dated November, 1938. At this point, the Committee stated; "The record shows the fact that Mr. Kaltenborn would have been a poor contact for Zapp in view of the fact that Nazi Germany deemed it advisable to ask Mr. Kaltenborn to leave Nazi Germany because of his anti-Nazi utterances."

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

J. E. R. March 29, 1954

The following SEE IT NOW programs have been read and not abstracted since it was felt that they were not of substantial importance for our purposes:

Date	Subject
December 15, 1954	Interviews of Syngman Rhee, General Naguib and General James Doolittle.
December 22, 1953	Report on Israel.
December 29, 1953	Report from Korea on Christmas Eve.
January 12, 1954	Report on the Bricker Amendment: Debate between Senators Bricker and Kefauver.
January 19, 1954	Briefing by General Alfred M. Gruenther--report on Los Angeles City Council hearing on proposed compulsory rabies innoculation: report on old fire engine lost from Alexandria, Va. during Civil War.
January 26, 1954	Excerpts from speech by Herbert Hoover--report on coffee prices--report on National Convention of Vigilant Women for the Bricker Amendment: statements by Senator Bricker, Frank Holman and John W. Davis.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

J. E. R. March 29, 1954

SEE IT NOW February 2, 1954: Norwalk V. F. W.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Good evening. Tonight's report is not unrelated to freedom from fear and freedom from want. The first comes from Norwalk, Connecticut where the local Post of the Veterans of Foreign Wars set up a Committee to report on their fellow citizens who might be suspected of Communist activities or Communist leanings, these names to be reported to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. This created a very considerable controversy, and on Thursday of last week, the local Post held a meeting from which photographers and reporters were excluded, but at the end of that meeting, the Chairman -- the Commander of the Post, Albert A. Beres, told us what happened.

BERES:

. . . this is the statement expressed by the members of this Post. . . . "Every loyal citizen can help fight the Communists. Every suspicious act should be reported to the nearest FBI office in full detail. Then let the FBI complete the investigation." . . . We now have a list of people. The statement that's going to be made here is the same statement that is going to be put out . . . Right now this is the statement that's going to be published and their answers. Other than that we will not give now.

Q. Do you now have a list of people?

BERES:

This is the statement published tonight.

MURROW:

Commander Beres just spoke of the Americanism program of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. The National Chairman of this program is Chief Justice Charles Daugherty of the Criminal Courts, Cook County, Illinois. We asked Judge Daugherty what he thought of the Norwalk action.

CHIEF JUSTICE CHARLES S. DAUGHERTY:

. . . my comrades at Norwalk have temporarily forgotten that the responsibility for ferreting out Communists in the United States is the responsibility of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. . . . if all of the Posts throughout America began operating in this same style, we would be building up in America a police state . . .

WERSHBA:

. . . how would you define - un-Americanism?

DAUGHERTY:

Well, un-Americanism is everything that Americanism isn't. . . .

MURROW:

Our camera has noted a degree of disagreement inside the Veterans of Foreign Wars . . .

[The rest of the program was devoted to a report of the economic situation in Lawrence, Mass., where one of American Woolen's principal mills, proposed to be sold, is located]

MURROW [Closing]:

The stockholders' meeting was adjourned due to a restraining order issued by the Massachusetts Court. Since that time two offers have been made to buy the assets of the company. We hold no views as to the wisdom of management, stockholders, or employees. We are concerned only to show that there are people behind the economic and financial news. The report from Lawrence had something to do with freedom from want. The one from Norwalk -- freedom from fear. We are a restless, impatient, traveling people accustomed to move. Our factories and our industries move. So do our people, but there are or have been certain bench marks -- beacons -- basic principles that have served us well. A factory may close because of obsolescence . . . because of the high cost of power -- the high cost of labor . . . or just because of the demise of the blue serge suit, but the closed mind has rather far more reaching consequences. It is something that only the individual can do, and it is something that Judge Daugherty of Chicago was talking about in his remarks.

Good night and good luck.

* * *

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

J. E. R. March 29, 1954

SEE IT NOW December 8, 1953: Report on the United States by a former Labor Member of the British Parliament

MURROW:

This afternoon, before the United Nations, President Eisenhower suggested the creation of a new international stockpile of atomic energy. . . . We will hear some of the President's concluding remarks in a few moments.

Last summer, England saw a television report on India done by a young British journalist named Aidan Crawley, former R.A.F. pilot. He is also a former Labor Member of Parliament, and we suggested to Mr. Crawley that he might come to this country and take a camera with him and wander about and make a report as to how America looks to one Englishman.

AIDAN CRAWLEY:

This is . . . Indian Head, Maryland . . . John Smallwood is a tobacco tenant farmer.

[Discussion of Smallwood's economic life ensued]

CRAWLEY and SMALLWOOD:

Q. Have you taken an interest in this controversy between Truman and Brownell?

A. Well, Mr. Truman was a very good man. And this may be a good man. I don't know the man. But we haven't had yet but one good man in that White House to do us a job, and that was President Roosevelt.

CRAWLEY:

We thought he was a great man in England too.

SMALLWOOD:

Did you? Yes sir. He brought this country -- this country was down to starvation when that man went in there, and our people were starving.

Q. And you think he did a great job?

A. He did a good job. . . .

CRAWLEY:

Not everyone I met agreed with John Smallwood. In Washington, Mr. Hamilton Fish, former Congressman, had just formed a new political group.

Q. Colonel Fish, can you tell me what this new action group you formed is going to try to do?

A. Well, the group met in New York last week and they proposed to form a nation-wide organization to stop or curb this rampant internationalism or what we call "giveaway" internationalism, and promote Americanism in its place.

Q. Leaving aside the foreign aspect of your group, what are they going to do internally?

A. Well, they are going to organize in all the States of the Union . . .

Q. Have you drawn a lot of money?

A. Yes. ~~xxx~~ It will be backed by a great deal of wealth and that will be the least of my difficulties. I think it will sweep the country.

Q. What do you mean by Americanism?

A. I -- well, I mean by putting the interest of America first . . .

CRAWLEY:

At Mt. Summit, Indiana, I spent several nights with Mr. Pomeroy Sinnock, a former Naval officer who is now drilling for oil.

SINNOCK:

. . . We think that you should not trade with Russia.

CRAWLEY:

Well, of course, we have got to trade to live. Obviously, if we could trade more with you, which we can't because of your tariffs, we would trade less with countries like Russia. . . . as long as you are not at war with a country, it is right to trade with it.

SINNOCK:

Yes, that would probably be true but you have to make up your minds whether you are or are not at war with Russia. . . . we have heard that Churchill proposes to visit the Kremlin . . . that may be like Chamberlain's zero-hour visit to Hitler.

CRAWLEY:

That's quite startling to an Englishman. I don't think any of us have ever dreamed of Churchill as an appeaser.

SINNOCK:

Yes, but we feel perhaps that anything that might take place . . . has very little chance for fruition in favor of the West.

CRAWLEY:

Later, Mr. David Tallman, a Presbyterian minister, came in, and in another part of the room continued the discussion he had been having with Mr. Sinnock.

CRAWLEY:

I have heard a great deal about the function of the Protestant Church in relation to communism.

SINNOCK:

. . . the Church does not take an affirmative enough stand to point out the things that are bad with communism, but more often, will point out the things that are bad with their own country.

TALLMAN:

No one can do much about the sins or the failings of someone else until they take care of themselves . . .

SINNOCK:

. . . if you point out everything that's wrong with the United States . . . how can we sell the things that we believe to be true . . . We have got to be affirmative in our approach.

TALLMAN:

No one has said it's no good. . . .

SINNOCK:

You point out that it's wrong.

TALLMAN:

We don't point out that they are wrong. We point out that we are wrong, and any time that any culture . . . fails to recognize it's own sins . . . it's in a pretty sad state.

TALLMAN:

And because we slipped at that point, we lay outselves wide open . . . for instance, our treatment of the negro . . .

[Crawley then interviewed Robert Hall who had just been laid off at the Chrysler Works and who lived in an unimproved house costing $800, in three rooms, with four other people]

[He then interviewed a Mr. Porfido, a private detective, who works on the waterfront, in relation to a waterfront strike.]

MURROW:

That was an expert on the New York waterfront briefing Aidan Crawley.

* * *

MURROW:

This report on America as seen through the eyes of an Englishman,

continues. Reporter Aidan Crawley and Marty Barnett, Cameraman, kept encountering this argument about McCarthyism wherever they went - all over the country.

[Interview of Mr. Robert Morris, Chief Counsel of the Jenner Committee]

CRAWLEY:

Mr. Morris, I think the other day you issued an invitation to members of the public to give information, either to the Committee or the F.B.I., in private, about Communism. . . . a general invitation to become informers . . . it was just those methods that the Nazis and the Russians themselves have used. . . .

MORRIS:

. . . the term "informer" is an unfortunate choice of words. . . . evidence . . . that would indicate that a certain person is a member of the Communist Party [would be given] under oath. . . .

CRAWLEY:

But it's not yet illegal in this country to be a Communist, is it?

MORRIS:

No, but I think the records will show . . . it is at least one step in a series . . . which . . . would result in your conviction for a crime. . . .

CRAWLEY:

That same day, I asked Mr. John Stuart, a financial consultant and enthusiastic Republican, if he was pleased with the present administration.

STUART:

Mr. Crawley, on the whole, I am not. . . . not giving us the positive leadership . . . trying to do things in the nicely-nicely manner.

CRAWLEY:

You agree then with the criticism that Senator McCarthy made the other day - criticisms of the administration?

STUART:

Frankly, I do. I am a very strong supporter of Senator McCarthy. I may be very unpopular for that reason but I still think that he is a fine American, and what he is attempting to do is, on the whole, excellent.

CRAWLEY:

However, not all Republicans see eye to eye. I asked Senator Duff . . . whether he shared Senator McCarthy's view . . .

DUFF:

No. . . .

CRAWLEY:

From outside, one would judge that of all the free countries, this one's least likely to be captured by communists from within.

DUFF:

[paraphrased] In case of difficulty with Russia the people will take care of the communists.

CRAWLEY:

Have you any doubts or anxieties about the methods that are being used to route out communists here?

DUFF:

[paraphrased] I think the American people want all communists removed from important public offices, but do not generally want inquisitorial methods.

CRAWLEY:

Do you feel that some of the Congressional inquires border on inquisitorial methods?

DUFF:

. . . they give the appearance of it . . .

CRAWLEY:

The problem of communism goes deeper than politics. . . . Professor Robert MacIver is directing the American Academic Freedom Project at Columbia University.

CRAWLEY:

[paraphrased] Professor MacIver, do you support the view that universities should not employ communists?

MACIVER:

. . . no college or university would appoint a man knowing he is actually a member of the Communist Party.

CRAWLEY:

That would be true at Columbia too. Wouldn't it?

MACIVER:

Oh, yes.

CRAWLEY:

[paraphrased] Should communism be closed to university discussion?

MACIVER:

. . . that would be a great mistake . . .

CRAWLEY:

What do you think the best way of dealing with communist ideas is?

MACIVER:

. . . free and full discussion . . .

MACIVER:

. . . when these [emotional] waves come, there are people who do their utmost to exaggerate the danger.

CRAWLEY:

My last stop in the States was on a troop transport . . . it seems to me that you still fight your battles with all the passion of pioneers. Today, it's communism that's the enemy and you hate it fiercely and perhaps a bit indiscriminately, but as an Englishman, I know that it's good that you are fighting it so strongly. . . . And if in defending the things you believe in so passionately, you occasionally do things which to some Americans and to some others seem a bit un-American, well I reckon you can look after them yourselves.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER:

[over loud speaker system of troop ship]

. . . the United States pledges . . . to help solve the fearful atomic dilemma . . .

MURROW:

In spite of new and fearsome weapons, it is still necessary for the youth of the country to honor our word. We have given you a glimpse through Aidan Crawley, a visiting British journalist.

Good night and good luck.

* * *

Memos

CBS RADIO

Office Communication

to: Mr. Brauner

March 29, 1954

from: Mr. Dunne

The following decisions under Section 315 of the Communications Act of 1934 bear on our conversations of the past few days:

1. Progressive Party (acceptance speeches by candidates) — 7 R. R. 1300 ✓

2. Oleta O'Connor Yates (no censorship; communist propaganda) — 7 R. R. 2088 ✓

3. Port Huron Broadcasting Co. (dissent discusses how subversive could make use of majority holding) — 4 R. R. 1 - particularly p. 16 ✓

See

Socialist Labor Party (not legally qualified candidate in Ohio) — 7 R. R. 766 ✓

Socialist Labor Party (no censorship) — 7 R. R. 1132 ✓

William R. Schneider (legally qualified candidate) — 7 R. R. 1189 ✓

Clinton D. McKennon (legally qualified candidate and use of facilities) — 7 R. R. 1130 ✓

RN

Accept Regret
Plz. handle
Background?
FYI File
Note & Return
Phone JFB
Reply direct
Return to sender
Status?
Suggest reply
To discuss
Comment or recommendation
Copy to JFB
URGENT

JULIUS F. BRAUNER

MAR 29 1954

A.M. 7 8 9 10 11 12 1 2 3 4 5 6 P.M.

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

J. E. R. March 27, 1954

SEE IT NOW December 1, 1953: Proposed Wire Tapping Bill

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Good evening. At the end of his testimony in the Harry Dexter White case, Attorney General Brownell recommended legislation that would permit the introduction into Federal Courts of evidence secured by wire tapping. This is an argument that has been going on for a long time, and so tonight, we present an informed argument on this controversial subject. It is on film. On monitor number one, Congressman Charles Halleck of Indiana, Republican and Majority leader of the House. Mr. Halleck is speaking to us from his office in Washington. Good evening, Mr. Halleck.

HALLECK:

Good evening, Mr. Murrow.

MURROW:

On monitor number two, from his office at 30 Rockefeller Plaza in New York, James Lawrence Fly, prominent attorney, and former Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission. Good evening, Mr. Fly.

FLY:

Good evening, Ed.

MURROW:

Congressman Halleck, will you begin by telling us why you favor wire-tapping legislation.

HALLECK:

. . . we have had real threats to the security and threats to the country . . . I think the Harry Dexter White case is another evidence of a very definite fact that it is not red herring to be dragged across the trail. It is a real threat that can't be laughed off.

FLY:

Well Ed, I think Mr. Halleck and I are in complete agreement in wholeheartedly opposing communism and all totalitarian systems at home and abroad. I certainly think we ought to oppose any totalitarian methods at home. Wire tapping is a familiar part of the Soviet technique. . . . I don't wonder that Justice Holmes called this "dirty business."

HALLECK:

. . . Justice Sutherland had something different to say about it, Mr. Fly. People of this country will recall the Judith Coplon case. She was definitely proved to have been delivering vital secrets to a Russian agent, who since left the country. . . .

FLY:

. . . I would like to comment on the Coplon case. . . . we all agree that Judith Coplon should have been punished . . . the question Mr. Halleck poses is the familiar one. . . . should not the Government be permitted to tap the wire of a known spy? Well, you might ask, can I catch a bird if I can put salt on his tail? Now, in actual practice, the thing doesn't work that way.

HALLECK:

Well now, let [interrupted]

FLY:

Now, wait a minute. When . . . you tap a whole raft of wires, you may tap the wires of a thousand innocent people in the hope that you will turn up with one Judith Coplon.. . . its contrary to the whole American system of justice . . .

HALLECK:

Mr. Fly, you don't know what we are talking about apparently. Mr. Murrow, I don't know about how this time is divided up. I don't want to monopolize all of it and I don't want Mr. Fly to monopolize all of it. Now, he talked about the constitutional prohibition in the Fourth Amendment against unreasonable search and seizure. The Supreme Court of the United States held a long time ago that wire tapping does not violate that prohibition of

the Fourth Amendment. The whole problem arises out of . . . language in the Communications Act . . . construed as preventing the use in Federal Courts of evidence to obtain wire tapping. Now, no one wants to engage in indiscriminate wire tapping. The prohibition law was intended to prevent that. But now when we point out what was proposed by the Attorney General it becomes apparent that Mr. Fly was building up a strawman. As a matter of fact. As a matter of fact, we are spending billions of dollars trying to restrain communism and to fight communism and to be prepared to fight communism.

FLY:

No one is in favor of communism here, Mr. Halleck . . . but no one. I don't see why you bring that into this discussion. . . . In the name of security, the Police State justifies its arbitrary decisions. Now, when you say the F.B.I. is going to tap, isn't it a fact that the Military and Intelligence Services will originate tapping -- walking through the . . . (Interrupted).

HALLECK:

No - not under the provision of the Bill which I have before me.

FLY:

Mr. Halleck, I thought you said that there would have to be a showing upon sworn testimony . . . you have . . . here a rubber stamp by the Prosecuting Attorney himself. . . . Who is going to stop the Attorney General from tapping all that he pleases. . . . He is going to tap the wires of innocent people . . . you are going to let him run wild without any Court supervision . . . In the past, the F.B.I. has refused to tell the public what it has been doing, and whether . . . (Interrupted).

HALLECK:

Well, Mr. Fly, let me interrupt right at that point . . .

FLY:

. . . it was used. Now time and again, they have violated the existing law and yet we are going to turn this very vital measure right back to that same agency and leave them unsupervised.

HALLECK:

You may want to question the F.B.I. but you and I know, Mr. Fly, that the F.B.I. refuses to disclose the things it has learned. You can't point to one single instance when the F.B.I. by disclosure has ever done anything like what you are talking about. In other words, the whole. . . (Interrupted).

FLY:

I can point to specific places where they violated the law. I tell you Mr. Halleck, let me tell you . . . (Interrupted).

HALLECK:

Well, it is no violation of the law to wire tap to begin with.

FLY:

[paraphrased] The F.B.I. has a written form for the destruction of government documents -- the form to be destroyed when the purpose is accomplished.

HALLECK:

Well, of course, if you had the degree of confidence in the F.B.I. and I think the people generally have in the Attorney General, or should have in the Attorney General, why the things you are talking about couldn't possibly come to pass. Once in a while, maybe they may tap the wire of someone who is innocent, but if there is no disclosure of it, except in a criminal proceeding, why certainly the innocent person won't be harmed in any degree.

FLY:

What can a free nation pay for the possibility of catching one spy?

MURROW:

That argument went on for almost an hour. We tried to bring you the essence of it tonight.

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The rest of the program was a documentary on the production of aluminum.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

J. E. R. March 27, 1954

SEE IT NOW November 17, 1953: The Harry Dexter White Case

Unless otherwise indicated the following statements are verbatim quotes of the indicated persons.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Good evening. For some days now Mr. Harry S. Truman and Mr. Herbert Brownell have been arguing amongst themselves about the case of the late Harry Dexter White. We bring you a small excerpt from that session. Mr. Truman's portion was reported as he broadcast from Kansas City last night, and Mr. Brownell as he testified in Washington.

HARRY S. TRUMAN:

Herbert Brownell, Jr. the Attorney General of the United States, the highest legal office in our government, has degraded the highest function of government, the administration of justice into cheap political trickery. He has made the Justice Department headquarters for political skullduggery. The Attorney General of the United States has not only degraded his office, he has deceived his Chief as to what he proposed to do, and in saying Harry Dexter White was known to be a Communist spy by the very people who appointed him he lied to the American people.

HERBERT BROWNELL, JR.:

The matter that should be determined by Mr. Truman and his associates was whether Harry Dexter White should be advanced to a post of high honor, great trust and responsibility and of vital importance to the security of our country.

HARRY S. TRUMAN:

[paraphrase] I first learned of the accusations of White early in February, 1946, from an F.B.I. report delivered to me by General Vaughan and brought to my attention by Secretary of

State Byrnes. This report showed that serious accusations had been made against White but pointed out that it would be practically impossible to prove these charges with the evidence then at hand.

HERBERT BROWNELL, JR.:

[paraphrase] If there was solid evidence at the time certainly no one would contend that White should have continued in government service simply because a criminal conviction could not be obtained.

HARRY S. TRUMAN:

[paraphrase] The final responsibility for this decision, of course, was mine. The reason was that other persons were potentially involved and any unusual action with respect to Mr. White's appointment might have alerted these persons, thus endangering the success of the investigation.

HERBERT BROWNELL, JR.:

I will now read a letter from J. Edgar Hoover to General Vaughan dated a month before that, November 8, 1945. The Bureau's information at this time indicates that the following persons were participants in this operation or were utilized by principals in this ring for the purpose of obtaining data in which the Soviet is interested: Dr. Gregory Silvermaster, a long time employee of the Department of Agriculture; Harry Dexter White, Assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury.

HARRY S. TRUMAN:

I want the American people to understand that the course we took protected the public interest and security and at the same time permitted the intensive F.B.I. investigation then in progress to go forward. No other course could have been -- could have served both these purposes.

HERBERT BROWNELL, JR.:

[restatement of fact of delivery of report to HST] President Truman, on January 23, 1946, then publicly announced his nomination of Harry Dexter White for appointment to the International Monetary Fund. I just don't understand this. It still seems completely incredible to me.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Today, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover testified that he told Attorney General Tom Clark that White was unfit to serve his country. Hoover also said that the F.B.I. had never suggested that a man should be changed from one job to another in order to check upon him. It seems to us that some of us may perhaps be in danger of becoming so much concerned with the internal dangers of communism and also with the prospect of bombardment from the air with atomic weapons, we have forgotten the real and continuing threat from another source, mainly submarines. Hitler started the late war with submarines - the Russians now have 350. If we lose control of the Atlantic, our Allies will be overrun and our bases abroad will wither away, and we might as [sic] well lose the war. We are going to conduct a small examination of this problem of submarines and its dangers after this word from Alcoa.

The remainder of the program was devoted to a description of the operations of a group of Navy ships in locating and combatting a submarine simulating an attack on the United States East Coast.

* * *

EDWARD R. MURROW:

. . . back on the Carrier, we asked the Commodore the big question.

Q. In case of war with the Soviet Union how do you think we would do against their submarines?

COMMODORE FITZHUGH LEE:

A. Frankly, Mr. Murrow, I don't know, but we would do our best and I hope that our best would be good enough. I think it would be, but we have to remember that America's control of the sea is one of the most interesting facets of her security. . . .

EDWARD R. MURROW:

We have taken you out to the Atlantic and the gruesome defense going on against the potential thrust of the enemies' submarines.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

J.E.R. March 27, 1954

SEE IT NOW January 5, 1954: Communist China

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Good evening. For two years we have been trying to get cameras and reporters into the Soviet Union and into Red China. We are still trying. But the other day we sent a crew from Tokyo down to Hong Kong. That's as near as you can get to Red China, and there they found a Chinese lawyer, a man who is retained by the Chinese Communist Government, and a man who has some skill in presenting the Chinese Communist line. We thought it might be interesting to present these points of view if we could find a young American who spent a lot of time in Asia, who knew our policy and who himself dealt at first hand with Chinese Communists. We found such a man, a young Naval Lieutenant here in New York. We will let these two men introduce themselves.

PERCY CHEN:

My name is Percy Chen and I am the eldest son of the late Dr. Eugene Chen who was several times the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the government of the Republic of China. I am a barrister-at-law and was called to the Bar 31 years ago in England. I returned to China in 1926 after completing my studies and I associated myself with the Chinese Revolution from that time.

HORACE UNDERWOOD:

My name is Horace Underwood. I am the son and grandson of Presbyterian Missionaries to Korea. I received my education in the United States, returned to the Far East. I was interned by the Japanese in 1941, and upon repatriation joined the U.S. Navy spending my time in the Pacific Theatre. After World War II, I returned to the Far East and was in Korea when the North Koreans invaded in June 1950. I came back on active duty with the U.S. Navy and was assigned on various duties, including the Inchon landings. In July of 1950, I was assigned as Senior Interpreter to the Korean Armistice negotiations in Panmunjom and spent two years talking to the Communists across that conference table.

CHEN:

The situation in the world, in the Far East, and in the relations between nations, has reached a turning point. . . . these nations can co-exist together and live in peace.

UNDERWOOD:

[paraphrased] Nations with different economic systems can co-exist. But this is not a question of economic systems, it is a question of national morality. If your new Wonderland is so beautiful why do you bar journalists, diplomats, missionaries and businessmen?

CHEN:

We have a reputation for being a very pacific and peaceful people. . . .

UNDERWOOD:

[paraphrased] Our prisoners in Korea were cruelly treated by the Chinese Communists, such treatment including brain washing. We were shocked to find out what the Chinese regime had done.

CHEN:
[paraphrased]
The United States press is picturing the Chinese people in a guise not in accordance with the truth. Situation can be remedied by peace and entry of China into United Nations.

UNDERWOOD:

[paraphrased] Chinese can't "shoot" her way into the United Nations. China does not subscribe to the principles of the United Nations. It delayed the Korean negotiations for trivial causes.

CHEN:

[paraphrased] Certain countries have attempted to destroy China's industry; on the other hand, the Soviet Union has long cooperated with China. Is it not natural that we should have a very friendly feeling towards them?

UNDERWOOD:

[paraphrased] The only friendship the Soviet Union has shown

to their satellites is to swallow up those countries whole, so that they have nothing left to themselves. You brag about what your new China has done for the people, but lets take a look at Hong Kong and at the thousands of refugees who have fled your regime.

CHEN:

[paraphrased] The refugee question is associated with the transient population that comes to Hong Kong from time to time. In addition, the floating population that comes to Hong Kong in order to see what is going on, and then after having spent their money, or having lost their employment, then returns to China.

UNDERWOOD:

It is easy to see from the population figures of Hong Kong that the refugee problem is much more serious than you say. . . . In Korea alone we have had over five million refugees from Communist North Korea in the years since 1945, and they are hardly the type of people who come to spend their money and then return to North Korea.

MURROW:

In just a moment we shall be taking you to Hong Kong for a visual examination of some of the things these two men have been discussing. Lieutenant Underwood did not tell you that his mother, a missionary, was murdered by Communists in North Korea in 1949.

* * *

MURROW:

[describes Hong Kong]

ED SCOTT (Assistant):

Ed, this is Lo Wu, New Territories, Hong Kong. Its the border between Hong Kong and Red China. Hundreds of people cross this borderline each day. Many never returned to Red China.

MURROW:

Side by side with only the border in between, the flags of two great powers fly.

INSPECTOR ROSE:

I am Inspector Rose of the Hong Kong Police. . . . The broadcast you can hear in the background is the Communist propaganda broadcast. It takes place daily on the arrival of the trains from Kowloon.

SCOTT:

There is a train from Canton or Shanghai every day and a priest who meets every train.

FATHER POLETTI:

I am Father Poletti. I belong to the Foreign Mission on Milan, in Italy. It is almost three years that I am coming here every day to meet all the missionaries, either Catholic or Protestant, who they are coming, but a great part of them are expelled by the Communists from China. . . .

MURROW:

Father Poletti meets missionary number three thousand, two hundred and one -- a Bishop.

* * *

SCOTT: Why did -- how did you get out of China?

BISHOP: They kicked me out and just because I didn't permit -- how to say in English?

FATHER POLETTI: You didn't agree.

BISHOP: I didn't agree.

* * *

GLADYS CHANG [Interpreting]:

His name is Wong Kioei Chin and he is from the area of Canton. He is a very wealthy landowner and the Communists wanted to force him out. The Communists bound his arms behind his back and beat him with a bamboo stick, and one evening he just took a chance and escaped to Hong Kong.

MURROW:

[interpreting statement of old woman] I have lived all my life in Canton. . . . Still, I go to Hong Kong and I shall never go back.

FATHER SIGFRIED SCHNEIDER:

I am just one of the many missionaries who have come out of Communist China . . . my hometown is in Louisville, Kentucky. . . . The Communist authorities began to find trouble with us and to make a case against us. In our orphanage, they began to make investigations and they dug up the cemetery and filled a number of coffins with bones. In the end of May, on the 25th, they arrested the Bishop and me. After a public trial in a theatre in which many people were present, we were accused of causing the death of many children, and I was sentenced to five years in jail, and the Bishop to three. . . .

MURROW:

[translating statement of Daniel Wong]: One day when I said I did not like Mao Tse Tung and the Communists, my youngest son scolded me and said, "Father, you can't talk that way about our leader. I will call the police. I will kill you." Then I knew I had to get them out of China.

MURROW:

This train from Lo Wu is the chief escape route out of Red China. . . . But its a way out.

MURROW:

James Mitchner has called Hong Kong "the jewel of Asia - one of the loveliest cities on earth." Right now it is probably the most crowded city on earth. . . . If you probe behind the front, there is the new city - the city of more than one and a half million refugees. Every accessible hillside is honeycombed with tiny huts tumbled together like so much non-descript debris. Match box shacks, where rain drains under the boards and is then hoarded for drinking purposes.

MURROW:

Nothing grows on Hong Kong except refugees . . . This camp is jammed with some of the two million escapees who came through

the gate of LoWu . . . These are the "transients and squatters", as the Communist spokesman referred to them. These are the three hundred thousand who came across to spend their money and have a good time and then return, he says. Actually, there are six times that number, and for them, even this is better than Communism.

MURROW:

Some of the conflicts between the Communists and the Free World can be expressed in words. You heard some of those words tonight. We tried to give you a little visual evidence of some of the human wreckage that seeps out of Red China into the free Port of Hong Kong.

Good night and good luck.

* * * * * * *

File Memos

WILMER & BROUN
TRANSPORTATION BUILDING
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

RICHARD H. WILMER
E. FONTAINE BROUN
JOHN H. PICKERING
HUGH R. H. SMITH

HENRY T. RATHBUN
SUSANNA E. BEDELL
JOSIAH A. SPAULDING
EDWIN D. ETHERINGTON

CABLE ADDRESS
WILBRO

TELEPHONE
METROPOLITAN 8-0834

March 26, 1954

CBS - "M" Matter

Dear Ben:

Enclosed herewith are the original and three copies of a memorandum covering the points we discussed this afternoon.

Faithfully yours,

John H. Pickering

Benjamin R. Shute, Esq.
Messrs. Cravath, Swaine & Moore
15 Broad Street
New York 5, N. Y.

Encls.

E

Special Delivery

WILMER & BROUN
TRANSPORTATION BUILDING
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

RICHARD H. WILMER
E. FONTAINE BROUN
JOHN H. PICKERING
HUGH R. H. SMITH

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WILBRO

TELEPHONE
METROPOLITAN 8-0834

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COPY

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Encls.

E

Special Delivery

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. SHUTE

J.H.P. March 26, 1954

CBS - "M" Matter

The following is a summary of information obtained from Mr. Gerhard P. Van Arkel at a conference in his office today:

1. Van Arkel has limited his activity largely to proof of the 10 cases detailed in Sen. Benton's statement of Sept. 28, 1951.

2. The documentation for those 10 cases is largely referred to in the statement, which was a careful job.

3. Van Arkel has documentation to back up those 10 cases—voluminous in nature and would take a long period to go through the mass in detail—e.g., he worked about a month on McCarthy's Marshall speech alone—he also has voluminous material on Malmedy, Lustron, etc.

4. Van Arkel took the following depositions:

a. Wheeling speech—depositions of four persons, two of whom saw reference to 205 Communists in script, one of whom heard 205 mentioned on air and two of whom played back tape the next day and heard 205. The tape was erased a few days after the speech in accordance with usual practice.

b. Marshall speech—depositions of Paul Hoffman on Marshall plan and Gen. Bedell Smith on loyalty.

c. Tydings committee—depositions of Tydings and of Ed Morgan, former committee counsel, identifying

transcripts, etc.

5. Kiendl's files do not have much of the material as Van Arkel did the spade work and was the repository.

6. Van Arkel strongly believes that any material in Sen. Benton's statement can be used with impunity because:

a. The statement was made under privilege. Benton purposely did not assert that as a defense.

b. The facts stated are true and can be so proved. That was the defense asserted, together with a denial that the statement was made maliciously.

c. The libel suit against Benton has been dismissed. The praecipe simply stated that the suit was dismissed, without mentioning whether it was with or without prejudice. Van Arkel assumes that in the absence of a reservation, the dismissal was with prejudice. He has a general feeling that a sort of "res judicata" concept can be invoked against any future suit by McCarthy on the Benton statement, but has not really considered the point.

7. Van Arkel was disappointed that the case was dismissed because he was looking forward to grilling McCarthy for a month or so.

8. Information as to the financial affairs of McCarthy is contained in the committee report of the investigation of Senators McCarthy and Benton pursuant to S. Res. 187 and S. Res. 304, which has been reprinted by ADA. The Department of Justice has announced that it sees no basis

for prosecution on the legal questions raised and has turned the questions relating to income tax matters over to the Internal Revenue Service for consideration. No announcement has been made by the Service as to its examination. Mr. Van Arkel referred to indications of financial transactions in matters of legislative interest—e.g., the Lustron payment, and the Arundel endorsement of a $20,000 note when sugar was under control. Van Arkel also stated he doubts if McCarthy has continued to handle his financial matters as crudely as the fashion revealed by the report.

9. When the committee report was transmitted to the Department of Justice, the committee also sent a list of the contributors to McCarthy's anti-Communist fund, and a list of checks through McCarthy's accounts. Those lists were not published in the report and might have some leads if they could be obtained and run down. Van Arkel has a recollection that among the checks were a number of checks drawn monthly by McCarthy in favor of Robert Morris, an employee of one of the committees, in varying amounts of from $100 to $200.

10. The best account of which Van Arkel knows about McCarthy's career prior to the matters covered in Benton's statement is in a book by Jack Anderson, a member of Drew Pearson's staff, entitled, McCarthy, The Man, The Senator, The Ism. That covers Wisconsin incidents, including trouble with his law partner, income tax trouble, and

censure as a judge. Van Arkel says it is documented with photostats, and that Warren Woods, of Roberts and McInnis, attorney for Drew Pearson, advised him about a year ago that he, Woods, had satisfactory documentation for the book. Van Arkel says that so far as the matters covered by the Benton statement are concerned, he, Van Arkel, believes he has better documentation than Woods. Van Arkel understands that Anderson has prepared a manuscript for a new edition bringing things up to date, which will cover, among other things, the story of McCarthy's war wounds. Van Arkel suggested that the manuscript might be obtained by getting in touch with Woods.

11. The story of McCarthy's war wounds, obtained by falling from a ladder and landing in a bucket crossing the Equator, has been developed in a series of articles by Bob Fleming, published in the Milwaukee Journal. Van Arkel thinks this is one of the most damaging stories about McCarthy, but he does not have the details.

12. Van Arkel does not know of any firm support for the numerous current rumors and inmuendoes about McCarthy relating to homosexuality, connections with gamblers, etc. In view of all the reporters and others who have been on the trail, he thinks something would have been turned up by now if there was any real substance behind them.

13. McCarthy called Hank Greenspun, publisher of the Las Vegas Sun, a Communist. Greenspun is the person

who sued Senator McCarran and others for violation of the antitrust statutes in connection with an advertising boycott. That suit resulted in an out-of-court settlement for Greenspun. Greenspun published a story in his paper about purported unnatural activities in Wisconsin and McCarthy has not brought suit. The story was apparently based on an affidavit given by a bellhop in a Wisconsin hotel which Van Arkel thinks is of a dubious nature. Van Arkel thinks Greenspun published the story in the hope McCarthy would bring a libel action in Nevada which would permit Greenspun to file a counterclaim on the charge McCarthy libelled him by calling him a Communist. Van Arkel would stay away from this matter.

14. Van Arkel stated that in connection with the Benton defense they had considered employing a private investigator and had decided against it. They did, however, have current information about McCarthy gathered by Lucille Lang, who has a lot of clippings, etc., collected over the last year. Van Arkel will put us in touch with her if we wish. I gather she does not have much more than what would appear in a newspaper clipping bureau.

15. Van Arkel speculated as to what line McCarthy might take when he appears on April 6. He said he thought McCarthy might open with an attack on the commentator, renewing previous charges about the summer school, and then attack the organized opposition which was keeping him from

the vital job of kicking Communists out of Government. Van Arkel feels it is almost impossible to counter McCarthy effectively on the issue of kicking Communists out of Government because he generally has some basis, no matter how slight, for his claim of Communist connection and, in these times, no one can be sure what derogatory information may eventually be turned up about any particular individual and also, in the past a suggestion from Senator McCarthy has often led to dismissal because the agency concerned did not wish to stand up to him. Accordingly, Van Arkel believes it would be very difficult, if not impossible, effectively to disprove McCarthy's claims that he has kicked "Communists" out of Government.

16. In passing, Van Arkel indicated that Louis Bean had recently made a study for Senator Benton which resulted in a conclusion that McCarthy was not a very influential factor in various elections in which he took an active part. That study may be available from Senator Benton.

17. Van Arkel is happy to cooperate in whatever way he can and will make available to us any material which he has.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

E. C. P. March 26, 1954

Re McC memorandum, following is abstract of references to special committee testimony (item 4):

Vol. 2, pp. 1482-3. Testimony of Gernaey re expulsion from Young Communist League. Names mentioned: Weinstock, active in opposition work of A. F. of L. in New York and nationally; Weinstone, district secretary of Communist Party in Detroit; Jack Wilson, interested in industrial unionism; Carl Prussian, interested in industrial unionism.

Vol. 2, p. 1494. Testimony of Clyde Morrow. Reference is made to Communists involved in strike at Midland Steel Co. in 1933-34. Communists taking part named as William Weinstone, district organizer of Communist Party of Michigan; Francis Puzio, section organizer for Communist Party, Flint, Mich.; Mat Ganley; Paul Kirk, organizer.

Vol. 2, p. 1561. Testimony of Harry Mikuliak (Detroit policeman). Testimony relates to Anna Louise Strong, editor of Moscow Daily News, giving lecture on Spain under auspices of Civil Rights Federation. Other persons referred to: Walter Reuther, Mat Ganley.

Vol. 2, p. 1654. Testimony of Herman Luhrs, Chairman of Joint American Committee of American Legion. Relates to subversive activities in and about Flint, Mich. Names mentioned: Walter Reuther; Rev. Bolens, Chairman of Professional League for the Protection of Civil Rights, who praised Russia; Roger Baldwin, brought to Flint by League for Industrial Democracy (see H. Rep. No. 290 that Baldwin testified in favor of overthrow of government by force and violence); Dr. Goodwin Watson; Mary van Kleeck.

Vol. 2, p. 1658. Testimony of Herman Luhrs. Testimony re Communist activities. Names mentioned: William Findlater (bund agent); Victor Reuther, participating in anti-Nazi rally; Earl Reno, Chairman of meeting at which Hathaway, editor of Daily Worker, spoke; J. Lovestone; Weinstone; Savage; "Mother Bloor"; Kermit Johnson; Merlin Bishop; Melvin Bishop (educational director of C.I.O.).

Vol. 2, pp. 1659-60. Text of letter to Merlin Bishop sent from Russia by Victor and Walter Reuther. Praises Communist Russia in terms of the workers' paradise. Apparently authors were working in a Russian factory.

Vol. 4, p. 2514. Testimony of Stuart Lillico, graduate of University of Washington where studied journalism, leaving about 1930. Testimony relates to Communist activity in U. S. as related to similar activities in China, where witness had worked. Names of persons and organizations mentioned: American Friends of the Chinese People; Harry Gannes (former editor of Daily Worker); Committee for Boycott Against Japanese Aggression; Robert Norton; Margaret I. Lamont, wife of Corliss Lamont, Chairman of American Friends of the Soviet Union; American League for Peace and Democracy; and Jerome N. Frank, Nathan Margo, Edwin S. Smith, Roscoe Wright, Hallie Flanagan; China Aid Council of American League for Peace and Democracy; Philip Jaffe; Oliver Haskell; Margaret Forsythe; James Waterman Wise; Maxwell Stewart; Max Yergen.

Vol. 4, p. 2516. Further testimony of Lillico re Amerasia and Jaffe; F. V. Field; American Committee for Non-participation in Japanese Aggression; Philip Jaffe; Maxwell Stewart; Margaret Forsythe; Earl Leaf.

Vol. 1, p. 90. Testimony of John C. Metcalf and John P. Frey (A. F. of L.).

Vol. 1, p. 114. Testimony of Frey (A. F. of L.) re Communist activity. Names given: William Gebert; Jack Johnstone; Ben Carrauthers; Maude White; William E. Hill; Henry J. Johnston; Maurice Sugar; George Powers; Tom Meyerscough; Michael Evanoff--all active in Detroit automobile industry.

Vol. 1, p. 124. Reprint of account of organizational activities, apparently relating to Communist infiltration of A. F. of L. Lists numerous names of persons who are Communist Party members, all from union circles.

only copy

MEMORANDUM FOR MISS McDONOUGH

March 26, 1954

We would like to review the following Person to Person scripts:

October 30, 1953

December 11, 1953

December 18, 1953 — NOVEMBER 20, 1953

January 8, 1954

January 15, 1954

January 29, 1954

February 5, 1954

February 12, 1954

If you will have these delivered to Bob Tangel, myself or Mr. Petrie at Room 802, we will get them back in due course.

E. C. P.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

E. C. P. March 25, 1954

On ERM's Friday, March 12, 1954, radio news program he made (according to the script) a tape recording of his statement on the McC program about the ACLU. In the text of the news broadcast, the tape transcription reads "The Attorney General's list does not and has never listed the ACLU as subversive nor does the F.B.I. nor <u>any other Government agency</u>."

Should the McC program be screened again? Which is the more accurate, the tape or the kinescope?

ve
ES

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

Conference with Mrs. Lowe

E. C. P. March 23, 1954

BRS and ECP conferred with Salant and Mrs. Frances Lowe this afternoon. Mrs. Lowe has worked for Senator Jackson and others collecting material on McCarthy.

Mrs. Lowe undertook to provide copies, for our use, of "The McCarthy Record", a booklet edited by Morris Rubin, Editor of The Progressive. She also contacted Mr. Rubin at Madison, Wisconsin, and requested that he bring copies of his current issue of The Progressive to New York when he comes here tomorrow.

Suggested leads which came up during conversation are as follows:

Hornell Hart: Professor at Duke University who was recently attacked by McCarthy. Mrs. Lowe understands that Hart collected documentation relating to his dispute with McCarthy which shows up McCarthy in a bad light. Whether the documentation goes beyond this, and into the origin or substance of the dispute itself, was not made clear.

Grant (first name?): Editor of the Milwaukee Journal. Mrs. Lowe stated that Grant would have data as to Communist financing for McCarthy's senatorial campaign. She was unable

to give us the name of the union in question but stated that it was a Communist-dominated local which was subsequently expelled from the C.I.O. Grant was the subject of a cover story in Time Magazine during the autumn of 1953, and it may be that the same data is available in the Time morgue. The subject of McCarthy's Communist backing, as well as various other matters relating to him, have been extensively commented on in the Milwaukee Journal's editorial page.

Greenspan (first name?): Editor of one or more newspapers in Las Vegas and plaintiff in a libel (?) suit against McCarran. Claims to have documentary evidence relating to aberrations in McCarthy's private life.

Lucille (didn't catch last name): Works for Birkhead, Chief of the Senate Democratic Campaign Fund. Mrs. Lowe stated that this person's salary was paid partly by Benton and partly by the Committee for a Democratic Congress and that her occupation was collecting data on McCarthy.

Professor Weissner (MIT): Mrs. Lowe stated that one of McCarthy's principal arguments in favor of an appropriation for his Committee for the current year was that the Committee had saved $18,000,000 for the Government by finding that two Voice of America transmitters had been misplaced. The Committee had a witness who was a radio engineer with RCA (?) who said that the transmitters were mislocated in such a manner as to

indicate deliberate sabotage. The facts are that the location of the transmitters was the subject of dispute and Professor Weissner, who originally picked the sites, is supported by sound authority in his position that the sites were correctly selected. As for the money aspect, the facts were stated to be that cost of completing the transmitters in question would have been $15,000,000 and that $10,000,000 of this money was already spent when the Committee's action occurred. The day following the Committee's action, the project was halted and no action was thereafter taken in connection with it. Mrs. Lowe also stated that, during the hearings, Weissner's testimony was misquoted by Cohn.

Murray Marter of the Washington Post: Marter is said to have a complete dossier on the Monmouth investigation.

Gillette Committee Report: Steps have already been taken to obtain copies of this report. We are advised that it was available through the ADA which distributed reprints in full. This report is said to contain full data on McCarthy's Wisconsin state income tax returns and problems arising in connection with them.

BRS

Adrian Fisher--Covington firm: Mrs. Lowe states that Mr. Fisher has extensive data on Senator McCarthy.

The Reporter Magazine: Article appeared in this magazine in recent months on subject of McCarthy, written by Kagan. BRS has a copy of this.

Robert Johnson: It was stated that Robert Johnson was very hot on chasing Communists out of the Government at the outset of his time in Washington but that after some months of contact with McCarthy he had completely reversed his point of view. He was formerly with Time & Life and has now returned to Temple University. It is thought that he kept a complete diary of his fight with McCarthy, which has not, however, been made available to anybody for public dissemination.

Mrs. Lowe will remain available to give assistance during this investigation. Her address is 103 East 84th Street and her telephone number REgent 7-5935.

CHESTER S. WILLIAMS

WORLD INFORMATION
Research Consultants
350 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 1, N. Y.

LACKAWANNA 4-8663

ECP

Files Received from Mr. Salant 3/23/54

Security--BSS--1953

Communism--R.S.S.--1952

Communism--J.H.R.--1949

Communism--J.H.R.--1950

Communism--Clippings--J.H.R.--1950

Communism (Draper, Paul)--J.H.R.--1950

Security--F.S.--1954

Security--F.S.--1953

Security--F.S.--1952

Security--F.S.--1951

Communism--F.S.--1949

Leeb, Philip--F.S.--1950

Communism--F.S.--1950

E. C. Perkins

ECP

Files Received from Miss Troope 3/24/54

Blank--"Further Attacks from the Right"--Anonymous or no Address

Communism--Loyalty Statement Against--Not Answered

Blank--Miscellaneous for & Against

Communism--Loyalty Statement Against

Communism--J.H.R.--1952

Communism--Burrows

Communism--Louis Untermeyer

Communism--Loyalty Statement (CBS)--J.H.R.--1952

Communism--L.W.L.--1949

Communism--L.W.L.--1950

Communist Party--Mr. Willis

Communist Breadcast--Mr. Paley

Jay Gerney

Communism--Todd, Betty--J.H.R.--1950

National Republic Lettergram - Americanization Bureau--Mr. Willis

Communism--Ltrs of Approval of Security Measures (unanswered)

Communism--Loyalty Statement--Letters of Approval--A-K

Communism--Loyalty Statement--Letters of Approval--L-Z

Communism--Loyalty Statement--Radio Writers Guild form letter

Communism--Loyalty Statement--Against--Not Answered

ECP

Memo dumps

Index for Pamphlets

Institute of Pacific Relations hearings (Parts 1 through 15), includes hearings and composite index (missing Part 1).

Institute of Pacific Relations Senate Report No. 2050 (82d Cong., 2d Sess., July 2 (June 27), 1952).

Senate report of Committee on Rules and Administration (Maryland senatorial election of 1950), Sen. Rep. No. 647, 82d Cong., 1st Sess., Aug. 20 (Aug. 1), 1951).

Hearings before Senate Subcommittee of Committee on Judiciary on subversive infiltration of radio, TV and entertainment industry, April 27, 1951-May 20, 1952, 2 parts.

Report of Senate Subcommittee of Committee on Foreign Relations on investigation of State Department, Sen. Rep. No. , 81st Cong., 2d Sess., 1950.

Hearings before Senate Subcommittee of Committee Armed Services pursuant to investigation of Malmedy Massacre, April 18-June 1, 1949 (received from Brig. Gen. Josiah Dalbey and to be returned to him.).

Report of Senate Subcommittee on privileges and elections on investigations of Senators McCarthy and Benton (1952).

Mr. Shute E.R.M. 3/23

Ed:

We heard that last Thursday, March 18th there was an interesting broadcast over radio station WADK in Newport, R.I.

We checked and this is the story which we thought you and your attorneys might want to follow up.

A local commentator on WADK named Frank Sullivan had as his guest a man named Gregory Parkis who is also a resident of Newport and says he is assigned to "government intelligence."

Parkis read a letter he said he had received from a fellow intillgence officer. The general content was this: While Murrow is not known as a Communist, his pro-communist leanings are such that he requires constant survellience.

Sullivan, the commentator, thereupon said on the air that he thought Parkis should not have read the letter, that this was unfair since Murrow had no opportunity to answer, etc.

The station Manager at WADK - a Mr. Midler - gave us this account which he says is as close as he can recall it. He claims they have no recording or transcript of the broadcast - that it's all ad lib.

Midler has promised, however, to see if he can get a copy of the letter that was read over the air. If he can, he will mail it to us special delivery air mail tomorrow.

John & Jesse

Note: Above are John Aaron and Jesse Zousmer,
Mr. Murrow's assistants on 7:45 pm news show.
dmcd

Ed:

This is the Newport story.

We learned of a broadcast attacking you.

We asked the manager what it was all about.

Now comes statements, notarized, etc...the last page being the only thing interesting.

jz Jesse Lovsmer

We could follow through casually and find out who Sweeney and Bekos and Parkis are..

WADK

fifteen-forty on your dial - 1000 watts - telephone 1540

March 24, 1954

Mr. John Aaron
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Aaron:

I must admit I was quite surprised by your call yesterday. Although we know our 'Frank Sullivan Show' enjoys a very extensive listening audience in this area, we had no reason to believe what was being said might travel into any remote circles.

If you have the opportunity to write, I would like to know just how this matter was brought to Mr. Murrow's attention.

I have enclosed a copy of the letter in question along with a statement by Mr. Sullivan concerning the broadcast and one indicating how he secured possession of the letter.

I'm sure you are acquainted with the type of broadcast Mr. Sullivan is conducting on this station. It is used for the expression of freedom of speech, a matter Mr. Murrow is vitally concerned with, and at no time would we permit anyone who lacked personal responsibility the opportunity of going on the air and making controversial statements. However, at the same time, when we do afford a person the freedom of our microphones, we feel that he should enjoy just that, and not be hampered by any other than the required restrictions. At the same time, we let it be known that the show is open to those of the opposite opinion, in order that it be kept completely unbiased.

There are times when Mr. Sullivan will take the license of a commentator, and offer his opinion on a topic. Such was the case during the broadcast of Thursday, March 18, 1954. Mr. Sullivan had been giving his thoughts on the anti-communist activities of certain agencies for several weeks. The opportunity presented

itself to have as a guest someone who had worked in anti-communist activity, and Mr. Sullivan took advantage of it. Prior to the appearance of Mr. Gregory Parkis, Mr. Murrow had become embroiled in his own controversy, and since Mr. Sullivan did not feel that Mr. Murrow had received fair treatment, he felt that a question concerning Mr. Murrow was in order. Upon asking Mr. Parkis if there was any intelligence concerning Mr. Murrow in his files, Mr. Parkis produced the letter that you heard about.

As I pointed out over the telephone, as Mr. Parkis read each point, Mr. Sullivan refuted that point with facts that are general knowledge, and Mr. Parkis either by silence or by actual statement, failed to offer any resistance. There seems to be no doubt that Mr. Sullivan succeeded in dispelling any possible discredit that may have been aimed at Mr. Murrow.

We don't know what action, if any, Mr. Murrow intends to take. However, if we can be of any assistance, please feel free to call on us. If Mr. Murrow would like to record a statement that we could air over our station, we would consider such action.

If there is any other information you would like, let us know.

Sincerely

AQUIDNECK BROADCASTING CORP.

Milton E. Mitler
President

MEM:dc
Enc. (3)

TRUE COPY OF COPY OF LETTER READ BY MR. GREGORY PARKIS ON THE FRANK SULLIVAN SHOW BROADCAST OVER RADIO STATION WADK ON THURSDAY, MARCH 18, 1954.

29 October 1953

Dear Mr. Bekos,

Your friend, Ed Murrow, is becoming more and more of a question mark. He is hard to label, but I'll give you what there is and you can decide.

1. He was one of those who worked with the Anglo-Russian Institute in the mid-30's. The purpose of this group was to lure Americans to Russia for study.

2. He was also involved in the Institute for International Education. This was the outfit, under Stephan Duggan, father of Lawrence Duggan who later was involved in espionage. The father is the man who made plans with American school boards to have teachers take the courses in Russia.

3. Murrow has been a one worlder. He did, however, about 1947 fire William L. Shirer for Communist Party line news commentary on C. B. S.

4. Murrow's current telecasts have the line. One of his worst has been the 20 October 1953, "See It Now." This was the Lt. Milo Radulovich Case. The telecast was slanted, had lies in it and presented only the Communist side.

It is impossible to say he is a Communist, but Murrow should be considered as anti-security program, anti-military, pro-one world. He is pretty smart. The only way to pin him down is to monitor all his programs, check the actors, the themes, ets., and add it up. As you probably know by know nobody does that.

Watch him; don't trust him.

Sincerely,

Bernard J. Sweeney
2901 Dunmore Road
Dundalk 22, Md.

Source of this information says he set up Radio Free Europe. Worked in Berlin 47, 48, Vienna 49, Germany 50, 51. Was assistant to Chief for Radio Branch, Info Services Division, OMG--third echelon below Genl. Clay. Source was generally sympathetic to announced aims of McCarthy, but now has strong doubts as to those aims. His story:

In Spring of '48, an American radio correspondent in Berlin needed a magnetophone tape recorder. RIAS had one. Commentator paid 6,000 Marks. Those Marks disappeared. William Heimlich was head of RIAS. Unofficially, American investigators suspected him and his aides of taking the 6000M, of padding RIAS payroll with relatives, girlfriend. Heimlich's administr ative officer was Vladimir Dietz. American correspondent had paid 6000M directly to Dietz. To cover up the missing money, Heimlich fired RIAS's chief accountant, Herr Weber, a man of good reputation. RIAS personnel were demoralized. US Chief for Radio Branch, Charles S. Lewis decided it was impossible to fire Heimlich for fear that this would give Russians tremendous propaganda opportunity to destroy effectiveness of RIAS, by charging that head of RIAS was nothing more than a cheap crook. Eventually, Heimlich and Dietz were allowed to terminate their employment with RIAS; that is, their contract ran out at the end of 1949, and their contract was not renewed. Herr Weber was subsequently reinstated with an apology.

We next hear of William Heimlich about April 1953. This is shortly after Cohn-Schine have terrorized American personnel in Europe. Heimlich reappears on the scene as an investigator for Joseph R. MCCarthy. Heimlich's job is to investigate RIAS. Heimlich is given power of subpoena. He wanted to subpoena BIll Taylor, head of RIAS. Our source says heads of RIAS departments threatened to resign and that RIAS--both American and German personnel--were demoralized. Source wonders how a man like Heimlich ended up working for McCarthy; says effect would have been to destroy most potent counter-propaganda arm of the honest German fight against Soviet Germany. Source says classified material relating to this whole story is in Army files and is known to Senator Hickenlooper.

****

Source is William V. Busch, presently engineer CBS Roosevelt Island transmitter.

CBS Berlin Correspondent was Alan Jackson. Jackson not here to confirm story.

Story given to Joe Wershba by Busch.

Dates given are unverified.

STATEMENT:

My name is Frank Sullivan, I conduct a daily (Monday through Friday) radio show over readio station WADK, Newport, Rhode Island from 12:05 to 1:00 P.M. As is my practice I invite guests to join me on the air and take part in discussions of topics that have local, national, and world interest value. From time to time I offer my opinion on the topic under discussion. However, I do point out that the microphone over which I speak is open to anyone having something important to add to the value of the discussion.

Having learned that Mr. Gregory Parkis, former member of Army Intelligence was a resident of Newport, and further learning that Mr. Parkis was about to be assigned to a position with our State Department, and that in the past he had been active in the fight against Communism, I invited him to join me on the air and discuss Communism in the United States. Mr. Parkis appeared on my show on Thursday, March 18, 1954. During our discussion, the name of Edward Murrow was brought up. This was about the time that Mr. Murrow and Senator McCarthy were having their differences. I asked Mr. Parkis if he had any knowledge that could be sustained concerning Mr. Murrow's leanings. Mr. Parkis at that point produced a copy of a letter which presumably had been written to a former associate of his named Bekos, by a Mr. Bernard J. Sweeney whom I was informed was an instructor with Army Intelligence and purported to be one of the top instructors in that capacity. As Mr. Parkis read the letter, a copy of which is attached, I realized that the words were the same kind that were being overworked in order to cast the stigma of doubt upon a person's reputation, but which seemed to have to semblence of authenticity. Consequently, although it is not my practice, after each quote from the letter, I refuted the statement and asked Mr. Parkis if he could offer any actual proof that what he was reading was true and unadulterated fact. Mr. Parkis nimbly avoided answering my questions.

I summed up the interview by pointing out that Mr. Murrow, in the mentioned activities had been associated with such respected men as Wendell Wilkie, Henry For, and other great men. I also added the though that was such unsubstantiated information to be believed before it is authenticated, then none of us is safe from the unfair net of suspicion.

There is no question in my mind that my audience fully understood my feelings in the matter.

To the best of my knowledge, the above facts are as they took place.

Frank Sullivan

Dorothea M. Cooney (Mar. 24, 1954)
Notary Public

A F F I D A V I T

STATE OF RHODE ISLAND

NEWPORT COUNTY

Before me, the undersigned, a Notary Public in and for said county, personally came Mr. Frank Sullivan, radio commentator for Radio Station WADK, Newport, Rhode Island, who being duly sworn, states that the following information concerning the securing of a particular letter which contained certain statements concerning one Edward R. Murrow, is true and as it occurred.

I, Frank Sullivan, did upon a request made by the Manager of Radio Station WADK secure from one Gregory Parkis, a copy of a letter addressed to a Mr. Bekos and signed by Bernard J. Sweeney, dated 29 October 1953, said copy being the letter which Mr. Parkis read on my radio show over WADK on Thursday, March 18, 1954, and which contained certain statements about Edward R. Murrow.

Signed Frank Sullivan

Subscribed and sworn to before me

this 24th day of March 1954

Dorothea M. Cooney

Notary Public

Frank Graham

Columbia Broadcasting System
Warner Building
Washington, D.C.
April 25, 1950

Dear Mr. Tillett:

I hasten to reply to your letter of April 17. The charges against my friend Dr. Graham are infamous, but fortunately, in this instance easy to refute.

My personal files for 1935, the year of the Moscow Summer Session, were destroyed during the blitz in London, but my memory of this particular undertaking is quite clear. The Institute of International Education, of which I was then the assistant director, was jointly financed by the Carnegie Corporation and the Rockefeller Foundation. The Institute decided, through action of its board of trustees (a most distinguished group of American citizens), to sponsor this Moscow Summer School. My memory is that my then chief, Professor Stephen P. Duggan, invited a group of distinguished educators to associate themselves in an advisory capacity with this undertaking. In reference to the other members of this advisory organization, it indicates that aside from myself, they represented a cross section of men and women of academic distinction and administrative ability in our colleges and universities.

At that time, the Institute of International Education, and the various organizations and advisory councils associated with it, were engaged in furthering the exchange of students and professors between this country and all European countries

including Hitlerite Germany, Fascist Italy and Communist Russia. While I can only speak for myself, I am sure I report accurately the attitude both of the Institute and of this particular advisory council when I say that we had no fear of American students and professors becoming contaminated by virtue of being exposed to alien ideologies. And we believed that nothing but benefit could derive to this country as a result of having foreign students and professors intimately acquainted with our own educational institutions and practices. It is, after all, only through firsthand knowledge and observation that we can come to understand a virus whether in the medical or political sense.

Because of the nature of my work I have refrained at all times from personal participation in political campaigns. But permit me to assure you that anything I can do to demolish this monstrous charge against Dr. Graham, I am both willing and anxious to do.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. C. W. Tillett
Tillett & Campbell
609-613 Law Building
Charlotte 2, North Carolina

to Wm.

Law Offices of Tillett & Campbell,
609-613 Law Building,

C. W. Tillett
H. B. Campbell

James B. Craighill
John T. Rendleman

Charlotte, 2, N. C. April 17, 1950.

Mr. Edward R Murrow,
c/o Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York, N Y

Dear Mr. Murrow:-

We are, at the present time, engaged in North Carolina in a red-hot political campaign in which Senator Frank P. Graham is running for the position of Democratic nominee to the United States Senate. In view of the fact that, on the basis of truth, his stature is far beyond that of his opponents and they cannot possibly raise themselves to his stature, they are undertaking to lower his stature by undermining it with falsehood and defamation. One of the devices that they are utilizing is the charge that he is a Communist. One of the pieces of evidence that they are adducing to support this charge is a leaflet concerning the Anglo-American Section of the Summer Session of Moscow State University held July 16 through Aug. 25, 1935. This leaflet contains a list of the National Advisory Council and Graham's name appears on the list, as does also yours. I enclose a photostatic copy of the leaflet that is being circularized. You will observe that they have a ring around Graham's name.

As I understand it, the National Advisory Council was merely for the purpose of encouraging exchange students with the hope that by exchange of students good-will could be created between the two countries, and was, in the first instance, sponsored by the Carnegie Foundation for Peace.
You could be of immense service to us and the cause of truth if you would be willing to write a short letter giving the facts regarding the above National Advisory Council, and I am wondering if you would be willing to do so. If Graham is defeated, it will be entirely as the result of falsehoods such as those manifested by the use of the enclosed material. If this group succeed in defeating Graham by these means in North Carolina, it will show them that they can do likewise in other states, and it will finally result that almost any liberal-minded public man will be in serious danger of being defeated as the result of the skillful use of falsehood and defamation.

I am a regular listener to your program here in Charlotte over WBT. All of us in our house admire your ability in the way you

conduct that program very much indeed.

Sincerely yours,

CWT:S

Please help us!

MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY

Summer Session

(Anglo-American Section)

1935

July 16—August 25

MOSCOW
U. S. S. R.

American Representative

INTOURIST, INC.
Educational Department
545 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y.

MOSCOW UNIVERSITY
SUMMER SESSION
(Anglo-American Section)

American Advisory Organization
INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION, INC.
ADVISORS GEORGE S. COUNTS and HEBER HARPER

NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

W. W. CHARTERS, Director, Bureau of Educational Research, Ohio State University.
[illegible], Professor of [illegible], New York University.
[illegible], Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University.
JOHN DEWEY, Professor Emeritus of Philosophy, Columbia University.
STEPHEN DUGGAN, Director, Institute of International Education.
HARRY F. FARNHAM, Professor of English, Vassar College.
FRANK P. GRAHAM, President, University of North Carolina.
ROBERT M. HUTCHINS, President, University of Chicago.
CHARLES H. JUDD, Dean, School of Education, University of Chicago.
[illegible], Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University.
ROBERT L. KELLY, Secretary, Association of American Colleges.
JOHN A. KINGSBURY, Secretary, Milbank Memorial Fund.
SUSAN M. KINGSBURY, Professor of Social Economy and Social Research, Bryn Mawr College.
PAUL KLAPPER, Dean, School of Education, College of the City of New York.
CHARLES R. MANN, Director, American Council on Education.
EDWARD R. MURROW, Assistant Director, Institute of International Education.
WILLIAM ALLAN NEILSON, President, Smith College.
HOWARD W. ODUM, Professor of Sociology and Director, School of Public Welfare, University of North Carolina.
WILLIAM F. RUSSELL, Dean, Teachers College, Columbia University.
H. W. TYLER, General Secretary, American Association of University Professors.
ERNEST H. WILKINS, President, Oberlin College.
JOHN W. WITHERS, Dean, School of Education, New York University.
THOMAS WOODY, Professor of History of Education, University of Pennsylvania.
HERVEY W. ZORBAUGH, Director, Clinic for the Social Adjustment of Gifted Children, New York University.

Columbia Broadcasting System
Warner Building
Washington, D.C.
May 5, 1950

Dear Mr. Tillett:

Regarding my letter to you of April 25th: you may by all means use it publicly.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. C. W. Tillett
Tillett & Campbell
609-613 Law Building
Charlotte 2, North Carolina

Law Offices of Tillett & Campbell,
609-613 Law Building,

C. W. Tillett
H. B. Campbell

James B. Craighill
John T. Rendleman

Charlotte, 2 N. C.

April 28, 1950.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
c/o Columbia Broadcasting System,
Warner Building,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Murrow:-

Thank you very much for your letter of April 25.

If it becomes necessary to use your letter publicly, am I authorized to do so?

I hope you will agree to let me use it in case it seems advisable, and your immediate reply will be greatly appreciated since the opposition are liable to spring this on us at almost any time.

Sincerely yours,

CWT:S

CW Tillett

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

CBS--Matter of M

Richard Sloane

March 30, 1954

Name given by Miss McDonough

Name listed in cumulative index to publications of Committee on Un-American Activities.

Raymond Swing

Raymond Graham Swing appears in committee document ca at page 3325 as sponsor for a dinner celebrating 25th anniversary of the Red Army, February 22, 1943, at the Hotel Commodore, New York, under the aegis of Soviet Russia today.

Committee documents s page 41, w page 134 and 192 not available to me tonight.

Charles (Chuck) Hill

Charles Hill appears in committee document a at page 588, as president, Hollywood branch, The Young Communist League, and in committee document a at page 590 as member of the National Council Committee of The Young Communist League. Name is spelled Charlie Hill at page 590.

Charles A. Hill appears in committee document bb at page 1 as Vice Chairman Rev. Charles A. Hill of the Civil Rights Congress, 205 E. 42 St., New York 17, N. Y., on Feb. 15, 1947. And at page 12 of same document it is stated "It will be remembered that during the days of the infamous Soviet-Nazi pact the Communists built protective organizations known as the National Emergency Conference, the National Emergency for Democratic Rights which culminated in the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. It cannot be accidental that

Name given by Miss McDonough	Name listed in cumulative index to publications of Committee on Un-American Activities.
	the following 83 individuals supporting one or more of these organizations have also aided the Civil Rights Congress: . . . Hill, Charles A. . . ."
	Rev. Charles A. Hill further identified in same document at page 22 as president, Detroit NAACP in a partial list of sponsors for an initiating committee to organize a Congress on Civil Rights in Detroit, April, 1946.
	In committee document ca at pages 2471 to 2473 and in many other places in the same document a Rev. Charles A. Hill appears on the letterhead of Civil Rights Congress as one of their national Vice-Chairmen, first two letters dated November 23, 1948, and December 21, 1948.
John Horn	John Horn appears in committee document da at page 3156 where a Walter Dorosh is asked whether he wrote an article entitled "Says Committee Is Infamous Organization" appearing over the name of John Horn, president of the Tool and Die Building.
David Moore	Dave Moore appears in committee document da at page 2830 to 2831 where a Dave Moore, or Dave W. Moore is identified as a Ford worker and as a delegate to the World Federation for Democratic Youth held in Budapest September, 1949, and in same document at page 2951 where he is further identified as a worker at Ford, Dearborn, and in same document at page 2954 where he is identified as having been "very active in [Communist] party, state conferences and other closed meetings". Additional entries in

Name given by Miss McDonough	Name listed in cumulative index to publications of Committee on Un-American Activities.
	committee document da at pages 3066, 3069, 3104, 3162 and 3184 provide further evidence of the same sort.
	Dave Moore is further identified in committee document dc as vice president, Gear and Axle Unit, Ford Local No. 600, UAW-CIO, Detroit, as a sponsor for a World Peace Appeal adopted by the Permanent International Committee World Peace Congress.
	Further identified in committee document dm as an employee of Ford Motor Company who appeared before the Committee March 12, 1952, and refused to affirm or deny Communist Party membership.
Edmund Scott	Ed Scott appears in committee document da at pages 2260 and 2261 where Max Granich is questioned about Ed Scott. "Mr. Tavenner. I have before me a report of the Shanghai Military Police . . . I would like to read a paragraph or two of that report, which will refresh your recollection regarding Ed Scott, 'It is of some interest to note that on February 19, 1935, a Communist base was raided by the French Police, and among the documents seized was a letter in English over the name "Ed Scott", in which the writer stated that the American Communist Party was sending a well-known writer, an American of Russian origin, to assist the publication of a paper in Shanghai . . .' Were you the person referred to in the letter over the signature of Ed Scott, as being the American who was being sent to China for the purpose of publishing a paper in Shanghai?"

Name given by Miss McDonough	Name listed in cumulative index to publications of Committee on Un-American Activities.
Bill Thompson	William Thompson appears in committee document hh at page 57 as a member of the United Steelworkers of America contingent on the Citizens' Committee to Free Earl Browder. William C. Thompson appears in committee document a at page 529 as a member of the Advisory Committee of the Civil Liberties Committee of Massachusetts. William H. Thompson appears in committee document dm at page 75 as one of ten employees of the Army Signal Corps Intelligence Agency who called the committee's attention to alleged subversive conditions in the Agency through a petition to Congress.
Ken Jones	Kenneth Jones appears in committee document a at page 1278 as Prof. Kenneth Jones, member of the Michigan committee [to Aid Spanish Democracy] and at page 1280 where Sergeant Maciosek was asked where Prof. Kenneth Jones teaches and answered that he did not know. In the testimony of Walter S. Reynolds, same document, at page 1331 Prof. Kenneth Jones is again connected with the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy.

3/25/54 Revised

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2. Democratic Ideals
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* No contents in File

4. Satellite Countries
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9. Hiss & Chambers (Hear It Now folder filed here)
10. Katyn Massacre
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L. <u>Attitude Toward Communist Scare</u>

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A. Specific episodes and issues

* 1. Campaigns for political office
   a. 1936
   b. 1939
   c. 1944
   d. 1946
   e. 1952

no folders

2. Military service
3. Judicial record
4. Lustron episode
5. Income tax difficulties
6. Wheeling speech and "numbers racket"
7. FBI chart
8. Waiver of Congressional immunity
9. Tydings Committee
10. Tydings-Butler campaign
11. Duran case
12. Davis case
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14. Malmedy trials
15. Financial matters
16. Benton action
17. RIAS incident

B. Committee investigation

no folder 1. U.S. Information Service (including Cohn-Schine European junket)

no folders

2. Fort Monmouth
3. Army "coddling" of Communists
4. Defense plants
5. Government Printing Office
6. Trade-with-China
7. Other

C. Staff Personnel

no folders

1. Roy M. Cohn
2. G. David Schine
3. Donald Surine
4. Harvey Matusow

no folders

5. Jean Kerr (Mrs. McCarthy)
6. Other

D. Principal targets
1. Dean G. Acheson
2. George C. Marshall
3. Dwight D. Eisenhower
4. Adlai Stevenson
5. Owen Lattimore
6. Philip C. Jessup
7. Reed Harris
8. Theodore Kaghan
9. Charles Bohlen
10. John S. Service
11. John P. Davies
12. Nathan Pusey
13. The Commonweal
14. Time Magazine
15. James Wechsler
16. Clement Attlee
17. Anna Rosenberg
18. John C. Vincent
19. Other

no folders

E. Principal supporters
1. Communist Party
2. Hamilton Fish
3. Col. Robert McCormick
4. Burton K. Wheeler
5. Albert W. Hawkes
6. Frank Gannett
7. Walter Harnischfeger
8. Texas oilmen (Cullen, Marshall, Murchison, Andrade, Keck, Hunt, et al.)
9. E. M. Biggers
10. Gerald L. K. Smith
11. Gen. Robert E. Wood
12. James Burnham
13. William Buckley ok.
14. Press and radio (Sokolsky, Lewis, Pegler, Winchell, et al.)
15. Other

F. Principal critics
1. Democrats
2. Republicans
3. Democratic publications
4. Republican publications
5. Catholic publications
6. V.I.P.'s
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no folder

G. Senate voting record
1. Foreign relations
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b. Mutual Security Program
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d. Other programs involving Europe
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2. Domestic Matters
   a. Farm Policy
   b. Off-shore oil
   c. Kerr Bill
   d. Other
3. Absenteeism

III. CBS

A. Attacks
   1. V.I.P.
   2. Right Wing
   3. Left Wing

no folder

B. "Counterattack"

C. Endorsements
   1. V.I.P.
   2. Right Wing
   3. Left Wing

no folder

D. Personnel
   1. Current
   2. Past
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no folder

E. Programs
   1. Vulnerable
   2. Patriotic
   3. Policy

no folder

F. Security Program

G. Paley
   1. Germany Assignment
   2. Other

no folder

H. Awards

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19. Yalta
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26. Policy

K. Publications
   1. Collier's Article
   2. This Is London
   3. Other

L. Attitude Toward Communist Scare

II. McCARTHY

A. <u>Specific episodes and issues</u>
   1. Campaigns for political office
      a. 1936
      b. 1939
      c. 1944
      d. 1946
      e. 1952
   2. Military service
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   5. Income tax difficulties
   6. Wheeling speech and "numbers racket"
   7. FBI chart
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   9. Tydings Committee
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   11. Duran case
   12. Davis case
   13. Surine incident
   14. Malmedy trials
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   16. Benton action
   17. RIAS incident

B. <u>Committee investigation</u>
   1. U.S. Information Service (including Cohn-Schine European junket)
   2. Fort Monmouth
   3. Army "coddling" of Communists
   4. Defense plants
   5. Government Printing Office
   6. Trade-with-China
   7. Other

C. <u>Staff Personnel</u>
   1. Roy M. Cohn
   2. G. David Schine
   3. Donald Surine
   4. Harvey Matusow
   5. Jean Kerr (Mrs. McCarthy)
   6. Other

D. Principal targets
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2. George C. Marshall
3. Dwight D. Eisenhower
4. Adlai Stevenson
5. Owen Lattimore
6. Philip C. Jessup
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9. Charles Bohlen
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11. John P. Davies
12. Nathan Pusey
13. The Commonweal
14. Time Magazine
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16. Clement Attlee
17. Anna Rosenberg
18. John C. Vincent
19. Other

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13. William Buckley
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A. Attacks
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   3. Left Wing

B. "Counterattack"

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   1. V.I.P.
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   1. Current
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E. Programs
   1. Vulnerable
   2. Patriotic
   3. Policy

F. Security Program

G. Paley
   1. Germany Assignment
   2. Other

H. Awards

6/5/47 letter, ERM to Harold Laski. I B 1
I B 3

ERM dead file.

"Our 'red scare" continues and will, I think, increase in intensity and irresponsibility." Replies to Laski's question on the Shirer affair. After stating facts: "Out of the whole unfortunate incident I learned one thing: that is the willingness of so-called liberals such as Freda Kirchwey and Archie MacLeish, to rush into print with anguished howls of condemnation without bothering to inform themselves of a single fact. If you meet Joe Harsch as I hope you will when he comes to London in a few months--you will, I think, conclude that Bill was replaced with a man who is neither less able nor less liberal."

Offers to put Laski up when he comes to U. S.

ECP

2/10, 2/18 & 2/24/48 exchange of correspondence, Harold Laski and ERM. I B 1

ERM dead file.

Laski letter of 2/10 advises of arrival date in U. S. for a short lecture tour. Is not staying in America because "American would not let us stay anyhow". "You can be sure that I shall cause only temporary embarassment to Mr. Rankin, Mr. Parnell Thomas, Mr. [illegible] and that 'great citizen' Mr. Edgar J. Hoover [sic.]. After May 7, they can say to you all that God is in his Heaven and all's right with the U. S. except witch hunting, inflation, excessive profits, Hollywood, and such little matters."

ERM letter of 2/18 in reply: Offers to put the Laskis up, suggesting that there would be an advantage since the F.B.I., Parnell Thomas, Hoffmann and the others could then keep their eyes on them without too much difficulty. "I [ERM] suspect they are currently informed of my own activities and particularly the guests who stop with us."

Letter of 2/24 by Frida Laski: "Your very nice invitation arrived yesterday, & I hasten to let you know our plans, so you can inform your Security Police!" Explains other arrangements have been made.

Sequence of letters obviously written in flippant vein, but does not have to be read that way.

ECP

9/16/46 letter, Benton (Ass't Sec'y of State) to ERM. I B 3 I I 3

ERM personal.

Congratulates ERM on progress of IIE and is sending list of Board of Trustees through Dep't of State. Laurence Duggan is regarded highly in State Dep't and IIE is to be congratulated on acquiring him.

ECP

5/19/47 carbon, letter, ERM to Sandberg, enclosing tribute to Ida Lou Anderson.

I B 3

ERM Personal Correspondence

Encloses tribute to Ida Lou Anderson.

Adequate tribute to Ida Lou Anderson should employ eloquence of ancients and be read aloud. She "believed nothing and reverenced all". Was a tolerant sceptic and a great teacher and student. ERM plead for permission to enter her classes and for next four years attended every class she taught. Persons studying under her have an immediate and abiding sense of privilege.

Note: McC memo refers to Ida Lou Anderson as "hump-backed lady" who had great influence on ERM at college; implies some leftist connection.

ECP

5/19/47 carbon, letter, HRM to Louis Adamic. I B 3

ERM Personal Correspondence.

Presuming on "brief acquaintance", asks assistance for CBS news analyst Harsch in obtaining visa for Yugoslavia.

ECP

5/26/47 letter, Norman Thomas to ERM. I B 3

ERM dead file.

Inquires about possibility of getting a job on some bi-weekly or weekly program as a radio interpreter or commentator on news. Recognizes there will be no competition among sponsors for such program but has found widespread interest not only in radio speaches "such as I have often given over Columbia" but in a weekly program once provided for a Socialist paper. Would not conceal the fact he was a Socialist but would not propagandize either for the Party or the Post-War World Council. Is writing to ERM because of general liking for CBS and present recollection of former contacts with ERM.

Reply, 5/28/47, from ERM attached. Thanks Thomas for letter and asks if Thomas could lunch on 6/4/47.

ECP

10/17/47 Letter, carbon, L. Duggan to C. B. Fahs (Rockefeller Foundation). I B 3 I I 3

ERM personal.

Acknowledging Fahs's letter of 10/9, provides information as to activities of Institute, all in response to N. Y. Times article of 10/9 re number of foreign students in U. S. Re Russia, the following appears:

"With regard to the number of students going to the U.S.S.R., the Institute has little specific information. It recently learned that there were 20 Czech and 20 Polish students there in 1946-47 and that there were plans to increase the number by 20 each year over the next four years. How many bona fide students there are from Finland, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Albania, Rumania and the Soviet-dominated Far Eastern territories is, frankly, an unknown factor. The figure of one thousand Yugoslavs given in the Times article seems quite out of proportion to the Czech and Polish figures. The Soviet Union is continually excusing itself from participation in student exchanges because of the lack of facilities, a fact which seems to admit no controversy. I know of no students going to the U.S.S.R. except those from the so-called "satellite" countries, where the U.S.S.R. is obviously making every effort to consolidate itself politically, economically, and culturally. The implication of the article that the U.S.S.R. is attracting students from non-satellite countries is, in my opinion, not in accord with the facts."(p. 3)

"To summarize briefly, I would say that the current international economic crisis is undoubtedly affecting the foreign student movement adversely, but that there is as yet no decline in the total number but rather that there may even have been an increase; that the U.S.S.R. is apparently interested for the moment only in students from satellite countries, many of whom would surely jump at the chance to study in the United States; and that were it not for the economic situation of the world and the failure of Congress to pass and implement the Mundt Bill, much larger numbers of students would be coming here." (p. 4)

ECP

11/7/47 telegram, Duggan to ERM.

I B 3
I I 3

ERM Personal.

Benton Ensenhower (Eisenhower?) want me replace latter Executive Board UNESCO because Institute plans ahead have declined but being pressed hard.

ECP

11/11/47 letter, Herring (Carnegie Corp.) to ERM.

I B 3
I I 3

ERM personal.

Discusses possible candidate for position of Associate Director of IIE. After discussing Oliver Garceau, letter states:

"Alger Hiss has written a letter to Larry Duggan concerning Richard Winslow. He expected that this letter would be brought to your attention during Larry's absence from New York. If the letter has been forwarded to Mexico City, I can supply you with a carbon copy. I know Winslow and can add my endorsement to that of Hiss."

ECP

Letter, 11/15/47, E. C. Carter to ERM. I B 3
I I 4
ERM dead file. III G 2

Asks for luncheon date at Century Club to discuss two matters. Attached, letter of 12/8/47 enclosing copy of letter sent to Manarey (sic.) suggesting that Paley Foundation contribute to IPR and asking for further luncheon date with Manarey. Letter of 12/8 states "it was grand seeing you, and I hope you got a few minutes with Mr. Paley on this matter over the weekend".

ECP

News Broadcast 12/21/48.

I B 3 ✓
I J 20

ERM

Re Laurence Duggan, duty is to report at some length. Duggan fell or jumped from 16th floor. There were no witnesses and he left no note. Rep. Mundt released secret testimony a few hours later from Isaac Don Levine that Chambers had identified Duggan to Berle as having furnished documents in 1939. Chambers denies having named Duggan except as, in Chambers' opinion, a member of a "pro-Soviet bloc" in State Department. Mundt said his Committee had not called Duggan because they believed Duggan might be called by Grand Jury. Grand Jury had not subpoenaed him. Hiss said he was shocked at death of one of his very good friends and that Duggan was "victim of persecution". Duggan gave no sign that he was being persecuted. "You will see from what I have just reported . . . that the only evidence linking Duggan to espionage . . . [is] the unsupported statement of one Isaac Don Levine--a statement subsequently denied by Whittaker Chambers who, according to Mr. Levine, made the original charge. . . . It is on the basis of such evidence--or rather, lack of it--that a dead man's character is being destroyed in some of the public prints . . .". Duggan gave no sign of intention to commit suicide. ERM was Chairman of Board of IIE when Duggan was selected as director. Mundt says he is thinking of making recommendations for changing procedure at Committee hearings to give persons the right to be heard before a report is issued. "The members of the Committee who have done this thing upon such slight and wholly discredited testimony may not consult their actions and their consciences. . . . Well, the truth is hard to come by under the present system of congressional investigation. And certainly, in the espionage case, what we want most are the facts--the truth. . . ."

ECP

CBS

Text of editorial comment on 12/21/48 broadcast re death of Laurence Duggan. Eloquent criticism of press treatment of Duggan, in light of week testimony available to committee and Chambers' denial. Reference (p. 2) to Hiss statement that he was shocked at the death of one of his very good friends, and that Duggan was a "victim of persecution". Refutes suggestion that Duggan was a suicide.

"Tonight Representative Mundt says: 'The Duggan affair is a closed book so far as the House Committee is concerned.' The Representative from South Dakota also says he is thinking of making some recommendations for changing the procedure at Committee hearings, maybe even giving the accused persons the right to be heard before the Committee issues a report.

"The members of the Committee who have done this thing upon such slight and wholly discredited testimony may now consult their actions and their consciences.

"Well, the truth is hard to come by under the present system of Congressional investigation. And certainly, in the espionage case, what we want most are the facts - the truth. But perhaps there's some comfort in this thought by Lincoln Steffens, who once said: 'Men do not seek the truth. It is truth that pursues men who run away and will not look around.' Good Night and Good Luck!"

ECP

12/29 & 30/48 letters, ERM to Duggan Sr. I B 3

ERM dead file.

Letters written shortly after death of Laurence Duggan. Annexed is letter, 12/29/48, from Duggan to ERM, enclosing draft of letter to be sent to Times, commenting on Mundt release after Laurence's death and on general press treatment. ERM approves draft in letter of 12/30.

ECP

Tribute to Laurence Duggan.

I B 3
I I 3

ERM personal

Tribute to Laurence Duggan put out by IIE after his death. Quotes Shuster (Chairman of Board of Trustees) that Institute feels sense of deepest sorrow and bereavement; Duggan a dear friend and brilliant chief of enterprise; Board has always had greatest confidence in his integrities, patriotism. "It has learned of nothing to shake that confidence." Gives brief statement of Duggan's contribution to the Institute's affairs. Quotes statement by Sumner Welles that Duggan was "one of the most brilliant, most devoted and most patriotic public servants I have ever known."

ECP

Undated biographical data, Laurence Duggan. I B 3

ERM personal.

States positions held, 1927-45, to "present".
Includes work with State Department, 1930-1944.

ECP

ERM personal.

Proposing action to raise fund in memory of L. Duggan, to be presented to IIE for purposes of Institute.

ERM response: Delighted to serve in any way I can.

ECP

1/21/49 letter, MacLeish to ERM. I B 3

ERM personal.

Form letter re proposed Laurence Duggan fund, attaching form letter to be sent out to possible donors.

Attached: Form letter, unaddressed, on letterhead of "The Laurence Duggan Fund". "The tragedy of Laurence Duggan's death, and of the events which followed it, demanded of all Americans a searching of conscience and a reaffirmation of the great enduring values for which, in the past, this Republic has always stood--the values from which Larry himself never turned aside. . . . His friends remember what he was--a servant of his country, both in its government and out, whose labor for the common cause of freedom and democracy and peace was as devoted as it was intelligent . . . ."

Persons listed as representing Fund: James Phinney Baxter; John Dickey; H. W. Dodds; David Lilienthal; Gardner Jackson; ERM; Drew Pearson; Sumner Welles; Charles Wyzanski.

ECP

2/10/49 letter, H. M. Daggett (Foreign Policy Association) to ERM. I B 3

ERM personal.

Furnishes text of resolution recording dismay and distress at untimely death of Duggan who, as a public servant, worked indefatigably and wisely in behalf of friendly, harmonious and just relations between U. S. and Latin-American republics and who, as Director of IIE, was a valued, respected and helpful member of FPA Board.

ECP

2/12/49 letter, MacLeish to ERM. I B 3

ERM personal.

Acknowledges gift in memory of Laurence Duggan ($100).

ECP

2/25/49 letter, Nicely to MacLeish. I B 3

ERM personal.

Criticizes MacLeish appeal letter re Duggan Fund.

Second paragraph, re obligations "to set our consciences straight", seems to point to the suicide--Alger Hiss persecution theory--as to which there is not the slightest shred of evidence. This recalls comment of a "young man of leftish enthusiasm" re "Duggan tragedy", obviously inferring that he had been persecuted to death by reactionaries. Does not believe this and it is no compliment to Duggan to support that theme unless there is real evidence to back him up.

ECP

4/5/49 copy, letter, MacLeish to Nicely. I B 3

ERM personal.

Acknowledges letter of 2/25. Has no doubt Duggan's death was accidental and, for that reason, events of the following 24 hours constitute a charge on the consciences of all of us. When this republic sinks so low that the death of one of noblest of public servants can be regarded, on mere say-so of an ambitious politician, as proof he must have been a spy or disloyal, every citizen must hang his head in shame. Hours following Duggan's death was blackest in the lifetime of our generation.

ECP

Pegler column, N.Y. Journal-American
3/17/54.

I B 3
I C 2
I I 3

News clippings.

Attacks ERM for association with IIE, Moscow summer school. Gives ERM the lie over summer school being cancelled. Points out colleagues on Advisory Council: Counts, Hutchins, Flanagan, Duggan Sr., Duggan Jr.

ECP

Pegler column, N.Y. Journal-American
3/19/54.

I B 3 ✓
I C 2
I I 3

Press clippings.

"Murrow-McCarthy Feud And Moscow University".
A typically disjointed item wandering from Andrew Mellon via ERM to Mundt Committee, Shotwell and Frederick Vanderbilt Field and on to IPR. Returns to National Advisory Council and Russian seminar in 1933, criticizing ERM for saying that 1935 session was cancelled.

ECP

2/18/35 Pittsburgh Sun Telegraph, pp. 1 and 6.

I C 2
I I 4

ERM

Contains article "American Professors, Trained by Soviet, Teach in U. S. Schools". Attacks Counts for declaring a "crusade" against the Hearst newspapers over their exposure of Communist influences and propaganda in American schools. States, in bold-face type, Counts is "official advisor to the Moscow State University".

Tied up with Counts are members of National Advisory Council of Moscow State University Summer School for 1935. Continues with excerpts from, and reproductions of, brochure "Moscow State University--Summer Session (Anglo-American Section)--1935--American Representative Intourist, Inc.", and listing Advisory Council. Included among members: Counts, John Dewey, Stephen Duggan, ERM.

Item has been used by McC Comm. and known to them for some time.

ECP

4/21/48 letter, Ward Wheelock Company to ERM. I C 2

ERM dead file

Encloses letters representative of violent protests against ERM programs accusing him of being a Communist. Appears to be a definite undercurrent of thinking that ERM's interpretations lean toward "liberalism or left, or Wallace, or Communism". Suggests this be counteracted by ERM giving personal views on Communism vs. U. S. Such proposal would need clear-cut, unmistakeable and unargueable Americana background. "There are comments - not all from the nuts (who are always with us) - that you are pink."

ECP

ERM dead file

Wheelock phoned to say Campbell objected to piece on 12/21/48 re Laurence Duggan. Client feels ERM was carrying a torch in engaging in personal defense and editorializing. ERM said conditions for broadcast were spelled out in contract and did not propose to have news judgment passed on by client or agency. ". . . if the client were sufficiently dissatisfied he could, I assume, fail to pick up the option."

ECP

Letter "Washboard" to ERM 11/24/53. I C 2
I H 3

CBS

On 11/17/53 Surine, "one of McC's closest assistants", asked what I was doing turning out junk like that Radulovich story; said "What would you say if I could prove to you right now that Murrow was on the Soviet payroll in '35"? Produced photostats of Pittsburgh Hearst paper for 1935 re American program for study at Moscow with Intourist paying part of expense. Surine reviewed names on the Anglo-American seminar identifying various people as Communist-fronters, pro-Communists, relatives of suspected Communists. Surine said ERM's handling of Radulovich story played right into Communists' hands; ERM was falling into danger of becoming an "anti-anti-Communist"; was bitter about liberal commentators who defended Hiss, Remington, White; spoke very feelingly that he was not accusing ERM of being a Communist "but for God's sake why couldn't Murrow understand what was at stake here".

Ev

ECP

Memorandum of McCarthy plans for attack on ERM.

I C 2
I H 3

ERM

ECP

Indianapolis Star 2/24/54, p. 14. I C 2

GBS

Editorial "Red Kiss for Mikemen". John Martin, radio critic for Daily Worker, credits ERM with "magnificent See It Now sequences on TV". Now we know how ERM, Frank Edwards and Vandercook stand with Moscow's mouthpiece. ERM is adept at establishing relative values from which he may evolve cutting analysis, if it suits his purpose; he will surely disregard this one. "A man that flattereth his neighbor spreadeth a net for his feet" (Proverbs, 36:5).

McC memo indicates intention to use this editorial as part of attack on ERM.

Compare telegram, 3/9/54, Pulliam (publisher of Indianapolis Star) to Paley: "You are 100% right on McC. Stand by your guns."

EL

Pegler column, N.Y. Journal-American
3/17/54.

I B 3
I C 2
I I 3

News clippings.

Attacks ERM for association with IIE, Moscow summer school. Gives ERM the lie over summer school being cancelled. Points out colleagues on Advisory Council: Counts, Hutchins, Flanagan, Duggan Sr., Duggan Jr.

ECP

N.Y. Journal-American 3/18/54.

I C 2
I I 3

Press clippings.

Editorial by E. F. Tompkins "Education in Moscow". McCarthy won a polemical victory by reminding ERM of his association in the 1930's with Moscow State U. Intourist prospectuses were overladen with fulsome praises of Russian Communism. Gives ERM the lie over cancellation of '35 session. Quotes from Intourist publicity material. "Soviet Russia was gratified". Students complain that every Soviet teacher in every course tirelessly gave them Communist indoctrination. "The Hearst newspapers exposed the scheme in February (1935) and the Session was not held."

ECP

Pegler column, N.Y. Journal-American
3/19/54.

I B 3
I C 2
I I 3

Press clippings.

"Murrow-McCarthy Feud And Moscow University".
A typically disjointed item wandering from Andrew Mellon via ERM to Mundt Committee, Shotwell and Frederick Vanderbilt Field and on to IPR. Returns to National Advisory Council and Russian seminar in 1933, criticizing ERM for saying that 1935 session was cancelled.

ECP

Clipping, 3/23/54, N.Y. Journal. I C 2
I I 3

CBS

"'Seminar' in Russia". Refers to two brochures "issued by or for the Soviet Government to drum up student trade for the Communist 'American Summer School in Moscow' in 1933, 1934 and 1935." ERM, CBS anti-McCarthyite, is listed as member of "Advisory" group in both pamphlets. More will be heard of this as the McC Committee has copies of the documents and ERM has compelled the Committee to make proper use of them. Contains quotes from 1933 issue. Lists membership of "Advisory Committee" in 1933.

Article appears under by-line of E. F. Tompkins.

ECP

2/20/35 copy of editorial in Philadelphia Public Record.. I C 3 ✓ I I 3

Frank Graham

Pokes fun at Hearsts New York American for treatment of Moscow Summer session as Bolshevik agency. Points out that Henry Ford, Andrew Mellon, du Pont representatives, RCA Corp., Owen D. Young, and other businesses and business men have acted in capacity of paid consultants to USSR; that American Metal Company, of which a Hearst representative is a director, has been doing business with the "Nationalizers of Women" at Moscow.

ECP

1/30/48 Summary of article "The 'High Aims' of Mr. Duggan". I C 3 ✓ I I 3

IIE files

Reprinted from Uchitelskaya Gazeta (translated: "Teachers Gazette"), Soviet publication, 1/30/48 issue. Principally directed to attacking Stephen Duggan and Laurence Duggan as directors of IIE. Strongly condemns IIE as spy agency. Pertinent excerpts:

"The Institute of International Education was organized under the stamp of the well-known philanthropic Carnegie fund. But this was merely a mask and not a particularly clever one. From the very first days of its existence, the IIE had been the centre of international propaganda for American reaction, the nursery of a special detachment of American residents in all parts of the globe. As from 1926 when the Institute had given practical evidence of its ability to perform the tasks laid upon it, a special conference of representatives of the Morgan and Rockefeller philanthropic organizations financing the Institute and of representatives of the American Education Council which was the ideological and political inspiration behind it, turned the IIE into a monopoly American institution for international pedagogic relations, for training legal 'pedagogic' spies and informers and for establishing an 'American column' in every country.

". . .

"As to the political colour of the Institute, it will suffice to say that one member of its management is the notorious John Foster Dulles - one of the most violent of the warmongers, publicly branded by A. Ya. Vyshinski; others are Thomas Lamont - big banker and director of a number of industrial and transport corporations; E. Morrow - reactionary radio commentator; Paul Monroe, Virginia Gildersleeve, and a whole pleiad of such educationalists with long experience in planting American 'educational' institutions in colonial and semi-colonial countries."

3/14/54 editorial in Miami Daily News.

Frank Graham

I C 3
I H 4
I I 3

"A Smear Of America's Leadership Should Close Book on McCarthy". Criticises McC treatment of ERM--IIE connection with Moscow State University Summer Session in 1935. Points out session was called off. Membership of Association reads like dictionary of American business and culture.

ECP

Pegler column on ERM-McC feud
and Moscow University from 3/19/54
Journal-American.

I C 2

News Clip.

Contains reference to F. V. Field reprinted in IRR reports.

ECP

CBS Biography File.

CBS Reference Dep't

I D
I E

"Industry Activities" section of biography file.

Gives awards received, 1938-1953.

ECP

4/8/48 CBS Press Release I D

CBS

Announces that ERM will address Governors' Conference on 6/14/48. Also speaking will be Dorothy Thompson. Speakers of preceding years were Eisenhower and Nimitz.

ECP

Advertisement, N.Y. Times for 4/9/48. I D

CBS

Lists 12 awards given to ERM in past ten years, with citations.

ECP

Information reflected in ERM correspondence file. I D

ERM dead file.

Received George Foster Peabody radio award on April 21, 1949, apparently for second time ~~successive year~~. This reflected in congratulatory messages and news clips.

ECP

4/20/51 CBS announcement. I D

ERM Personal--"HIN"

ERM to be awarded George Foster Peabody Award for reporting of the news on "Hear It Now" 4/26/51. Citation, quoted in full, notes that ERM won similar awards in 1943 and 1949.

ECP

8/26/52 CBS News release. I D

CBS Reference Dep't.

Doolittle to present ERM with Annual Arts and Letters Award of the Air Force Association on 8/30/52. Award cites ERM as "the man who has done the most during the past year in the field of arts and letters to further public interest in and understanding of Air Power as an element of our National Defense."

ECP

National Fellowship Commission Award. I D

ERM clip file.

ERM awarded 1954 National Award of the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission for outstanding contributions to human dignity, freedom and security.

Citation reads in part: "To Edward R. Murrow: Whose penetrating and objective reports on the universal human quest for security, dignity and freedom inspire countless people to work for social justice, with a quickened hope of achieving it in their time. Who upholds America's traditions of full and impartial investigation, fair play and innocence until proved guilty; and courageously presents controversial issues without presenting personal animosities, without confusing evil with evil-doers . . . ."

ECP

3/21/54 telegram, Redding to ERM. I D

CBS

Announces selection of ERM as one of five persons to be "speakers-of-the-year" for 1953". Citation by Tau Kappa Alpha, national college honor society in speech. Others: Eisenhower (national affairs); Ford (business and commerce); Meany (labor); Bishop Oxnam (religion). ERM award for educational-scientific-cultural activities. "Citation now in its fifth year recognizes persons in public life for their superior speaking ability. Specifically, those who are distinguished for effective, intelligent, and responsible speech; those who by their oral communication have enlightened the understanding and quickened the conscience of the American people; those whose speech skills have contributed to the strengthening of American democracy. More details will follow by letter in a few days."

ECP

Information from ERM received 3/22/54.

ERM

The Polk Awards are given by Long Island University. The Award is made by decision of the Board of Trustees.

Polk was a CBS reporter who was generally understood to have been murdered by Communists in Greece at the end of the war. A rumor was circulated to the effect that he had been a Communist who had double-crossed the Party, and that this was the occasion for his murder. It is not believed that there is anything in this rumor, which has ceased being current.

ECP

ok

3/30/54 Herald Tribune I D

Press clipping.

ERM awarded Overseas Press Club award for best consistent television presentation of foreign affairs at Overseas Press Club dinner. Received an ovation each time he arose to accept his honors, and especially after Barkham referred to him as a man who recently added a whole new dimension to television, who boldly stepped in where everyone else feared to tread.

Others receiving awards: Alsop brothers, Howard K. Smith, Elmer Davis, Michael Rougier, Walter Lippmann.

ECP

Publicity release "This--is Edward R. Murrow". I E

CBS

Complete biography of ERM, including chronology of employments; institute memberships; honoraria received; sketch of connection with CBS.

ECP

List of ERM Clubs and Organizations. I E

McDonough.

Article "Murrow Sticks to the News". I E
I G

Saturday Evening Post, 12/10/49.

Article by Wesley Price. Headlined "He peddles no gossip, repeats no rumors, exhorts no listener to write his congressman. Yet Ed Murrow has built a hugh national audience for his fair-minded radio reporting."

ECP

Newsweek cover story. I E

ERM (Kay Campbell).

Cover story on ERM, 3/9/53 issue of Newsweek entitled "Edward R. Murrow of CBS: Diplomat, Poet, Preacher". Deals principally with "See It Now" program.

ECP

Profile in World Telegram and Sun,
Saturday Magazine, 5/3/53, on ERM.

I E

ERM

ECP

3/29/54 Newsweek.

I E
I H 4

Cover article on ERM treating Murrow-McCarthy controversy in objective, not very flattering, lot.

ECP

Office communication: O'Shea to Stanton--12/31/53 I F
III F

F. S. security files

O'Shea informs Stanton that he had prevented the Radio Division from using Tempo Productions' films as long as a year ago.

CBS-Columbia did not hire Tempo films directly. It was done through McCann-Erickson. Tempo films were dropped by CBS-Columbia before the Counterattack piece came out.

This memorandum refers to the Counterattack issue of 12/25/53.

J.E.R.

"COUNTERATTACK"

I F—
III B

1/15/54

ERM featured Theodore White, author of the recently published book "Fire In The Ashes; Europe in Mid-Century", on his Person-to-Person TV show and plugged his book. The book had been praised by Raymond Graham Swing and many others. Rest of two pages is primarily devoted to showing alleged pro-communist leanings ~~to~~ Theodore White.

JER

Counterattack, Vol. XIII, No. 12, 3/19/54.

I F
III B

CBS

Why does the Communist press praise ERM so highly? No radio or TV commentator has received as much praise from the CP press during past few months as ERM. Daily Worker consistently plugs "See It Now" and "Person to Person"; news commentary has recently been getting same favorable treatment. ERM criticized State Dep't for not embracing Churchill's proposal of talks with Malenkov which was supported by Communists. Attacked Brownell on H. D. White case and misrepresented basis on which White received Federal Grand Jury clearance in '47. Accused Eisenhower and Brownell of asserting that a dead man was a spy without producing evidence. Received high praise from CP for Radulovich program. McC program is example of devious techniques: Misquotation of McC as to CLU being listed as a subversive front (refers to H.R. # 2290, 71st Cong., 1931; Mass. H.R. # 2100 (1938); N.Y. Leg. Rep. # 90 (1939); 1943 and 1948 Calif. committee reports; Browder testimony in '39). Deplores "guilt by the association" but used "innocence by association" in connection with IIE charges. Was on Advisory Committee of the Bureau of University Travel promoting Russian seminar in 1933; gives quotes from brochure. "Pro-Soviet tone" provides all commentary necessary on ERM's explanation as to why "he served the Moscow State University in 1935"; asks if ERM's interest in international education extended, on the same plane, to Hitler Germany. Quotes from Owen Lattimore book complimentary to ERM. Criticizes Wertenbaker, author of New Yorker profile 12/26/53. ERM quoted from Brecht, leading cultural light in Communist world, on 10/27/53 broadcast. Cites 2/22/52 issue of Counterattack in defense of Lattimore. ERM "talks on the side of the angels" but "preaches dangerous doctrine", vastly underrating the domestic Communist party menace. This points up lack of real understanding in many quarters of Moscow's conspiracy which is a threat to U.S. survival.

ECP

ECP

CBS News Release, 12/1/41. I G (

CBS

Announces that 1,100 of nation's leaders of thought and action gather on 12/2 to honor ERM at a testimonial dinner, following his return to U.S. Speakers will include Paley, MacLeish, Elmer Davis, Shirer. Present will be Poletti (Lt. Gov.), Fly (F.C.C.), Chancellor of the Archdiocese of New York, Acting Mayor Newbold Morris, etc.

ECP

Letter 7/21/47, H. B. Swope to ERM, and
reply 7/23/47.

ERM dead file.

Congratulates ERM on returning to broadcasting. "I am glad you are shifting your work so that we may again hear your carefully chosen words and your well thought out schemes. Verbum Sapiente." One of numerous congratulatory letters received in about same time.

ECP

12/11/47 letter, J. E. Davies to ERM. I G 1

ERM dead file

Congratulates ERM on receipt of award of Radio Editors. "At a time when hysteria is sweeping over the country, a steady voice, with high purpose and obvious American spirit, is of the greatest value."

ECP

5/18/48 letter, Forrestal (Sec'y of Defense) to ERM. I G 1

ERM dead file.

Repeats that ERM cannot take a consulting position, evidently offered by Forrestal and Symington. (See ERM letter of 5/14/48, attached.)

ECP

6/8/48 letter, Eisenhower to ERM. I G 1

ERM dead file.

Thanks ERM for congratulatory wire (attached). "It was just like you to think of an old friend on a day that has so much significance for him."

ECP

5/12/49 and 4/26/49 letters, I G 1
Cordell Hull to ERM.

ERM dead file.

Re possible participation by Hull in ERM broadcasts. Excerpts: "Let me . . . extend my greetings and congratulations upon your fine accomplishments in the radio world"; "Needless to say, I have long enjoyed very much your daily broadcasts".

ECP

letter, 7/8/49, Gen. H. A. Johnson (CG, Tenth Air Force) to ERM. I G 1 I J 2

ERM dead file.

Broadcast on 7/6 was one of greatest "boosts" for the Air Force Reserve program to date. Program will benefit immeasurably by coverage and prestige given through ERM comments, which will be responsible for a larger number of reservists attending camp this year.

ECP

Article "Murrow Sticks to the News",

Saturday Evening Post, 12/10/49.

I E
I G

Article by Wesley Price. Headlined "He peddles no gossip, repeats no rumors, exherts no listener to write his congressman. Yet Ed Murrow has built a hugh national audience for his fair-minded radio reporting."

ECP

1/4/50 letter, Dillon (Chief, Radio-TV Branch, National Mil. Estab., Office of Public Info.) to ERM. I G 1 I J 2

ERM dead file.

Thanks ERM for his work for Dep't of Defense since the radio and television services of the Armed Forces have been combined.

ECP

1/6/50 letter, John Dickey (Pres., Dartmouth) to ERM. I G 1

ERM dead file.

". . . I also want you to know that quite a few of us appreciate your going to all the trouble involved in such an undertaking [year-end roundup] in order to help the rest of us find a true perspective in this squally weather."

ECP

4/18/50 draft of letter to
R. M. Budd (Campbell Soup).

I G 1
I L

ERM dead file.

Replying to letter transmitting interchange of correspondence with critical ERM listeners. Shows strong resentment to failure of Campbell Soup to react more vigorously in ERM's favor on receiving letters questioning his loyalty. Refers to many personal friends, some of them high government officials, who have either been murdered or exiled by Communists in Europe. Refers to fact that ERM has been and is a whipping boy for the Moscow radio. Refers to repeated receipt of Overseas Press Club Award; to Forrestal offer in 1948 of position as Assistant Secretary of Defense; to request from McCloy to act as Assistant to the High Commissioner in Germany; refers to unsolicited letter from J. Edgar Hoover commending fairness, objectivity and accuracy of broadcasts; refers to recent broadcast with Gen. Omar Bradley, Lord Woolton, Governor Warren; refers to private invitations to lunch with Churchill.

Final letter, dated 4/20/50, omits this material. Attached to draft is letter from Budd dated 4/14/50, carbon of ERM reply as sent, and carbons of correspondence with complaining listeners.

ECP

Letter, 10/3/50, Mrs. F. D. Roosevelt to ERM. I G 1

ERM dead file.

Comments on heightened interest in U.N. since meetings have been televised. "It certainly is wonderful, and I hope the broadcasts will continue."

ECP

Letter, 11/14/50, Brien McMahon
(Senator, Conn.) to ERM.

I G 1

ERM dead file.

Missed ERM's broadcast during the campaign.
"So many of my friends listened to it and I know it did a lot of good. I am very grateful and I hope to see you soon."

ECP

Letter, 12/26/50, Case (Congressman, S. Dak., and member House Un-American Activities Committee) to ERM. I G 1

ERM dead file.

Apologizes for failing to respond to telegram asking views. "I think all America is appreciative of the great service you have rendered in charge of news reports at Columbia Broadcasting".

ECP

1/16/51 letter, Stuart Symington (Chairman, National Security Resources Board) to ERM.

I G 1

ERM dead file.

"I want to congratulate you on the great job you are doing for your country."

ECP

Letter, Caldwell (Administrator, Fed. Civ. Def. Admin.) to ERM. 4/11/51 I G 1 I J 2

ERM dead file.

Extends appreciation for narration by ERM of motion picture "Survival Under Atomic Attack".

ECP

Letter 5/1/51, Farley to ERM. I G 1

ERM dead file.

Notes ERM willreceive recognition for work at dinner to be held at Waldorf-Astoria on 5/16. "May I extend hearty congratulations and best wishes for your continued success, good health and happiness."

ECP

5/29/51 letter, Hoyt S. Vandenberg (Air Force Chief of Staff) to ERM. I G 1

ERM dead file.

Congratulates ERM on production of B-36 documentary "Hear It Now" on 4/27/51 and follow-up program of 5/4/51. Expresses appreciation of entire Air Force for ERM's continued efforts to interpret the mission of the Air Force with authenticity, talent and creative skill.

ECP

6/26/51 letter, Samuel Goldwyn to ERM. I G 1

ERM dead file.

Congratulates ERM on Korea commentary. "You are rendering a great service to the nation, and I am sure you are winning more friends every day." [File contains large number of such letters from Goldwyn.]

ECP

6/28/51 letter, Congressman Lane (Mass.) to ERM. I G 1

ERM dead file.

Enclosing receipt of remarks in connection with Voice of America, gives all good wishes for continued success "as one of our highly respected radio commentators".

ECP

7/14/51 letter, Ickes to ERM. I G 1

ERM dead file.

Expresses keen appreciation of ERM personal reaction to Ickes' statement before Senate Subcommittee on question of morals in the Executive and Legislative Branches of the Government.

ECP

2-page Ad from N.Y. Times Magazine
of 10/4/53.

I G 1

N.Y. Times.

Advertisement placed by American Petroleum Institute with ERM interviewing a "panel" on facts in the oil industry.

ECP

Letter, Gildersleeve to ERM, 3/12/54. I G 1

ERM

Offers to give statement about Moscow Summer School if desired. Was a trustee of IIE for 25 years and remembers the Moscow episode. Congratulations and best wishes.

ECP

Letter, 4/6/54, James T. Shotwell to Stanton.

I G 1 —
I H 3

Stanton.

Gives story behind Field reference in 1938 letter (see IPR hearings) to group of Marxists, said to include ERM, meeting at Shotwell's house.

ECP

File of Congratulatory letters. I G 1

ERM

Letters congratulating ERM, as follows:

1/14/54	Peterson (Adm., Civil Def. Adm.)
1/19/53	Vandenberg (C of S, Air Force)
2/3/54	Frank Carlson (Kansas Senator)
6/30/52	Lawrence Wilkinson (Chairman, N.Y. Civ. Def.)
2/25/52	Estes Kefauver (Tenn. Senator)
12/6/51	Paul Gaynor (Dep't of Defense - Office of Pub. Adm.)
11/15/51	Harold E. Stassen (U. of Pa.)
11/18/51	David E. Lilienthal (telegram from Washington)
10/30/52	Anna M. Rosenberg (Ass't Sec'y of Defense)
1/6/53	Trygvie Lie (Sec'y Gen'l, UN)
10/22/53	John A. DeChant (Fed. Civil Def. Adm.,Dir. Pub. Affairs)
3/17/52	Chester Bowles (Amer. Ambassador at New Delhi, India)
2/17/53	Alben W. Barkley (Vice Pres., U.S.)
10/2/50	Frank Pace (Sec'y of the Army)
12/13/49	A. H. Vandenberg (Mich. Senator)
9/30/50	
9/30/50	Cordell Hull
9/29/50	Felix Frankfurther (Sup. Ct., U.S.)
9/30/50	Lauris Norstad (Lt. Gen., Vice C of S, USAF)
9/29/50	Howard (Att'y Gen'l)
11/21/53	R. Anderson (Sec'y of the Navy)
11/5/53	G. C. Marshall (Gen'l of the Army)
4/29/53	Mark W. Clark (C in C, Far East and UN Commands)
4/28/43	D. R. Nugent (Pub. Information Officer, HQ Far East Com'd)

ECP

Series of congratulatory letters. I G 1

ERM

2/28/52	Anna M. Rosenberg (Ass't Sec'y of Defense)
1/31/52	Kimball (Sec'y of the Navy)
1/6/54	Robert T. Stevens (Sec'y of the Army)
1/29/52	Earl Warren (Gov. of Calif.)
10/21/53	Herbert Lehman (N.Y. Senator)

ECP

ERM (Miss Foster).

File of letters from various sources congratulating ERM and Friendly on SIN programs.

ECP

4/25/49 CBS News Bulletin re tribute to ERM achievements. I G 2

CBS

Quotes Vice-President of Campbell Soup, sponsors of ERM With the News broadcast, paying tribute to ERM. ERM also pays tribute to Campbell Soups.

ECP

Telegram, Winchell to ERM. I G 2

ERM Personal--"HIN"

Has heard ERM will use Sunday night editorial. Advises that Congressman Dollinger inserted it in Congressional Record for 1/2/51. Quotes Dollinger's remarks.

Attached: Letter, ERM to Daily Mirror. Will try to work Winchell editorial into Friday night show.

ECP

Letter--3/25/54, Cecil and Presbrey (Ad. Agency) to ERM

I G 2

I H 4

CBS

Offers time on "Danger" program, sponsored by Block Drug Co. on behalf of Amm-i-dent Tooth Paste to ERM on April 6, CBS-TV to repeat 3-9 show just preceding McCarthy reply.

E.C.P.

2

1/28/50 letter, Hillman to CBS

I G 3 ✓
III D
III E

Communism--1950--F.S.

Protests deletion of portion of program in which Paul Draper appeared. Identification with groups on Attorney General's list is not relevant to Draper's dancing ability. Has enjoyed ability and frankness of Lesueur, H. K. Smith and ERM.

ECP

Clip, Daily Worker, 10/25/53.

I G 3
I J 15

CBS

Re Radulovich case, "[Ten million Americans] saw the Ed Murrow Show bring onto the stage the actor who has been so dismally missing--the Spirit of American democracy ready to challenge the hysterias of the unknown informer, the paid character assassin, and the take-it-or-leave-it arrogance of the Big Brass mouthing empty formulas about 'security'." Continues to extole Radulovich's loyalty while excoriating persons informing against Communists.

"Murrow talked solemnly about 'guilt by relationship', the 'doctrine of the 13th century revived by Hitler and Himmler.'"

ECP

Clip, Daily Worker, 12/1/53.

I G 3 ✓
I J 15

CBS

TV played significant role in victory of Radulovich over McCarthyism. "Such is the power of television when used in a just cause . . . It showed that when the American people are given the facts about a political frameup they will rally to the defense of our democratic tradition of free thought and fair play." Adds that, "Give a Smith or McCarren Act defendant the same opportunity to state his case freely . . . and the verdict is also bound to be not guilty."

ECP

"Unfit For The U. S. Senate". I G 3

The Worker, New York Harlem Sunday edition, 4/4/54.

The issue includes a four-page (pp. 7-10) slam at McC entitled "Unfit For The U. S. Senate". On page 10, under the title "McCarthy, Anti-Negro Racist", appears this paragraph:

> "The whole nation was shocked by McCarthy's persecution of Mrs. Annie Lee Moss which brought about her suspension from her Army job. On Edward R. Murrow's TV program Americans saw how McCarthy and his stooge Cohn worked. They tried to destroy this Negro woman by the unsupported use of dirty FBI slander and gossip files and the words of perjured stoolpigeons like Mary Stalcup Markward."

On the same page in an article entitled "The Big Lie Tactic", Lippmann is also mentioned:

> "McCARTHYITE FASCISM has never exposed a spy, as the conservative columnist, Walter Lippmann, notes. . . ."

BP

B.A.P.

Daily Worker--3/9/54

I G 3
II F 7

Anti-McCarthy articles.

CBS Says 'No' To McCarthy, p. 1.

Representative McCarthy Assails Senator, p. 1, calling for a halt to "the trend of branding people guilty until they are proved innocent".

Appeasement of McCarthy Spurs New GOP Drive Against Labor, p. 4.

Editorial, "Put Him On The Stand", p. 5.

AFL Leaders Assail Smear Tactics By Jenner, McCarthy, p. 6.

2 McCarthyites Running For N. J. Congress Seats, p. 8 (T. James Tumulty, William Musto "a latecomer to the witchhunts").

Quits Draft Board, Hits McCarthy, p. 8 (Major General Hartle quits draft board at Hagerstown, Maryland, with blast at Stevens "appeasement and surrender".

Letters to Trib Back Blast at McCarthy, p. 8 (mail 6 to 2 in favor of Herald Tribune's editorial blasting Eisenhower-Stevens surrender to McCarthy).

In this issue, See It Now is recommended as one of "Tonight's Best Bets" on TV, p. 7.

BP

B.A.P.

Daily Worker--3/10/54

I G 3
II F 7

Anti-McCarthy articles.

Country Sees Hitler Tactic in McCarthyism, 'Labor' Says, p. 1. (Labor is weekly publication of railroad unions.)

Housewife Crusade Grows Against McCarthy, p. 2.

'I Believe Benton' Movement Aims To Smoke Out McCarthy, p. 2.

Michigan Labor Papers Hit McCarthy, p. 2.

GOP'er Urges President: Stop McCarthy, p. 2, (Republican State Committeewoman Joan B. Colt urging Eisenhower to stop invasion of McCarthyism on the "free creative spirit of liberty").

Rabbi Urges Brave Fight on McCarthy, p. 2 (Rabbi Herbert Friedman of Milwaukee).

UE Raps Deal With GE, Carey and McCarthy, p. 3 (UE: United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers).

LYL [Labor Youth League] letter to 'Times' Assails Witchhunt Aid, p. 4.

Editorial, "The Communists' Ideas", p. 5.

McCarthy Fumes At CBS 'No'; Ducks Questions, p. 6.

BP

B.A.P.

"Best Bets" I G 3

Daily Worker issues

The Daily Worker column "Best Bets" (TV, radio, drama, films, art and music) recommended on the following dates the Murrow programs:

See It Now	Daily Worker issue of:
	12/8/53
	12/22/53
	1/5/54
	1/12/54
	1/19/54
	2/2/54
	2/9/54
	2/16/54
	2/23/54
	3/2/54
	3/9/54
	3/16/54
	3/23/54
Person To Person	12/18/53
	1/8/54
	1/15/54
	1/22/54
	1/29/54
	2/19/54
	3/12/54
ERM News (Radio)	3/16/54
	3/23/54
	3/24/54

BP

B.A.P.

Daily Worker--3/17/54

I G 3
II F 7

Anti-McCarthy articles.

Vote Public Probe of Army Case on McCarthy, Cohn, p. 1.

Redbaiters Are Like Roy Cohn, Says LYL [Labor Youth League] Head, p. 3.

No More 'Yakking' By McCarthy on Page 1, Says Paper [Clinton Herald, Iowa], p. 3.

Stamp Out McCarthyism (William Z. Foster), p. 4.

McCarthy Would Silence Opposition, Says Bennett Cerf, p. 7.

RP

B.A.P.

3/22/54 letter, Association of Radio News Analysts to ERM. I G 4

ERM

Transmits text of resolution noting McC's questioning of veracity and integrity of ERM, mindful of requirements of code of ethics that radio news analysts maintain painstaking anduracy and observe sound judgment and good taste, recalling ERM's long membership in Association. Association goes on record that ERM has continued to uphold the ideals and ethics of the Association.

ECP

Crosby column, N.Y. Herald Tribune
for March , 1954.

News Clip

Congratulates ERM on Annie Lee Moss program.

ECP

3/9/53 Newsweek Magazine. I H 1

ERM (Kay Campbell).

P. 44: Paley is satisfied with ERM, especially as a thinker. "And so, curiously, it is said, is Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy satisfied. He is quoted as observing that he wished every radio and TV commentator were as fair as Ed Murrow."

This was origin of New Yorker statement that McC has commended ERM for his fairness. Excerpt appears in cover story on ERM.

ECP

McCarthy commendation of ERM. I H 1

12/26/53 New Yorker, p. 29.

"Among the public men who have commended Murrow for his fairness is Senator Joseph McCarthy."

ECP

ERM--This is the News--3/11/54

CBS

Senator McCarthy also said that this reporter, who as the United Press put it "sharply criticized McCarthy in a Tuesday night television program", was an American advisor to the Moscow University Summer session in 1935, and according to Senator McCarthy's broadcast tonight he said that this school was dedicated to the violent overthrow of the entire traditions of western democracy. The rest of the story, some of the additional details and perhaps correction of my personal reaction will have to wait for another time.

J.E.R.

Carbon, letter, 3/21/50, ERM to R. T. Clark. I H 2

ERM dead file.

"After a week in Washington, I am prepared to refugee back to London. The whole McCarthy business is squalid beyond words . . . Acheson is in serious trouble but I believe he will survive. I hope so for he is the ablest man in this administration." File contains considerable information between ERM and Clark commenting on current affairs in Europe and this country.

ECP

See It Now I H 2

Kinescope Excerpts, 12/16/51 I J 20

Film of McC's "my cup and my heart are so full, I can't talk to you" speech at Milwaukee.

After McC returned to his seat mute, ERM commented with the dubbed-in voice of McC in the background:

"MR. MURROW: We too agree with the Senator in his disdain for politics by smear. We have no way of knowing what the Senator's thoughts were at this emotional moment in his career. But from here we cannot refrain from recalling another McCarthy on other days.

"SENATOR McCARTHY [voice in background]:

"The planks in Mr. Lattimore's platform are identical to the planks in the platform of the Communist Party.

"The law firm that was on record as the agent of Communist Poland was the law firm of Dean Gooderham Acheson.

"The almost criminal folly of the disastrous Marshall mission to China.

"Who paid for the smear campaign against Nationalist China, a campaign that was so successfully pioneered by the publication of Mr. Jessup's organization?

"MR. MURROW: We played recordings of those last three or four sentences from earlier speeches by Senator McCarthy to remind us of a time when he was attacking or smearing--whichever you like--Acheson, Marshall, Lattimore and others. It would appear that the difference between smearing and straightforward attack depends upon whose reputation is being gored. The Senator himself is now under attack."

(This sequence was run again in the "first" McC program without McC's accusations being dubbed in.)

BP

B.A.P.

See It Now

I H 2
I J 20

Kinescope Excerpts, 3/16/52
3/23/52

3/16/52, ERM interview with McC.

ERM: "Are you worried about being flung out of the Senate?"

McC: "You mean am I worried about being flung out by the voters of Wisconsin or by Connecticut's mental midget?"

ERM asks McC if protection is needed for citizens appearing before Congressional committees. McC: A man who tells the truth has nothing to worry about.

Discussion re Congressional immunity. McC attacks Benton objecting to McC's use of immunity to expose Communists and yet Benton notes on front of his testimony handed to press: "No part of this must be used by the press until it becomes immune as I testify."

3/23/52, ERM interview with Benton.

ERM refers to McC misquote just above.

"Now what actually appeared on the front of that 30,000 word document is this: 'No portion, synopsis or intimation may be given out, published or broadcast except under the conditions herein set forth.' Nothing was said whatever in the cover to that document about immunity. Later Senator Benton offered to waive his senatorial immunity."

Benton declares safeguards needed for individuals appearing before committees. Benton reads from Constitution's "immunity" clause: ". . . shall not be questioned in any other place." Senate should expel McC. ". . . and I documented my charges with 30,000 words, carefully documented showing how he [McC] was practicing fraud and deceit. . . ."

BP

B.A.P.

"ERM with the News" 2/2/54

I H 2
I J 20
II B 7

CBS

State Department investigation fails to prove McC charges that State Department employees engaged in "shake-down" of friendly foreign nation. McC replies information is correct.

JER

"ERM with the News" 2/11/54

I H 2
I J 20
II B 3,7

CBS

McC says price too high for him to stop attacks on "Democratic treason".

Stevens says no recollection of Army order to destroy Communist files. McC had so charged. McC admits mistake in accusing McCloy of ordering destruction of files involving Communist conspiracy in Germany. McC says, however, McCloy did order end to discrimination against party members seeking commissions. No comment by McCloy.

JEK

CBS

Script filed here

Report McC-Army dispute; publication of Army Report and unsigned committee memorandum. Committee members want early hearing.

ERM analysis of McC reply on Fulton Lewis Program:

I assume that most people have on their minds matters of more considerable substance than Senator McCarthy's opinion of this reporter, or mine of him. However, it might serve some purpose to set some part of the record straight. Let us begin with the subject of the Civil Liberties Union. Here is Senator McCarthy's statement on that subject, recorded while he was interrogating Reed Harris:

TAPE: HARRIS

Q. Did the Civil Liberties Union provide you with an attorney at any time?

A. I had many offers of attorneys and one of those was from the American Civil Liberties Union, yes.

Q. The question is did the Civil Liberties Union supply you with an attorney?

A. They did supply an attorney.

Q. The answer is yes?

A. The answer is yes.

Q. You know the Civil Liberties Union has been listed as a front for and doing the work of the Communist Party?

A. Mr. Chairman this was 1932.

Q. I know it was 1932. Do you know they since have been listed as a front for and doing the work of the Communist Party?

A. I do not know that they have been listed so, sir.

Q. You don't know they have been listed?

A. I have heard that mentioned or read that mentioned.

Now here is this reporter's comment, made on a recent television program:

TAPE: MURROW

"The Reed Harris hearing demonstrates one of the Senator's techniques. Twice he said the American Civil Liberties Union was listed as a subversive

BAP

2? Klivesope says federal gov't agency. 2?

"front. The Attorney General's list does not and has never listed the ACLU as subversive, nor does the F.B.I. or any other government agency. And the American Civil Liberties Union holds in its files letters of commendation from President Eisenhower, President Truman and General MacArthur."

Here again is what Senator McCarthy said last night, when asked by Fulton Lewis to comment on my remarks:

TAPE: MCCARTHY "May I say there are some individuals in the ACLU who are good Americans, but Murrow again was not telling the truth when he said it had not been listed. I have as you see here, Fulton, the fourth report of the un-American Activities Committee in California. I quote from page 107..this is a quotation in regard to the organization Murrow said had not been listed. "The American Civil Liberties Union may be definitely classed as a communist-front or transmission-belt organization. At least ninety percent of its efforts are expended on behalf of communists who come into conflict with the law"....so that again, Mr. Murrow is not telling the truth."

I specifically stated "the Attorney General's list, the F.B.I. and any other government agency". Someone lied - there's no doubt about that.

Now let us turn to another subject. Mr. Lewis last night asked the Senator to comment on a television program of which I am the editor. Here is Senator McCarthy's reply. (I have no hesitation in giving it such circulation as this broadcast may enjoy.)

TAPE: MCCARTHY "I may say, Fulton, that I have a little difficulty answering the specific attack he made because I never listen to the extreme left-wing, bleeding heart element of radio and television..."

The Senator may have me there. I may be a "bleeding heart", being not quite sure of what it means. As for being "extreme left wing", that is political shorthand; but if the Senator means that I am somewhat to the left of his position and of Louis XIV, he is correct.

Now here are the facts about that Moscow summer school. The date was 1935. I was the Assistant Director of the Institute of International Education. This organization dealt primarily

with the exchange of students and professors between this and foreign countries. It had established offices in London, Paris, Berlin, Geneva and elsewhere. It was largely financed at that time by the Carnegie Corporation and The Rockefeller Foundation. Among its board of trustees were such as John Foster Dulles, John Basset Moore, Thomas W. Lamont, Virginia Gildersleeve, and others equally distinguished. This board of trustees created an advisory committee in connection with a summer school in Moscow for graduate students, teachers and professors. Here is the list of advisors:

W. W. Charters, Director, Bureau of Educational Research, Ohio State University.

Harry Woodburn Chase, Chancellor of New York University.

George S. Counts, Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University.

John Dewey, Professor Emeritus of Philosophy, Columbia University.

Stephen Duggan, Director, Institute of International Education.

Hallie F. Flanagan, Professor of English, Vassar College.

Frank P. Graham, President, University of North Carolina.

Robert M. Hutchins, President, University of Chicago.

Charles H. Judd, Dean, School of Education, University of Chicago.

I. L. Kandel, Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University.

Robert L. Kelly, Secretary, Association of American Colleges.

John A. Kingsbury, Secretary, Milbank Memorial Fund.

Susan M. Kingsbury, Professor of Social Economy and Social Research, Bryn Mawr College.

Paul Klapper, Dean, School of Education, College of the City of New York.

Charles R. Mann, Director, American Council on Education.

Edward R. Murrow, Assistant Director, Institute of International Education.

William Allan Neilson, President, Smith College.

Howard W. Odum, Professor of Sociology, University of North Carolina.

William F. Russell, Dean, Teachers College, Columbia University.

H. W. Tyler, General Secretary, American Association of University Professors.

Ernest H. Wilkins, President, Oberlin College.

John W. Withers, Dean, School of Education, New York University.

Thomas Woody, Professor of History of Education, University of Pennsylvania.

Harvey W. Zorbaugh, Director, Clinic for the Social Adjustment of Gifted Children, New York University.

Some of the persons on that list are now dead, but presumably not yet immune from the Senator's attentions. It was and is a rather distinguished list, and I plead neither ignorance nor youth as the reason for my name being on it.

The Russian authorities abruptly, and without satisfactory explanation, cancelled the proposed summer school before it began, and most of the prospective members spent the summer travelling in the Soviet Union. I did not accompany the group to the Soviet Union. No effort was made to revive the venture, and the advisory council was therefore dissolved. The Institute of International Education continued to arrange student and professorial exchanges, and to make arrangements for American students to attend summer sessions in various foreign countries, but not in the Soviet Union.

I believed eighteen years ago, and I believe today that mature American graduate students and professors can engage in conversation and controversy, the clash of ideas, with communists <u>anywhere</u> under peacetime conditions, without becoming contaminated or converted. To deny this would be to admit that in the realm of ideas, faith and conviction, the communist cause, dogma and doctrine is stronger than our own. This reporter declines to admit that, but remains uncertain as to Senator McCarthy's position on this matter.

This seems to be the open season for quoting Lincoln. Last night, Senator McCarthy quoted from a Lincoln speech of 1838. I'd like to read you these words from that same speech: "I hope I am overwary, but if I am not, there is even now something of ill-omen amongst us. I mean the increasing disregard for law which pervades the country; the growing disposition to substitute the wild and furious passions, in lieu of the sober judgment of courts; and the worse than savage mobs, for the executive ministers of justice."

Good Nite and Good Luck!

Script filed here

ERM: With The News I H 2

Radio Script, 3/15/54

Report McC-Army dispute: Republican senators pressure McC to cancel public speaking tour and start hearings.

"This reporter tonight agreed to Senator McCarthy's suggestion, that the Senator appear on my television program on April sixth. A telegram from the Senator charged in part that I have 'consciously served the Communist cause.' I replied that I 'utterly deny' this charge. And I said in a telegram to the Senator: 'The record, when it is finished, will show who has served the Communist cause, you or I.'"

Dulles' warning of instant retaliation "appears to have registered in the Kremlin. For Mr. Malenkov has now become the first Soviet leader to admit publicly that the Soviet Union itself might be destroyed in an atomic war. Heretofore the Russians have said only, that capitalist countries would be destroyed in another war. Mr. Malenkov now asserts that <u>all</u> of civilization could be destroyed in an atomic war."

"This acknowledgment does not bear on the controversy over the 'new look'. But it is a tiny gleam of hope that the Soviet leaders may be preparing to do something to prevent war. They might, for one thing, break the logjam in the discussion of atomic control and disarmament. To say this is stretching optimism pretty far. But such gleams of hope are few, and they ought to be treasured."

ERM: With The News I H 2

Radio script: 3/16/54

Report McC-Army dispute: McC's committee to investigate charges.

Significance of battle of Dien Bien Phu; if French don't vote on EDC before Geneva Conference, France might be tempted "to bargain Asia for Europe--peace in Indo-China for no ratification of EDC and that bargain, if made, would be a Western defeat whatever the terms."

BAP

ERM: With The News I H 2

Radio script: 3/18/54

Report McC-Army dispute. Wilson before Senate Armed Services Committee: no case of subversion in the Armed Services has been turned up that was not previously known by the proper officials. McC quoted: "Edward R. Murrow spent a half hour [recently on a television show] explaining what an awful S.O.B. McCarthy was". ERM comment: "The Senator's language appears to be deteriorating."

BAP

ERM: With The News

Radio script: 3/19/54

I H 2
I J 8, 20

Report McC-Army dispute. General Ridgeway comment to National Press Club: "'when the full story of unfolding events becomes known' the country will be deeply proud of Army Secretary Stevens".

Scott McLeod told House Committee that he found fewer State Department employees "with subversive tendencies" thanhe expected to find.

Long report Premier Scelba campaign against Communists in Italy. "The Communists already are crying that Scelba wants to be Dictator and are appealing to the domestic freedoms they have exploited to entrench themselves. They will try to weaken Scelba by stirring up hatred for America." Communism a reaction to Facism; the best way to fight Communism abroad is to hasten social reforms (p. 4).

BAP

ERM: With The News I H 2

Radio script, 3/22/54

Report on McC-Army dispute: selection of counsel; McC's proposal that witness submit to lie detector tests; McC's insistence on right of cross-examination.

McC asks Brownell at Senate Appropriations Subcommittee hearing about espionage charges against unnamed newspaperman; Senator Ellendar suggests McC get answer by mail without "making a big show"; Senator McCarran: "We are not trying espionage cases here."

Marine Corps "revealed" that McC was promoted to Lt. Colonel in the Reserve a year ago.

BAP

ERM: With The News

I H 2
I J 20

Radio script, 3/23/54

Report on McC-Army dispute. McC re "blown up fight between Mr. Cohn and Mr. Adams" opposed by ERM comment "Cohn is McCarthy's Chief Counsel who, with the Senator, has been accused of seeking special favors of Army Private David Schine." (emphasis added).

Davies: Secretary Dulles convening special security board to hear more evidence in case of Career Diplomat John Patton Davies, Jr. "Davies, a frequent target of McCarthy, has been cleared seven times in the past, by State Department loyalty security boards.

Excerpts from U. S. Government report on dangers of atomic weapon smuggling into U. S. ERM: "the only appropriate comment, is to express the hope, however, far fetched it mayseem, that any foreign agent entering this country with a small sized ball or less of fissionable material, on his or her person, will be recognized instantly."

BAP

ECP

N A review of 1905 class books under the name Roger ~~M.~~ Baldwin shows the following:

1906 report: Traveling abroad.

1920 report: Associated, 1915 to 1917, with Municipal Government of St. Louis as part of a "good government" movement. During the war, was a member of the American Union Against Militarism and a director of its Civil Liberties Bureau, out of which grew the ACLU. Was sentenced to a year in jail as a conscientious objector. Thereafter did manual labor in the West, rejoining the American Civil Liberties Union in about 1920.

1925 report: Occupation, director of American Civil Liberties Union.

1930 report: Baldwin states: "During these years [with Municipal Government at St. Louis] I became interested in the more radical programs for reorganizing society, finding myself in agreement with the position of the philosophical anarchists, which I still hold . . . to that [ACLU] I have added activities in the international field . . . and I have supported American enterprises for aid to Soviet Russia. I am also identified with the International Movement Against Imperialism and for Colonial Independence." Among publications listed: "Liberty Under the Soviets", Vanguard Press, 1928.

Reports subsequent to 1930 report do not list Baldwin in any manner, though it was customary in them to indicate a negative response when none had been received from a class member.

ECP

"The Bulletin, The League of Free Nations Association", Vol. I, No. 3 and No. 4.

I H 3

CBS Reference Dep't.

Referred to in McC memo on ERM attack as material to be used in connection with same.

ECP

Letter "Washboard" to ERM 11/24/53. I C 2
I H 3

CBS

On 11/17/53 Surine, "one of McC's closest assistants", asked what I was doing turning out junk like that Radulovich story; said "What would you say if I could prove to you right now that Murrow was on the Soviet payroll in '35"? Produced photostats of Pittsburgh Hearst paper for 1935 re American program for study at Moscow with Intourist paying part of expense. Surine reviewed names on the Anglo-American seminar identifying various people as Communist-fronters, pro-Communists, relatives of suspected Communists. Surine said ERM's handling of Radulovich story played right into Communists' hands; ERM was falling into danger of becoming an "anti-anti-Communist"; was bitter about liberal commentators who defended Hiss, Remington, White; spoke very feelingly that he was not accusing ERM of being a Communist "but for God's sake why couldn't Murrow understand what was at stake here".

Exchange of telegrams, 3/12, 13, 15, 22/54, ERM and McC. I H 3

ERM

McC requests written confirmation of offer of time on SIN. ERM replies that time will be available on same program and network on 3/16/54. McC wires accepting offer to appear in person on 4/6. McC requests (3/22) copies of programs since March 9 referring to him and ERM replies.

ECP

Letter, CBS to Reporter Magazine, 3/29/54. I H 3

CBS

Lists appearances by McC on CBS television since 1951.

ECP

Memorandum of McCarthy plans for attack on ERM.

I C 2
I H 3

ERM

ECP

Script of McCarthy 4/6/54 program,
annotated by BRS.

I H 3

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ECP

Letter, 4/6/54, James T. Shotwell
to Stanton.

I G 1
I H 3—

Stanton.

Gives story behind Field reference in 1938 letter (see IPR hearings) to group of Marxists, said to include ERM, meeting at Shotwell's house.

ECP

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Photographs of Data used by McCarthy as "evidence" in SIN film on 4/6/54, with identification of each.

ECP

N.Y. World-Telegram and Sun, 3/10/54. I H 4

Press clippings.

News story on McC program, reporting listener response heavily favorable to ERM.

ECP

N.Y. Post 3/10/54. I H 4

Press clippings.

P. 5: "Murrow Rakes McCarthy on TV" (Jay Nelson Tuck). Favorable to ERM presentation on McC program.

ECP

N.Y. Journal-American 3/10/54. I H 4

Press Clippings

News story "Telecast Rap at McCarthy Stirs Storm". States that most calls to N.Y. Journal-American disapprove ERM McC program.

P. 36: "An Analysis of Murrow's Portsided Political Pitching". Critical of McC program. States Paley personally ordered "pompous portsider" to take a more middle ground and that ERM refused. Criticizes CBS for having filled the air for years with pink liberal editorializing; that it has been in a lengthy "clean house of lefties" mood and that worse offenders on lesser levels had been quietly pushed out.

ECP

N.Y. Post 3/10/54. I H 4

Press Clippings.

P. 60, Barry Gray item. Critical of McC on Zwicker controversy; free time controversy.

ECP

Herald Tribune 3/11/54. I H 4

News Clippings

P. 18. Walter Lippmann article "The Unappeasable Aggressor". Critical of McC in Zwicker-Stevens affair.

ECP

Crosby column 3/11(?)/54. I H 4

Press clippings.

Favorable to ERM McC program. "Right here television came of age." Cannot recall any time when a network--and ERM is a director as well as chief spokesman of CBS--has told listeners to straighten up and act like men.

ECP

ERM--This is the News--3/11/54

CBS

Senator McCarthy also said that this reporter, who as the United Press put it "sharply criticized McCarthy in a Tuesday night television program", was an American advisor to the Moscow University Summer session in 1935, and according to Senator McCarthy's broadcast tonight he said that this school was dedicated to the violent overthrow of the entire traditions of western democracy. The rest of the story, some of the additional details and perhaps correction of my personal reaction will have to wait for another time.

J.E.R.

N.Y. Times 3/11/54. I H 4

Press clippings.

"Television in Review: Murrow vs. McCarthy" (Jack Gould). Favorable to ERM on McC program.

ECP

3/14/54 editorial in Miami Daily News.

I C 3
I H 4 ✓
I I 3

Frank Graham

"A Smear Of America's Leadership Should Close Book on McCarthy". Criticises McC treatment of ERM--IIE connection with Moscow State University Summer Session in 1935. Points out session was called off. Membership of Association reads like dictionary of American business and culture.

ECP

Telegram, Pulliam (Indianapolis Star) to Paley.

I H 4 I 1

CBS

"You are 100% right on McCarthy. Stand by your guns."

Compare Indianapolis Star editorial "Daily Worker praises Murrow".

ECP

3/18/54 data re WADK.(Newport) broadcast. I H 4

ERM

Collection of material re broadcast over WADK on 3/18 in which letter critical to McC was read. Copy of letter, dated 10/29/53, from Sweeney to Bekos. Letter states that ERM was becoming more and more of a question mark. Was one of those who worked with Anglo-Russian Institute in mid-1930's to lure Americans to Russia to study; was involved in IIE under Stephen Duggan, father of L. Duggan who was "involved in espionage"; has been a One Worlder but did, in about 1947, fire Shirer for CP line and commentary; current broadcasts of the [Communist] line, the worst being 10/20/53 SIN on Radulovich which was slanted, had lies in it and presented only the Communist side. ERM should be considered as anti-security program, anti-military, pro-One World. "Watch him; don't trust him."

ECP

Letter--3/25/54, Cecil and Presbrey (Ad. Agency) to ERM

I G 2

I H 4

CBS

Offers time on "Danger" program, sponsored by Block Drug Co. on behalf of Amm-i-dent Tooth Paste to ERM on April 6, CBS-TV to repeat 3-9 show just preceding McCarthy reply.

E.C.P.

2

3/29/54 Newsweek.

I E
I H 4

Cover article on ERM treating Murrow-McCarthy controversy in objective, not very flattering, lot.

ECP

Alsop column "McCarthy on the Run". I H 4

N.Y. Herald Tribune 3/29/54.

Review, favorable to ERM, of ERM-McC fight. Tells knife-in-back story.

ECP

4/6/54 CBS press releases. I H 4

CBS

Copies of press releases, 4/6/54, containing statements by CBS and ERM in connection with McC's 4/6/54 speech.

ECP

News clips on McCarthy speech on See It Now on 4/6/54 from New York Times, Brooklyn Eagle, N.Y. World-Telegram and Sun, Daily News, Daily Mirror, Herald Tribune, Post, Journal-American.

ECP

Daily Worker, 4/8/54. I H 4

News Clips

Says that McCarthy, on his program, aided Daily Worker in its circulation drive by advertising paper to 10,000,000 potential customers. Attacks McCarthy, "the reactionary bogey", and the fascist goons for making this forward looking newspaper disreputable and dangerous to have around. McC has opened the door to a vast number of new readers.

ECP

HOUSE REPORT 290, 71st Cong. 3rd Sess
(Fish Committee report on Communist activities in U.S., 1/17/31.)

III

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

At page 2 of this 99-page document there is a list of people who testified before the Committee. Among them are Roger N. Baldwin, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, J. Edgar Hoover, Communist officials and other Government officials, and others.

At page 56 and 57 of this report the Committee concludes "The American Civil Liberties Union is closely affiliated with the Communist movement in the United States, and fully 90 per cent. of its efforts are on behalf of Communists who have come into conflict with the law. It claims to stand for free speech . . . but it is quite apparent that the main function . . . is to attempt to protect the Communists in their advocacy of force and violence to overthrow the government . . .".

"Roger N. Baldwin, its guiding spirit . . . was formerly a member of the IWW and served a term in prison as a draft dodger during the war." Questioned at Fish Committee hearings:

"The Chairman: Does your organization uphold the right of a citizen or alien . . . to advocate murder?

"Baldwin: Yes.

"The Chairman: Or assassination?

"Mr. Baldwin: Yes.

"The Chairman: Does your organization uphold the right of an American citizen to advocate force and violence for the overthrow of the government?

"Mr. Baldwin: Certainly, in so far as mere advocacy is concerned. [Expressed same view on right of aliens.]"

A committee of the New York State Legislature in 1928 reported, "The American Civil Liberties Union in the last analysis is a supporter of all subversive movements; its propaganda is detrimental to the interests of the state. ~~And~~ It attempts not only to protect crime but to encourage attacks upon our institution."

The Fish Committee reported, "Your committee concurs in the above findings."

One example is of American Civil Liberties Union activities reported ~~at~~ page 57 in the trial of Communists in Gastonia for conspiracy to murder the Chief of Police during which the ACLU provided bail of $28,500. All defendants jumped bail and are reported being in Russia." Appended to the Committee Report are the individual views of a member of the Committee, John E. Nelson, who gave more information about Gastonia and about the international labor defense at pages 84 and 90 but did not mention the American Civil Liberties Union which, however, was involved in the Gastonia fund raising campaign and was linked with the international labor defense on page 57.

11/5/52 letter, Rice (ACLU) to ERM. I I 1

ERM dead file.

Invites ERM to become member of National Council on Freedom from Censorship, affiliated with ACLU. ERM response does not appear in file.

ECP

SEE IT NOW: Radulovich; A.C.L.U. Indianapolis. I I 1
I J 15

Television script--11/24/53.

Secretary Talbott, presented by ERM, clears Radulovich: "Mr. Murrow, as Secretary of the Air Force, it is my sworn duty to uphold and protect the security of the United States. I am also keenly aware of my responsibility to protect the individual rights and privileges of each man and woman in the United States Air Force. The preservation of our American way of life requires that we must be alert to safeguard our individual liberties. I have given the case of 1st Lieutenant Milo J. Radulovich the most serious consideration. I have decided that it is consistent with the interests of the national security to retain Lieut. Radulovich in the United States Air Force. He is not, in my opinion, a security risk. Routine investigation had produced certain information which raised a real question as to whether Lieut. Radulovich was a security risk as an Air Force officer.

This information related not to Lieut. Radulovich's own activities and views but to those of other individuals with whom Lieut. Radulovich appeared to be closely associated. It led an Air Force Board to question whether Lieut. Radulovich should be retained in the Air Force Reserve. The policy of the Department of the Air Force is not to discharge any officer or airman as a security risk without giving him notice of the derogatory information in the Air Force's possession, and a full opportunity to present his own case in justification of his retention in the Air Force. In the course of the hearings, Lieut. Radulovich testified at length concerning his relationship with his sister. He did not attempt to explain or justify her reported activities, but he maintained that he would not be influenced by them. Lieut. Radulovich is a mature officer with a family of his own. He served honorably and well for 14 months as an Airman, and 6 years as an officer on active duty with the Air Force. After reviewing the entire record in this case, I am convinced, that under all the circumstances, the nature of Lieut. Radulovich's association with his sister is not such as to make her activities and beliefs the determining factor in this case. I am also convinced that the record does not support the conclusion that Lieut. Radulovich's father has engaged in activities of such a type as to bear upon the decision in this case. The question raised as to security has thus been resolved in Lieut. Radulovich's favor, and I have, therefore, directed that Radulovich be retained in his present status in the United States Air Force."

Most of program was devoted to "The Argument in Indianapolis" between the American Legion and a group wanting to start a local chapter of A.C.L.U. Attempts of group to secure a meeting place related; auditorium in War Memorial refused because meeting protested by American Legion and Minute Women of Indiana, hence controversial; Marguerite Dice, past officer of Minute Women: "What a travesty it would be to open [the Memorial Building] doors for a meeting to which Communists are welcome . . ."; Chief protest from American Legion; American Legion Commander Amos: The Indiana War Memorial "must never be used as a sounding board for the advocacy of any policy of pampering Communists to the virtual exclusion of all others"; Claypool and Continental hotels refused space; Riddick Piano Company refused large studio; Public Library and YMCA, like others, said space previously booked or otherwise unavailable; Knights of Columbus refused auditorium because meeting controversial.

ERM states 2 of 33 newspapers ran editorials; the Indianapolis Times opposed Legion's ban and stated liberty belongs to everyone or to no one; Indianapolis Star stated Legion had right to oppose views of A.C.L.U. but not to prevent meeting.

Father Victor L. Goosens, Pastor of St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church offered group his church's social center; accepted.

Father Goosens: ". . . it seems to me that there is something much more basic involved here than merely the idea of a meeting place. We have to be very careful, of course, to recognize the rights of minorities. You know, we all of us at some time or other are going to find ourselves in a minority group. Perhaps it might be politically or it might be religiously or it might just be a minority group on some other question, but we are going to find that we are at some time or other in a minority, and it is possible for any group outside of the legally constituted branches of government to restrain another from peaceful assembly and from the right to express themselves freely --- then all our liberties are in danger, and I feel that way about it, that if an organization no matter how well intentioned it might be in its purposes -- if one organization can prevent another group of people who are not traitors, who are not subversive, from gathering together in peaceful assembly to discuss and speak freely, then what guarantee would there be that later on another group might not decide that when I or my people might gather for purposes of worship or the exercise of freedom of religion, that we should be stopped?"

Comment from Legion (Executive Committee) and A.C.L.U. meetings juxtaposed to form "debate".

LEGIONNAIRE: "You are assembled here tonight to receive information on a new development on the 'red firing line' in Indiana."

W. ROLAND ALLEN (A.C.L.U.): We had difficulty hiring a hall. "This is no time to be afraid."

LEGIONNAIRE: The A.C.L.U. "is an organization that is parading its avowed purposes of protecting the civil rights of individuals."

MERLE MILLER (ATTORNEY A.C.L.U.): True conservatives will always stand with true liberals in protecting civil rights.

LEGIONNAIRE: "The Indiana Department of the American Legion, with documentary evidence at hand of the facts that the speaker for the meeting of the American Civil Liberties Union has subscribed to and been a member of an organization listed as subversive, took the stand that the Indiana War Memorial dedicated to the memory of our war dead should not be used as a sounding board for his philosophy or policy."

ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS, presented by Professor Ralph Fuchs of the Indiana University Law School: President Eisenhower approves of A.C.L.U.; General MacArthur on Roger Baldwin: "He stands out as one of the architects of our cherished American way of life."

LEGIONNAIRE: Referring to A.C.L.U. newspaper advertisement 6/28/32 calling for fight against the Smith and MacCarran Acts, "I believe that any organization that would advertise such a fact cannot have the interest of the United States at heart . . ."

ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS: "Controversy is as American as the Rocky Mountains or the Fourth of July."

LEGIONNAIRE: "An organization which gives aid and comfort to anyone such as [Harry] Bridges does not belong in Indiana."

ERM commentary, after Executive Committee of Legion approves action taken, "The Legion had its say and its Resolution, and the Civil Liberties Union had their meeting. Indianapolis is still there and controversy is everywhere."

Father Goosens: "Well, the fact that there was more excitement made me that much more concerned, because it proved to me in a way, that the time had come when we had to take a stand on that--when the climate is such that so many people are so quick to take the law into their own hands or rather I should say perhaps, to ignore the law and to deny to others the right of peaceful assembly and free speech--then somebody has to take a stand on the subject and prove to them that they are in their activities actually un-American in their way of procedure. And its up to us, I think, to lead the way because we know that the freedoms - the American freedoms are all based upon the rights which God has given us and if the church and religion do not uphold those basic principles which come from God, then who will?"

(Was any derogatory information on Arthur Garfield Hays suppressed? Were Father Goosens closing comments recorded verbatim, edited or possibly improved upon?)

BP

B.A.P.

Letter, ACLU to CBS. (3/13/54) I I 1

CBS

Calls attention to book "The Tenney Committee" by E. L. Barrett, Jr., published by Cornell University Press in 1951. See pp. 257-68 for statement of committee's counsel that, as far as committee reports are concerned, it had never characterized ACLU as Communist front (10/23/47). States that Combs has made a similar statement at the present time.

ECP

Telegram 5/10/51, Dulles to ERM. I I 2

ERM dead file

Announces election as Trustee for Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

ECP

Carnegie Endowment--5/10/51 confidential report of annual meeting. I I 2

ERM dead file

ERM elected as Trustee to serve for a two-year term.

Others elected: Margaret Clapp (pres. of Wellsley).

List of Trustees includes John W. Davis, John Foster Dulles, Joseph E. Johnson, David Rockefeller, James T. Shotwell, Harper Sibley, T. J. Watson, Dwight D. Eisenhower.

ECP

5/10/51 list of officers and Trustees
of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

I I 2

ERM dead file

Lists officers and Trustees of Foundation for year 1951-52.

ECP

Letter 5/31/51, copy, Joseph E. Johnson to Regnery Company. I I 2

ERM dead file

Protests libel in "The China Story" by Freda Utley which stated that members of the Communist cabal in Washington and N.Y. maneuvered to replace one another whenever suspicions were aroused. Gives as example resignation of Johnson when a leakage of top secret information was traced to his department and appointment of him as Hiss's successor when Hiss was indicted. Meanwhile Dean Rusk, thanks to former association with Hiss and Johnson, took Johnson's place as Under Secretary of State.

Johnson protests the foregoing as false and libelous.

ECP

Letter 6/8/51, copy, Regnery to J. E. Johnson (Carnegie Endowment). I I 2

ERM dead file

Replying to Johnson's letter of 5/31, attaches a rewritten text of "The China Story" for subsequent editions.

ECP

8/1/51 Congressional Record Appendix. I I 2

ERM dead file

Apparently a photostat of proof of two pages (numbers not shown) containing speech of Representative Cox on 8/1/51 attacking Carnegie Corp. (sic.) for furnishing funds to Louis Adamic and to "Lattimore's school", in 1940 and 1949, respectively. Also attacked speech: Walter Gellhorn, Frederick Vanderbilt Field.

ECP

10/2/52 copy, letter, Cox (Committee to Investigate Foundations) to Carnegie Endowment. I I 2

ERM dead file

Asks that Endowment fill out questionnaire and return within three weeks. Questionnaire circulated in accordance with H.R. 561, 82nd Cong., 2nd Sess.

ECP

10/3/52, Photostatic copy of House Committee Questionnaire.

ERM dead file

Sections of Questionnaire as follows:

Section A: Identification of organization in terms of origin, personnel, amount of available funds and endowment; balance sheet; gross income.

Section B: Purposes and activities of organization; individuals or groups responsible for administration; investigations made of backgrounds of responsible personnel; Communist affiliations of responsible personnel; steps taken to prevent infiltration by subversive persons.

Section C: Sources and dispositions of funds; checks made on same.

Section D: Understandings and intentions of organization with respect to subversive activities; measures taken to check recipients of grants against Attorney General's list; itemization of grants made to listed subversives and persons criticized by Un-American Activities Committee; use made of "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" (H. Doc. No. 137).

Section E: Activities of organization in fields of education, international relations, government and public administration, economics, politics.

Section F: Activities in foreign countries.

Section G: General philosophical questions re purposes and functions of tax-exempt organizations.

Section H: Miscellaneous.

Section I: Personnel participating in preparation of questionnaire answers.

ECP

10/7/52 letter, Johnson (Carnegie Endowment) to ERM. I I 2

ERM dead file

Discusses completion of House Committee questionnaire. Committee appointed to work on questionnaire: Dulles, Bundy, Harrison, Winthrop Rockefeller and ERM.

ECP

10/20/52, carbon, letter, ERM to Johnson (Carnegie Endowment). I I 2

ERM dead file

Gives, for purposes of House Committee questionnaire, membership in tax-exempt organizations or business organizations related to Carnegie Endowment: IIE (trustees), The Board on Overseas Training and Research (affiliated with Ford Foundation)(member), The Correspondents Fund of the Overseas Press Club of America, Inc. (Vice-Pres.).

ECP

11/5/52 letter, Johnson (Carnegie Endowment) to Trustees. I I 2

ERM dead file

Gives, for confidential information, commentaries on answers made to House Committee questionnaire. Will welcome comments.

Attached: Questionnaire answers.

ECP

12/8/52 Minutes of Carnegie Endowment Trustees meeting. I I 2

ERM dead file

On p. 6 of minutes, under caption "Basic Political Concepts", appears the following:

"The President stated that the Endowment had encountered difficulty in finding meaningful undertakings in this field. The Trustees discussed a definition of the topic. Dr. Shotwell referred to a study of the cold war, which he had undertaken at the suggestion of Mr. Thomas J. Watson. By way of illustration he pointed out that the concept of peace carries different meanings in communist Russia and in western countries. To the peoples of the west it means the transformation of a society that will afford an opportunity to achieve real international peace based on social justice, whereas the meaning seemed to be quite different among the leaders of the Soviet."

ECP

12/11/52 memorandum, Johnson (Carnegie Endowment) to Trustees. I I 2

ERM dead file

Reviews appearance of John W. Davis and J. E. Johnson before House Committee to Investigate Foundations. Davis interrogated on his connection and made a very good impression; stated that Hiss's name was first mentioned to him (Davis) by Dulles; stated that Endowment had decided to table Hiss's resignation and grant him leave of absence with pay.

Attached: 9-page summary of hearing from Congressional Intelligence, Inc.

ECP

Moscow Summer Session, compiled from
House Un-American Activities Affairs Reports.

D. H. Rivkin.

Analysis of left-wing affiliations of registrants in 1934 and 1935 Summer Sessions.

ECP

11/29/33 copy, letter, Duggan, Sr. to F. P. Graham (U. of N.C.). I I 3

Frank Graham

Asks Graham to serve on Advisory Council. Recognition of Russia by U. S. removes last barrier to cultural cooperation between two countries. Anglo-American Institute of First Moscow University already founded to develop relations with U. S. and Great Britain, and IIE is representative in U.S. Intended to foster same fellowship exchange as we have had with other countries of Europe. Will have summer session in 1934 at Moscow with English courses on education, psychology, drama, art and music. Hopes that such activities will be only the first in a more complete cooperation. Appends lists of persons asked to serve on Advisory Committee.

ECP

12/11/33 memorandum (ERM?) re plans for Moscow Summer Session.

I I 3

IIE

Covers: Organizational tie-up between IIE and Anglo-American Institute; nature of Advisory Council; function of Anglo-American Institute; responsibility for publicity; plannings for registration, etc.; business arrangements with travel agencies, etc. AAI is self-supporting organization, presently receiving funds in limited amounts through Intourist from Commissariat of Education and other Russian sources. IIE is asked to consider AAI as a structural member in U.S., to provide office space and mailing address. AAI is to function also as a center for direct cultural contact between U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. and IIE will coordinate with it a program for cultural exchange. Dr. Duggan to be invited as first of a series of American educators to visit U.S.S.R. as a guest of ASI sponsors. Registration fees and tuition to be paid directly to IIE which disclaims all financial obligations other than transmission of funds received.

ECP

IIE

The Institute's files for 1933-34 indicate (1) that the Institute was brought into the Moscow Summer School picture through The Open Road, Inc., evidently a tourist agency which had made arrangements with Intourist for the small 1933 group; (2) that the Institute required that Soviet officials in this country request its participation before it undertook to take active part, and that the Institute was anxious to sponsor the Summer School at the time the suggestion was made; (3) that ERM, as Assistant Director of the Institute, conducted the active negotiations with Open Road and Intourist representatives in preparation for the 1934 session, and evidently drafted the publicity material which the Institute used; (5) that, after the preparatory stages of the 1934 session were passed, Open Road took a less active part in preparations and conduct of the tour. ERM's connection with the matter cannot be played down too much, inasmuch as he was the Institute's active representative in the organization of the Summer School program. After the program had been organized, however, it appears that he did not take any substantial part in the arrangements for courses, and consideration of any other policy matters.

ECP

1934 Mimeographed publicity material re Anglo-American Institute of the First Moscow University.

IIE

States purpose and origin of Anglo-American Institute; covers available courses, credits to be received, registration fees, accommodations and social life. Institute will offer during summer of 1934 a variety of courses "which will serve as a means of furthering cultural contacts between American, English and Russian teachers and students. . . . The Institute has a two-fold purpose. First, to provide foreign visitors to Soviet Russa with the academic facilities and programs necessary for serious study and research; second, to publish material on Soviet educational . . . movements . . . ." Courses cover: Comparative Art and Literature in Soviet Union; Elementary Education in Soviet Union; Secondary and Higher Education in the Soviet Union; Experimental Education Programs in the Soviet Union; Institutional Changes in the Soviet Union; Social Backgrounds of Communist Society; Political Economics of the Construction Period; Psychological Research in the Soviet Union; Crime and Punishment in the Soviet Union; Advanced Russian Phonetics in Grammar.

"The spirit of the Anglo American Institute is that of the true Soviet school. . . . visitor to the institute will be enabled to see the workings of a Soviet University. Cultural and Social activities, after school hours will be provided for through the cooperation of Russian student bodies. . . .

"In view of the imminence of the recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States, added importance attaches to an international education venture of this sort which seeks to further develop a more intimate contact between the students and educators of both countries."

ECP

Fifteenth Annual Report of Director of IIE--4/1/~~54~~ 34

I I 3

E.C.P.

~~One or~~ the ~~other~~ institute held summer sessions for which students have registered at date of 1934 report, ~~and~~ in 1935; in England, France, Germany, Russia. Russian registration was 198. Total registration was 289.

Institute arranged exchanges of students from Austria, Czechoslovakia, England, France, Germany, Hungary Spain and Switzerland during the year 1934-1935. Two students were sent to Spain. Two students were brought from Spain.

P. 11 of 1934 report: The Institute is representative of the United States in nearly all the summer sessions of universities in foreign countries. Most Americans attend to learn languages. The American Institute for the first Moscow university has been established with a different point of view, viz.: to offer courses in many aspects of Soviet civilization . . . the interest in the new regime in Russia prevails in the United States is made evident by the fact that some 200 persons attended . . . it was a difficult taks on account of the ignorance that prevails in Russia of our conception of scholastic work. The Institute agreed to sponsor the enterprise for a year as an experiment, and then to determine what its permanent relation to it would be.

E.C.P.

2

Brochure, Anglo-American Institute, Summer Session, 1934 I I 3

IIE

Publicity material for 1934 summer session under auspices of Institute. Lists National Advisory Council. States purpose to provide academic facilities and programs for serious studying and research, and publish material on Soviet educational, social and cultural movements for use in English speaking countries. Rehearses origin of summer school and lists courses. Tuition fees are payable directly to Anglo-American Institute through its American representative, IIE. Registration fee $2.50, tuition fees $20 per course. Gives maintenance costs for 6 weeks' period in USSR for dormitory accommodations, special class hotels and tourists' class hotels not including travel outside USSR.

E.C.P.

2

Undated Mimeographed Publicity Material I I 3
"The Open Road Inc." re Soviet Russia
Trips in 1934

Contains data as to passports, visas, USSR customs and currency regulations; use of cameras in USSR; other details. Open Road is represented in Soviet by Hermann Habicht and maintains office in Hotel Metropole Moscow. "Americans visiting the Soviet Union should bear in mind that . . . the country has been through a devastating and unsuccessful war, a great revolution, a great famine--that a new society could be built on the ruins of the old--that a backward agricultural civilization is being transformed into a modern industrial civilization--and that--. . . five years ago there was no system organization of tourism in the Soviet Union . . . there is no fact in tourism to compare with the accomplishment of intourism in five short years . . ."

E.C.P.

2

Publicity brochure, Anglo-American Institute of the First Moscow University, Summer 1934.

I I 3

IIE

Pamphlet giving outline of 1934 Summer Session at First Moscow University under auspices of IIE. Lists National Advisory Council. States purpose: To provide foreign visitors to U.S.S.R. with academic facilities and programs necessary for serious study of research; to publish material on Soviet education, etc., movements. Origins, experimental tour in summer of 1933 under auspices of Zorbaugh, Kulp and Sollins. Lists courses available. Covers accommodations and social life. Provides registration and fees payable directly to IIE. Gives maintenance costs in the Soviet Union, six weeks inclusive rate from $184.80 to $369.60. Consult any travel agency for costs of trans-Atlantic transportation. For further information write to Anglo-American Institute at 2 West 45th Street (address of IIE).

ECP

Copy, letter, 9/18/34, Stephen Duggan, Sr. (IIE) to Skvirsky, Moscow.

I I 3

IIE

Captioned "Confidential". In five, single-spaced pages recites difficulties of Institute in arranging summer sessions; rudeness of Russians in connection with arrangements; failure to abide by undertakings; relative cooperativeness of Voks as compared to Intourist and Commissariat of Education. Considering that Duggan, not on own initiative but on invitation of Russians, had travelled 5,000 miles to render assistance, experience in Moscow filled Duggan with resentment. Obvious that Russians are unaware of the influence that IIE has in higher education. If student reports are favorable, Duggan will continue to sponsor Anglo-American Institute, otherwise shall cut off connection with it. "The Russians might as well understand that a different kind of critic will speak and write in the future about Russia. The period of bitter denunciation on the part of reactionaries who know nothing about the problem, and of vague visionaries who spoke and wrote in exalted language concerning the Russian experiment, has passed. In the future, there will be a really objective evaluation of what has been accomplished. That is where I stand. Some of the things I saw in Russia are magnificent, some I consider stupid. Whenever speaking or writing about the situation I shall tell the truth as I understand it. Just now I am under terrific pressure from America to cut off all relationships with Germany. I shall do no such thing. The fact that the German Government, or the Russian Government, or the Italian Government, have systems different from our, is no reason at all why we should not cooperate in matters of cultural education. The Communists at least have their faces turned to the future, the Fascists to the past. For neither am I an adherent."

ECP

List of persons registering for 1935 Moscow Summer School.

IIE.

ECP

2/20/35 copy of editorial in Philadelphia Public Record..

I C 3
I I 3

Frank Graham

Pokes fun at Hearsts New York American for treatment of Moscow Summer session as Bolshevik agency. Points out that Henry Ford, Andrew Mellon, du Pont representatives, RCA Corp., Owen D. Young, and other businesses and business men have acted in capacity of paid consultants to USSR; that American Metal Company, of which a Hearst representative is a director, has been doing business with the "Nationalizers of Women" at Moscow.

ECP

9/16/46 letter, Benton (Ass't Sec'y of State) to ERM. I B 3
I I 3-

ERM personal.

Congratulates ERM on progress of IIE and is sending list of Board of Trustees through Dep't of State. Laurence Duggan is regarded highly in State Dep't and IIE is to be congratulated on acquiring him.

ECP

9/30/47 Statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements. I I 3

ERM personal.

Shows source of cash receipts for year 1946-1947. Note that more than 50% comes from United States Government.

ECP

ERM dead file.

Item 5: Discusses administration of Fulbright Act: Board of Foreign Scholarships approved administration of student exchanges by the Institute.

Item 6: Duggan suggested underwriting a brief trip for Dr. Havranek, Czech delegate to UNESCO at Mexico City conference, to U.S. colleges and universities to lecture and develop scholarship opportunity for Czech students.

ECP

10/17/47 Letter, carbon, L. Duggan
to C. B. Fahs (Rockefeller Foundation).

I B 3
I I 3

ERM personal.

Acknowledging Fahs's letter of 10/9, provides information as to activities of Institute, all in response to N. Y. Times article of 10/9 re number of foreign students in U. S. Re Russia, the following appears:

"With regard to the number of students going to the U.S.S.R., the Institute has little specific information. It recently learned that there were 20 Czech and 20 Polish students there in 1946-47 and that there were plans to increase the number by 20 each year over the next four years. How many bona fide students there are from Finland, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Albania, Rumania and the Soviet-dominated Far Eastern territories is, frankly, an unknown factor. The figure of one thousand Yugoslavs given in the Times article seems quite out of proportion to the Czech and Polish figures. The Soviet Union is continually excusing itself from participation in student exchanges because of the lack of facilities, a fact which seems to admit no controversy. I know of no students going to the U.S.S.R. except those from the so-called "satellite" countries, where the U.S.S.R. is obviously making every effort to consolidate itself politically, economically, and culturally. The implication of the article that the U.S.S.R. is attracting students from non-satellite countries is, in my opinion, not in accord with the facts."(p. 3)

"To summarize briefly, I would say that the current international economic crisis is undoubtedly affecting the foreign student movement adversely, but that there is as yet no decline in the total number but rather that there may even have been an increase; that the U.S.S.R. is apparently interested for the moment only in students from satellite countries, many of whom would surely jump at the chance to study in the United States; and that were it not for the economic situation of the world and the failure of Congress to pass and implement the Mundt Bill, much larger numbers of students would be coming here." (p. 4)

ECP

11/7/47 telegram, Duggan to ERM.

I B 3
I I 3

ERM Personal.

Benton Ensenhower (Eisenhower?) want me replace latter Executive Board UNESCO because Institute plans ahead have declined but being pressed hard.

ECP

11/11/47 letter, Herring (Carnegie Corp.) to ERM.

I B 3
I I 3

ERM personal.

Discusses possible candidate for position of Associate Director of IIE. After discussing Oliver Garceau, letter states:

"Alger Hiss has written a letter to Larry Duggan concerning Richard Winslow. He expected that this letter would be brought to your attention during Larry's absence from New York. If the letter has been forwarded to Mexico City, I can supply you with a carbon copy. I know Winslow and can add my endorsement to that of Hiss."

ECP

1/30/48 Summary of article "The 'High Aims' of Mr. Duggan".

I C 3
I I 3

IIE files

Reprinted from Uchitelskaya Gazeta (translated: "Teachers Gazette"), Soviet publication, 1/30/48 issue. Principally directed to attacking Stephen Duggan and Laurence Duggan as directors of IIE. Strongly condemns IIE as spy agency. Pertinent excerpts:

"The Institute of International Education was organized under the stamp of the well-known philanthropic Carnegie fund. But this was merely a mask and not a particularly clever one. From the very first days of its existence, the IIE had been the centre of international propaganda for American reaction, the nursery of a special detachment of American residents in all parts of the globe. As from 1926 when the Institute had given practical evidence of its ability to perform the tasks laid upon it, a special conference of representatives of the Morgan and Rockefeller philanthropic organizations financing the Institute and of representatives of the American Education Council which was the ideological and political inspiration behind it, turned the IIE into a monopoly American institution for international pedagogic relations, for training legal 'pedagogic' spies and informers and for establishing an 'American column' in every country.

". . .

"As to the political colour of the Institute, it will suffice to say that one member of its management is the notorious John Foster Dulles - one of the most violent of the warmongers, publicly branded by A. Ya. Vyshinski; others are Thomas Lamont - big banker and director of a number of industrial and transport corporations; E. Morrow - reactionary radio commentator; Paul Monroe, Virginia Gildersleeve, and a whole pleiad of such educationalists with long experience in planting American 'educational' institutions in colonial and semi-colonial countries."

2/16/48 letter, L. Duggan to ERM. I I 3

ERM personal.

IIE has been asked by State Dep't to cooperate in intelligence operations. Asks descriptions of Executive Committee.

Attached: Draft memorandum captioned "Secret" from L. Duggan to Executive Committee. Notes that IIE has been approached by State Dep't with request that it furnish data as to (a) unsuccessful applications from foreign students for scholarships in U.S.A.; and (b) access to current information received from abroad on general political and economic questions. Points out that during the war IIE had given unrestricted access to files to investigators of War, Navy and FBI Dep'ts. Recommends that State Dep't not be given files on successful candidates and not be given access to files for gathering general information. Feels it would be prejudicial to IIE to become a party in general process of Government Intelligence in time of national emergency.

ECP

3/8/48 memorandum, L. Duggan to ERM. I I 3

ERM personal.

Attaches list of persons agreed on among Duggan, ERM and Packard as possible additions to IIE Board of Trustees. List includes Poletti, Eisenhower, Compton, Gardner Cowles, Elmer Davis.

ECP

3/8/48 draft, description of IIE functions intended for purpose of raising money.

ERM personal.

States purposes and values of Institute, reviews record briefly, reviews sources of support and need for further funds.

ECP

3/16/48 letter, L. Duggan to ERM. I I 3

ERM personal.

Discusses possible additions to Board of Trustees. Attached: 4-page list of proposed new Trustees and officer appointments. Proposed Trustees include Dodds (Princeton), Miller (U. of Fla.), Stewart (W. Va.), Havighurst (Dean, School of Education, Chicago), Schuster (Hunter Col.), Sproul (Cal. State), Compton (Wash. U.), Schwartz (Davis, Polk), Spoffard, Eisenhower, Gardner Cowles, Elmer Davis, Mrs. Poletti, Mrs. M. T. Moore.

ECP

Memorandum, Duggan to Trustees, 3/24/48. I I 3

ERM dead file

Attaches memo presented to Fulbright Board re negotiating scholarship exchange agreements with Hungary and Poland. Board voted 6 to 2 to recommend to Secretary of State that he negotiate agreements with them as well as Czechoslovakia.

Excerpts from memo:

Re Hungary: "The Institute feels very strongly that the exchange of students . . . should be encouraged and developed, and that this is an important means of encouraging democratic forces in that country. . . . Recent advices received from the United States Legation are to the effect that political considerations are becoming important in the selection of applicants."

Re Poland: "In January 1946, the Institute received a letter from the Cultural Relations Attache at the American Embassy in Warsaw . . . asking for fifty scholarships for Polish students, mainly in Engineering and technical fields. . . . During 1947, the Institute has had . . . conversations with the Polish Embassy in Washington and other officials of the Polish Government . . .. These officials have shown great interest in developing an exchange but have always pointed out the severe dollar stringency . . .. The Polish Embassy . . . [has] consistently drawn attention to the existence of the fifteen scholarships for American students and the ten English-speaking fellowships, . . . and have indicated that they would be glad to get the Institute's help in finding additional suitable candidates. . . . The Institute feels . . . that an exchange of students with Poland is altogether desirable. It is impressed by the fact that other Western nations seem to have been able to overcome the obstacles in the way of such exchanges. . . . The Institute believes that the people of Poland want to have cultural contacts with the West and that the Polish Government - whatever its political complexion - is ready to have these cultural contacts . . .."

ECP

4/6/48 copy, letter, ERM to Shuster (Hunter Col.).

ERM Personal.

On behalf of Board of Directors, invites Shuster to accept membership on Board, having been advised by Duggan Sr. that invitation will be accepted. Typical of letters sent out to other prospective members at same time. "You of course know of the IIE. . . . It emerged from the second World War with a greatly enlarged responsibility, in part because our Government had asked it to administer the Government's student exchange program . . .. It today is the recognized focal point. This is clearly demonstrated by the request of the Board of Foreign Scholarships that the Institute handle the student grant program under the Fulbright Act . . .."

ECP

12/1/48 memo, Duggan to IIE Trustees I I 3

ERM dead file

Lists, on p. 2, new Trustees, including Shuster (pres. Hunter Col., made Chairman); Sarah G. Blanding (pres. Vassar Col.) and Lindsay Bradford (City Bank Farmers Trust) (both elected Vice-Chairmen); Dudley Bonsal, Leonard McCollum (Continental Oil); Frank Altschul (General American Investors); and Jack Straus (pres., R. H. Macy) elected Trustees.

ECP

12/14/48 letter, Hollister (Institute) to ERM, enclosing IIE pamphlet.

I I 3

ERM dead file

Pamphlet states purposes and requirements of Institute. Names Trustees and staff. Includes under heading "What They Say" congratulatory statements addressed to Institute by Truman, Eisenhower, Hutchins and Eleanor Roosevelt.

Truman: "I am sure that the plan of the Institute for expanding its services will increase its rich experience in educational exchange and further benefit this country in its cultural relations with other nations."

Eisenhower: "In these troubled days, the far-sighted policy of international education has become a firm foundation on which will ultimately rest the peace for which all the world is so earnestly yearning. I can assure you of my very best wishes and my full cooperation in the great achievements that lie ahead for the Institute of International Education."

Hutchins: "Further development of the Institute should be of distinct advantage to the perpetuation of the ideals of UNESCO."

Eleanor Roosevelt: "The Institute in reaching its thirtieth anniversary as a private organization which has so long recognized and fulfilled its obligation, deserves the thanks of the citizens of the U. S. and a deep appreciation of the services your Institute has rendered."

ECP

2/12/49 article appearing in Czechoslovakian newspaper, entitled "An American Fifth Column".

ERM

Evidently a news release reporting article in Oesterreichische Zeitung.

"Since 1926 the 'Institute of International Education' has been an international center of reactionary American propaganda and 'education' of pedagogic correspondents and spies with the purpose to create in all countries an 'American fifth column.'

". . .

"By these activities of foreign students the Institute apparently pursues the aim to create a net of American agents in the leading circles of other countries. That the expectations of the Institute have been realized in the Second World War may be concluded from professor Dogan's assertions that the majority of the Institute's students have proved to be faithful friends of the USA.

"In the arsenal of the expansionist activities of the American imperialists this Institute occupies an important place. Its goals are manifest and its methods known."

No similarity with 1938 article in Teacher's Gazette.

ECP

8/11/49 N.Y. Times clipping "Soviet Organ Holds Carnegie Unit Seeks to Kill Patriotism Abroad".

IIE

Reports Teachers Gazette article charging American educators have launched a world-wide campaign to undermine national sovereignties, utilizing as spearhead of offensive the Carnegie-sponsored IIE. Rehashes charges in Teachers Gazette article. Notes that Soviet attack follows lines of similar ones appearing in Communist Press in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and France. Gives statements of John S. Hollister (Holland ?), Pres. of IIE.

ECP

"Blueprint for Understanding" (IIE). I I 3

IIE

Review of IIE ideals and purposes, published December 1949. Singularly uninformative.

ECP

Fourteenth Annual Report of
Director of IIE--~~4/1/54~~

I I 3

E.C.P.

Contains no data on summer schools or reference to Moscow University.

Contains list of lecturers "circulated" from 1919 to date, including Russian professors as follows: 1 in 1920-21, 1 in 1924-25, 1 in 1925-26, 2 in 1927-28; 2 in 1928-29 and 1 in 1929-30. All came either from Prague or England, with exception of 1929-30, professor being from Petrograde Department of Agriculture in that year.

Institute arranged exchanges during preceding year from Austria, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Latin America, Spain and Switzerland. Two students were sent to Spain and two students brought from Spain.

In recapitulation of miscellaneous foreign students appointed in the United States in preceding years, report shows one Russian in 1928-29; five Russians in 1929-30 and one emigre; one Russian in 1930-31 and one emigre in 1931-32. No Russian students were appointed in the United States after 1932.

E.C.P.

9-10

2

Tribute to Laurence Duggan.

I B 3
I I 3

ERM personal

Tribute to Laurence Duggan put out by IIE after his death. Quotes Shuster (Chairman of Board of Trustees) that Institute feels sense of deepest sorrow and bereavement; Duggan a dear friend and brilliant chief of enterprise; Board has always had greatest confidence in his integrities, patriotism. "It has learned of nothing to shake that confidence." Gives brief statement of Duggan's contribution to the Institute's affairs. Quotes statement by Sumner Welles that Duggan was "one of the most brilliant, most devoted and most patriotic public servants I have ever known."

ECP

Undated letter, L. Duggan to Charles Hayden Foundation. I I 3

ERM personal.

Encloses proposal for support to IIE. Re Institute, states "Its competence has been recognized by the Department of State which has asked it to administer the grants under the Fulbright Act and by UNESCO which has requested it to handle the arrangements for its fellowship holders to come to the United States." Points out need for financial support. Attached: Brochure covering reasons for foundation interest in IIE; role of IIE; task facing IIE; Institute finances; reasons why Foundation's support is requested. Annexed: Appendix listing Board of Trustees, groups participating in scholarship program, income and expense figures, historical record of exchanges made through IIE.

ECP

4/16-25/50 exchange of correspondence, ERM and Tillett & Campbell (attorneys for F. P. Graham). I I 3 (Mos.)

ERM dead file.

ERM assistance requested in connection with campaign in North Carolina, with particular reference to charge of Communistic activities arising out of Moscow Summer Session. ERM letter states that personal files for 1935 were destroyed during London blitz but memory of undertaking is clear. Briefly recites nature of IIE connection with Moscow Summer School. ". . . we had no fear of American students and professors becoming contaminated by virtue of being exposed to alien ideologies. And we believed that nothing but benefit could derive to this country as a result of having foreign students and professors intimately acquainted with our own educational institutions and practices."

Attached: Photostat of cover page of Summer Session bulletin for 1935.

ECP

9/22/50 farewell statement, Senator Frank P. Graham. I I 3

Frank P. Graham.

Statement appearing on p. 8 relates to "The charge about being on the staff of the Summer School of the University of Moscow". Has never been on University of Moscow staff or Summer School staff and has never been in Russia. Was for one year a member of National Advisory Council of IIE which had established centers of international education in various capitals. After U. S. recognized Russia, Institute promoted Anglo-American section of summer session at Moscow. Trustees of Institute included well-known persons such as John Bassett Moore, T. W. Lamont, John Foster Dulles, Gildersleeve, Duggan, Sr. Graham acted as sponsor along with W. A. Neilson, H. W. Chase, Hutchins, H. W. Odum, Charles R. Mann, Susan Kingsbury, ERM. Simple purpose of Institute was to promote international understanding and prevent war. Anglo-American section ended in 1935 because of opposition of Soviet Government and Council was dissolved. Iron Curtain was now already falling on projects for spreading international information. Kremlin did not want American youth behind the Curtain even for a summer session. Project died by arbitrary action of Soviet Government.

ECP

Letter, 12/8/50, written for Dr. Elsie Field to ERM. I I 3 (Mos.)

ERM dead file.

Knowing close friendship for Laurence Duggan and professional and personal interest to everyone who has worked in and around the Iron Curtain, is writing in behalf of Noel and Herman Field's sister. Attaches materials in connection with disappearance of Noel, Herman and Herta Field in 1949, directed to disproving that Noel Field passed over to the Communists. Note that Herman Field was on roster of 1934 Moscow Summer School. Material annexed to letter makes no reference to this.

ECP

3/4/51 letter, Elsie Field to ERM. I I 3 (Mos.)

ERM dead file.

Thanks ERM for proffered help in connection with disappearances of Noel and Herman field. ERM reply, 7/10/51, states has been unable to acquire information on Dr. Field's brothers. "If there should occur to you any method or manner in which I could acquire information about your brothers, you need but command me." Note that Herman Field was on roster of Moscow Summer School for 1934.

ECP

3 pamphlets, issued in 1953-54 by
Bureau of University Travel.

I I 3-
I I 8

IIE

ECP

February 1954 "Exchange", published by IIE.

I I 3

Friendly.

Vol. I, No. 2, of IIE "Exchange" news letter.

ECP

Vol. 1, No. 2, of "Exchange", Feb. 1954 (published by IIE). I I 3

ERM.

Discusses current activities of Institute showing (a) names of business firms contributing to work of the Institute; nature of exchange and study activities in association with such institutions as Harvard University, Ford Foundation, Fulbright Scholarship Program, other universities and colleges. Lists present trustees, including Millicent McIntosh.

ECP

2/19/54, Brief Historical Review of IIE's Origins, Aims and Activities. I I 3

ERM

Captioned "Staff Working Paper--Confidential". Covers history of IIE in terms of origins, organization, aims and philosophy, activities, growth and reorganization. Appendix sets out constituency; figures for exchanges under Institute auspices 1919-1954; graphical comparison of general and special fund income in 1949-1953; analysis of principal sources of income.

Note that for years 1950-1953, Government funds provided largest segment of Institute support.

Pertinent abstracts:

Page 4: "Meetings [of directors] were held annually . . . and the Board appears not to have been very active in directing the affairs of the Institute." Said in relation to period 1930-1946.

Page 6: "Other brief statements of IIE's objective: 'The Institute . . . exists to encourage cultural relations among different nations regardless of their forms of government and ways of life.' (Annual Report, 1939)"

Page 6: ". . . 5. Encourage cultural relations among different nations regardless of their forms of government and ways of life."

Page 16: Reviews role of IIE as administrator of government exchange programs. In 1938, as result of representations from State Department, Institute made concentrated efforts to increase Latin-American exchanges in order to combat Hitler propaganda. Subsequently, Institute was asked to administer government funds for student exchanges under a contract arrangement. With passage of Fulbright and Smith-Mundt Acts after the war, State Department requested Institute to administer scholarships, as did Department of Army in re-orientation programs with Germany, Austria and Japan.

ECP

3/14/54 editorial in Miami Daily News.

I C 3
I H 4
I I 3

Frank Graham

"A Smear Of America's Leadership Should Close Book on McCarthy". Criticises McC treatment of ERM--IIE connection with Moscow State University Summer Session in 1935. Points out session was called off. Membership of Association reads like dictionary of American business and culture.

ECP

Reprint from Southwest Review
published 3/15/54.

I I 3 (Mos.)

ERM.

"The 'Great Conspiracy' of 1953". Article debunks notion that recognition of Russia in 1933 was left-wing sponsored or motivated. Views personalities involved (including Paul D. Cravath, Al Smith, Senators Borah and Wheeler, and others) to place events in the connection of their times.

ECP

Pegler column, N.Y. Journal-American
3/17/54.

I B 3
I C 2
I I 3

News clippings.

Attacks ERM for association with IIE, Moscow summer school. Gives ERM the lie over summer school being cancelled. Points out colleagues on Advisory Council: Counts, Hutchins, Flanagan, Duggan Sr., Duggan Jr.

ECP

N.Y. Journal-American 3/18/54.

I C 2
I I 3

Press clippings.

Editorial by E. F. Tompkins "Education in Moscow". McCarthy won a polemical victory by reminding ERM of his association in the 1930's with Moscow State U. Intourist prospectuses were overladen with fulsome praises of Russian Communism. Gives ERM the lie over cancellation of '35 session. Quotes from Intourist publicity material. "Soviet Russia was gratified". Students complain that every Soviet teacher in every course tirelessly gave them Communist indoctrination. "The Hearst newspapers exposed the scheme in February (1935) and the Session was not held."

ECP

Pegler column, N.Y. Journal-American
3/19/54.

I B 3
I C 2
I I 3

Press clippings.

"Murrow-McCarthy Feud And Moscow University".
A typically disjointed item wandering from Andrew Mellon via ERM to Mundt Committee, Shotwell and Frederick Vanderbilt Field and on to IPR. Returns to National Advisory Council and Russian seminar in 1933, criticizing ERM for saying that 1935 session was cancelled.

ECP

Clipping, 3/23/54, N.Y. Journal. I C 2
I I 3

CBS

"'Seminar' in Russia". Refers to two brochures "issued by or for the Soviet Government to drum up student trade for the Communist 'American Summer School in Moscow' in 1933, 1934 and 1935." ERM, CBS anti-McCarthyite, is listed as member of "Advisory" group in both pamphlets. More will be heard of this as the McC Committee has copies of the documents and ERM has compelled the Committee to make proper use of them. Contains quotes from 1933 issue. Lists membership of "Advisory Committee" in 1933.

Article appears under by-line of E. F. Tompkins.

ECP

2/18/35 Pittsburgh Sun Telegraph, pp. 1 and 6.

I C 2
I I 4

ERM

Contains article "American Professors, Trained by Soviet, Teach in U. S. Schools". Attacks Counts for declaring a "crusade" against the Hearst newspapers over their exposure of Communist influences and propaganda in American schools. States, in bold-face type, Counts is "official adviser to the Moscow State University".

Tied up with Counts are members of National Advisory Council of Moscow State University Summer School for 1935. Continues with excerpts from, and reproductions of, brochure "Moscow State University--Summer Session (Anglo-American Section)--1935--American Representative Intourist, Inc.", and listing Advisory Council. Included among members: Counts, John Dewey, Stephen Duggan, ERM.

Item has been used by McC Comm. and known to them for some time.

ECP

I I 4 ✓
III E

Text of E. C. Carter talk "Soviet Russia Today" 1/ /38.

ERM dead file.

Six-page copy of talk highly complimentary to Soviet Russia. Noted in pencil on p. 1 "Early in January 1938--Air Copy". Also noted on face "Institute Pacific Relations". Announcer text appended indicates this was part of program over WABC presented by CBS Department of Talks.

ECP

ECP

Letter, 11/15/47, E. C. Carter to ERM. I B 3
I I 4
ERM dead file. III G 2

Asks for luncheon date at Century Club to discuss two matters. Attached, letter of 12/8/47 enclosing copy of letter sent to Manarey (sic.) suggesting that Paley Foundation contribute to IPR and asking for further luncheon date with Manarey. Letter of 12/8 states "it was grand seeing you, and I hope you got a few minutes with Mr. Paley on this matter over the weekend".

ECP

See It Now I I 4,5

Kinescope Excerpts, 6/8/52

Look at slow down in Lancashire. ERM transatlantic interview with Aneurin Bevan. Bevan favors trade with Russia.

ERM comment:

"There is a difference of opinion in Britain, as well as in the rest of the free world, about the necessity or the need for trade in nonstrategic materials behind the Iron Curtain. It would seem to depend upon how badly that trade is needed and what the nation involved can get in return for trade with nations behind the Iron Curtain."

BP

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

National Student Federation of America

E. C. Perkins April 9, 1954

The National Student Federation of America (NSFA) was founded in 1925 at a convention of students held at Princeton University. The original meeting was convened to discuss United States participation in the World Court, and evidently was not associated with any particular student movement or group. There was not in existence at that time any general-purpose student organization, as distinguished from political or religious student groups. The aims of the Federation are stated in its 1930 year book to be as follows:

> "We would achieve a spirit of co-operation among the students of the United States of America to give consideration to questions affecting students' interests; we would develop an intelligent student opinion on questions of national and international importance; we would foster understanding among the students of the world in the furtherance of an enduring peace. In working toward these ends the Federation acts independently of any political party or religious creed."

The foregoing is the preamble to the Federation's Constitution.

The program developed by the Federation over the years included an annual congress of student leaders in affiliated colleges and universities; publication of a monthly magazine, the "Student Mirror"; furnishing of a weekly news

service to college papers; operation of a survey and information bureau for student information; arrangement for debate team tours of England and certain European countries; operation of a travel bureau for students abroad; providing representation for American students in international organization. The 1932 booklet of the National Union of Students on summer vacation tours, which was circulated by NSFA, evidently as part of its travel bureau activities, is said (by Chester Williams) to have scheduled a tour in the U.S.S.R., but it is not known whether the tour was conducted or whether any Americans joined it. The announcement in the booklet stated that:

> ". . . a pall of mystery still seems to overhang the Soviet Republic, and it is impossible to attain with any degree of certainty to even the most elementary facts about it. Many who have visited it have returned with the shining eyes of the enthusiast. Others consider that the gigantic experiment is failing. At least one ought to visit Russia and try to form one's own conclusions or at all events to be able to check the opinions of others and to sift the corn of fact from the chaff of propaganda. . . ."

During the period 1930-1932, when E. R. Murrow was President of the Federation, its travel program was developed in collaboration with John Rothchild, director of "Open Road". Open Road, a travel bureau which specialized in student tours, put heavy emphasis on trips to the Soviet Union and was connected with the IIE sponsorship of the Moscow State University Anglo-American Institute's Summer Session in 1934. It does not appear that NSFA sponsored any trips to Soviet Russia

directly, however.

According to "Political Processes in American National Student Organizations", a Ph.D. thesis by Martin M. McLaughlin printed in Notre Dame in April, 1948, the NSFA consistently represented the conservative element among student groups throughout its existence. In 1931, there appeared the National Student League, formed by secession of the left-wing element of another organization, the Student League for Industrial Democracy. Its purpose was stated to be to give active support to militant organizations of workers and farmers and to oppose all preparations against the Soviet Union. During the period 1934-35, a further splinter group broke off from the National Student League and, with certain radical elements of the NSFA, organized the American Student Union. During the depression period, when there was fertile ground among student organizations for Communist propagandists, the ASU turned distinctly to the left. While the NSFA was accepted as representing the moderate view, the line between the Communists, Socialists, liberal and even conservative youth became difficult to draw because of the broad areas of agreement among all groups on such matters of unemployment, "red scares", war and Fascism. The NSFA was a group member of the United Student Peace Committee during this period, which Committee advocated legislation to eliminate compulsory

military drill in colleges, to oppose war, to maintain civil rights and academic freedom and to maintain stringent neutrality. There is some reason to believe that as early as 1930-31, the Federation was on record as opposing armament programs and militarization of all types.

Edward R. Murrow was President of NSFA for two terms during the period 1930-32. Thereafter, he continued as a member of the Advisory Board, apparently until the dissolution of the organization during World War II.

Associated with E. R. Murrow in administration of the NSFA were the following:

Margaret Taylor: An active NSFA leader in the late 1930's who married Edward C. Carter's son and worked, for a period of time, for the IPR. She was the subject of some inquiry in the IPR hearings as having been connected with Frederick Vanderbilt Field and Corliss Lamont in the activities of IPR.

Joseph Cadden: Sometime after 1934, Cadden was secretary of NSFA. He was a controversial figure because of the leftist emphasis of his writings. He shifted with the Communist Party line on the Nazi-Soviet pact and the Nazi attack on Russia. He was subsequently executive secretary of the American Youth Congress, secretary for Congressman Marcantonio and secretary for the American Labor Party in the

Bronx. In 1948 he was a leader among the Wallace Progressives. His wife was a leader in the ASU and the Civil Rights Congress.

Marvin Breckenridge: An important figure in the NSFA and a member of its first Executive Committee, along with Frederick Vanderbilt Field and Corliss Lamont, and others. She was thereafter an administrative assistant in the National Democratic Committee (1934-36), and subsequently married a Foreign Service officer (Patterson). She did broadcasts for E. R. Murrow during the war from Sweden.

Mrs. Lawrence Ross: Secretary to Martha Beihle, also worked for the president and executive secretary of the Federation for a period of time. Her husband subsequently was head of the Communist Party in Los Angeles and editor of the Western Worker. He turned against the Party and testified against Bridges. Mrs. Ross is said to have been a Communist also.

Sylvia Sugarman: Secretary to Murrow in about 1930 and connected with NSFA until 1938 or 1939. She married a lawyer, Sidney Sugarman, who was a member of the NLRB and reputed to be in the Lee Pressman cell. This is evidently not Judge Sugarman.

Frederick Vanderbilt Field: A member of the first Executive Committee and probably of the Advisory Board.

Corliss Lamont: A member of the first Executive

Committee and probably a member of the Advisory Board.

Both Field and Lamont spoke, in 1935, on CBS's talks program during the period when Murrow was its director. Others speaking at the same time were James Wechsler and Harold Laski. This appears from contemporaneous NSFA news releases, indicating that they appeared under NSFA auspices.

Of the activities of the Federation, Herbert Hoover, then President of the United States, wrote, under date of November 13, 1930:

> "Wisely directed efforts looking toward greater enlightenment upon international problems and a more intelligent sympathy between nations deserve commendation and support. The work of the National Student Federation in this field is most promising and encouraging."

In the Federation's 1930 year book, Dr. Stephen Duggan appears as one of the leading speakers at the Federation's first annual Congress. Others were Dr. Henry Noble MacCracken and Dr. Alexander Meicklejohn. Laurence Duggan is mentioned on page 67 of the year book as one of the "invited friends" at a meeting of the Executive Committee.

The NSFA petered out during World War II. The 1942 Congress, though scheduled, was cancelled, the apparent reason being lack of transportation facilities due to wartime conditions. It was not thereafter revived, and went out of existence without the benefit of formal dissolution. Its files were destroyed in about 1950, having been abandoned in

a warehouse on the lower East Side which was itself torn down at that time.

The only youth organization of distinct leftish tendencies with which NSFA was affiliated appears to have been the American Youth Congress which was organized in the summer of 1934. This was the group which started under the auspices of Mrs. F. D. Roosevelt and went out of existence after the German attack on Russia. It made headlines when student representatives booed President Roosevelt on the White House lawn because he criticized the Russian attack on Finland in 1940. NSFA is said to have been a participating organization during most of the period of this group's existence. The New York Times is said to have reported in December, 1940, that the NSFA was "one of the founders of the American Youth Congress" but which withdrew from the Congress because of its "alleged radical tendencies". On January 1, 1941, Murray Plavner, National Director of the National Foundation for American Youth, said in the New York Times that the breaking away of the NSFA from the American Youth Congress left "only two non-Communist influences which still keep the American youth from crumbling into dust." These "influences" were said to be the Y.M.C.A. and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Five pages, typewritten comments on background of NSFA (author?).

ERM

ECP

Summary of significant points in the National Student Federation Year Book.

ERM

Captioned "confidential". Highlights favorable and vulnerable items in the NSFA 1930 year book.

ECP

Article, Youth Movements in the United States, by Thomas S. Neblett.

Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, November 1937 (received from Chester Williams).

Contains excerpts from article on youth movements. Re NSFA, states:

Founded in 1925 at a conference of student representatives who had met to discuss U.S. participation in the World Court. Purpose of organization, then and in 1937: To achieve a spirit of cooperation among the students of U. S. and consider questions affecting their interests; to develop intelligent student opinion on important international questions; to foster understanding among the students of the world, in the furtherance of peace. Well-rounded program was developed consisting of annual congress, monthly magazine "Student Mirror", weekly news service to college papers, survey and information bureau, arrangement for debate team tours of England and of Europe, travel bureau for students abroad, representation of American students in international organizations, including Confederation Internationale des Etudiants. Continues with development of "liberal groups" and American Student Union. ASU leaders were first to employ the "strike" as a technique of student expression, originally as a protest against war. Outgrowth of Pacifist movement was program to merge all organization programs in United Student Peace Committee of which ASU, Youth Congress, NSFA and YWCA and YMCA groups were members. Committee advocated legislation to eliminate compulsory military drill in colleges, to oppose war, to maintain civil rights, academic freedom, to maintain stringent neutrality. Committee "now" sponsors the annual student peace strike which, in April 1937, led about 1,000,000 students to enter demonstration.

NSFA also reflects increase of student interest in public affairs after the depression, which has led to establishment of the National Institute of Public Affairs, later independent of NSFA.

Annexed: Biographical information as to Neblett, author of article.

ECP

Political Processes in American National Student Organizations, by Martin M. McLaughlin, M.A.

I I 5

Dissertation submitted to Graduate School of Notre Dame U. in April, 1948, as partial fulfillment of requirements for Ph.D. Contains history of development of national student organizations beginning at p. 11. NSFA was first of general associations (i.e., other than sectarian, political, etc.)(p. 15). Organized 1925 at Princeton U. representing 245 colleges and universities. Statement of aims (p. 16). In 1931, Communist wing of Student League for Industrial Democracy, a special-purpose organization directed toward disarmament, seceded and set itself up as National Student League (p. 17). Purpose stated to be to give active support to militant organizations of workers and farmers and to oppose all preparations against Soviet Union (p. 17). During period 1934-35, radical elements of NSFA seceded and, unwilling to join National Student League, organized, with elements of National Student League, the American Student Union (p. 19). Original composition was 11 Socialists, 9 Communists, and 10 "liberals" on the executive committee, but program was non-Marxist (p. 19). Federation and Union went their respective ways quietly and separately, former as conservative and isolationist and latter as left-wing and isolationist (p. 20). In November, 1940, attempt was made to merge International Student Service American Committee, newly organized, with NSFA, but unsuccessful (p. 21). In 1941, NSFA held its membership steady and followed New Deal policy line, while ASU lost ground (p. 21). Communist influence led to destruction of American Student Union in 1941 (p. 22). Entry of U. S. into war ended large-scale continuous action of student leaders, particularly during early days. Assembly of International Student Assembly sponsored by American Committee of International Students Service brought together delegates from 53 nations in Washington in Sept., 1942, and marked commencement of United States Student Assembly (pp. 22-23). Organization of United States Student Assembly in 1943 was marked by strong move by Young Communist League to gain control. This was defeated (pp. 23-24). USSA merged with Union for Democratic Action to form Students for Democratic Action in 1947, having become primarily political in its activities (p. 24). National Student Association was organized in 1947 as consequence of World Student Congress at Prague held in August, 1946. Purposes of such Congress had been to create international solidarity and to establish an international student organization comparable to Soviet-sponsored World Federation of Democratic Youth (p. 24).

ECP

See It Now

I I 4 (5)

Kinescope Excerpts, 6/8/52

Look at slow down in Lancashire. ERM transatlantic interview with Aneurin Bevan. Bevan favors trade with Russia.

ERM comment:

"There is a difference of opinion in Britain, as well as in the rest of the free world, about the necessity or the need for trade in nonstrategic materials behind the Iron Curtain. It would seem to depend upon how badly that trade is needed and what the nation involved can get in return for trade with nations behind the Iron Curtain."

Summary memorandum on NSFA and related groups, 4/1/54. I I 5

Chester Williams.

Gives data re ERM association with NSFA with particular attention to possible weak points as follows:

1. During ERM's presidency, NSFA travel program was developed in collaboration with "Open Road", which put heavy emphasis on trips to U.S.S.R. It does not appear NSFA sponsored any trips to U.S.S.R.

2. Left-wing element paid little attention to NSFA until after ERM ceased being president, when depression gave more opportunity for Communistic activity. Between 1934 and 1941 Joseph Cadden, of Brown, was controversial figure, his writings indicating leftist emphasis. He became secretary of NSFA, shifted with the Communist line on the Nazi-Soviet pact and Nazi attack on Russia; became executive secretary of American Youth Congress; was secretary for Marcantonio and for A.L.P. in Bronx; leader among Wallace Progressives in 1948; married a leader in the ASU and Civil Rights Congress groups.

3. American Youth Congress was organized in 1934 and had Mrs. F.D.R.'s support. This was the outfit which booed F.D.R. on the White House lawn for criticizing the Russian attack on Finland, and which broke up after the German attack on Russia. NSFA was a participating organization.

4. While ERM was on the NSFA Advisory Board, NSFA was frequently attacked by "Communist front" organizations, particularly ASU. Gives references.

5. Margaret Taylor, active NSFA leader in late 1930's, married son of Edward C. Carter and worked for IPR. Has held several State Department posts since the war. Was the subject of inquiry in the IPR hearings in connection with Field and Lamont.

6. Mary Jean McKay participated in American Youth Congress reluctantly and consulted ERM and others on how best to cope with the Communist element.

7. Reference to Velde Committee hearings, testimony of McMichael with further reference to NSFA.

8. Reference for information: Sylvia Sugarman, married to Sidney Sugarman (Judge Sugarman?). Reference to J. B. Matthews, who was head of League Against War and Fascism and has had connections with Dies Committee and McCarthy; he probably has a detailed study of student and youth movements which he might make available to McCarthy.

9. Reference for information: YMCA periodical "Intercollegian" file, available at Student YMCA headquarters at 291 Broadway, Dr. E. Espy. The Student YMCA collaborated closely in the 1930's with NSFA and with many leftist organizations of American Youth Congress. Henson, a left-wing Socialist closely associated with Matthews, who thereafter became anti-Communist, was Student YMCA leader. He has fought the Communists in the automobile union and is now connected with the A. F. of L. in Milwaukee where he has taken a leading role in McC opposition.

ECP

Memorandum, Chester S. Williams, re NSFA, 4/3/54. I I 5

Chester Williams.

Gives chronology of NSFA presidents. Lists individuals associated with NSFA who might be vulnerable, including F. V. Field, Corliss Lamont, and others. 1932 booklet of National Union of Students, published in London, cancelled a tour in the USSR. Notes that this was "circulated by" NSFA and that no data exists as to whether the tour was actually conducted or not. NSFA news releases indicate that Corliss Lamont spoke under NSFA auspices over CBS on 1/25/35, subject "The Student and Soviet Union"; that Wechsler spoke on 3/20/35; that Laski was also featured. Notes that ERM "must have been Talks Director at CBS at this time".

He was. See CBS Biography

ECP

4/9/47, carbon, letter, ERM to Cohen, attaching draft report of Radio Advisory Committee to Benton, Ass't Sec'y of State for Public Affairs.

I I 8

ERM dead file.

Letter and attachments indicate that ERM, together with Roy Larson, Mark Ethridge, Mike Coles, Don Francisco and others constituted Radio Advisory Committee for Benton in establishing State Department broadcasting policy, and plan for owners of existing shortwave broadcasting facilities to join in a foundation, supported by Government funds, for the purpose of broadcasting news of U. S. to censored countries. Draft report states that Committee believes that now, more than at almost any time in our history, a clear and fair picture of America and American policy should be heard abroad; believes funds now available are inadequate to do the job required by the national interest and deplores the reports that some members of Congress wish to cut the available budget rather than expand it in accordance with the clear need and opportunity. Covering letter comments that Paley, for CBS, prepared to participate in joint financing of such an operation.

ECP

6/10/47 telegram, ERM to Owen J. Roberts. I I 8 —
I J 26

ERM dead file.

Shares Roberts' concern (expressed in telegram 6/10/47 to ERM, attached) about possible Congressional failure to act on military training. ". . . in view of my official position which involves the fair and impartial allocation of radio time for this and other controversial issues I feel that I must decline your invitation to join Citizens Emergency Committee."

ECP

8/15/47 letter, Altschul (Woodrow Wilson Foundation) to ERM. I I 8

ERM dead file.

Letterhead gives officers and directors of Woodrow Wilson Foundation, including Altschul, Allen Dulles, Davies, Dickey, Cleveland Dodge, T. K. Finletter, Hiss, Grayson Kirk (directors); Herbert Lehman, MacLeish, ERM, Francis B. Sayre, Henry Wallace, Sumner Wells (directors).

See letter, 4/25/51, to Gideonse, that ERM resigned as member of Bd. of Directors. File indicates that directorship was terminated subsequently on ground of reorganization.

ECP

9/25/47 letter, Julian Street (United States National Commission for UNESCO) to ERM.

I I 8

ERM dead file

Letterhead gives members of U. S. National Commission for UNESCO, including ERM. File indicates ERM was inactive.

ECP

ERM correspondence file. I I 8

ERM dead file

Correspondence indicates ERM was member of Advisory Council for Yale Review in 1948.

ECP

3/21/51 letter, Voorhees (Committee on Present Danger) to ERM. I I 8

ERM dead file

Encloses background material on Committee on the Present Danger with list of members. Purpose is to support and encourage moves and measures for rapid building of national strength and strength of Allies, to a point which will make it impossible for an aggressor to challenge the united power of the free world. Objective is Peace through Strength. Essential to safety of all that our nation act wisely and vigorously to make itself strong.

Attached list of members includes: Adler (N.Y. Times); Allen (Pres., U. of Wash.); Frank Altschul (Nat. Comm. for a Free Europe); Baxter (Pres., Williams College); Bell (Chairman, Bd. of Trustees, U. of Chicago); Vannevar Bush (Pres., Carnegie Institute of Wash.); Conant (Pres., Harvard); Dodds (Pres., Princeton U.); Dollard (Pres., Carnegie Corp. of N.Y.); William J. Donovan (former Director OSS); David Dubinsky (Pres., ILGWU); Samuel Goldwyn; Paul Hoffman; Stanley Marcus (Pres., Neiman-Marcus Co.); ERM; Robert P. Patterson; Robert Sherwood; Robert G. Sproul (Pres., U. of Calif.); Robert L. Stearns (Pres., U. of Colo.); Rev. Edmund A. Walsh (V-P, Georgetown U.).

Also attached: Printed statement of Committee objectives: Non-partisan, non-political group formed because of deep conviction that U. S. and its democratic way of life "are gravely threatened by Soviet aggression". Committee believes it possible to avert way by making U. S. and Allies so strong they will not be attacked. Will work for public opinion supporting joint defense of Europe, without neglect of Far East; support of Eisenhower's mission; determination not to allow political differences to obscure vision of Soviet menace; realization of peril to the U.S. arising from complacency while Soviet power and atom bomb supply increases; adoption of universal military service; legislation to make U.S. and Allies strong; rejection of preventive war.

ECP

4/8/51: Text of CBS broadcast I I 8
"Your Son and Universal Military Training" I J 5

ERM dead file

Discussion between ERM and Conant under auspices of Committee on the Present Danger. Conant statements in support of drafting 18-year-olds:

Soviet explosion of atomic bomb altered whole international picture, indicating U.S. Strategic Air Force could no longer guarantee defense of Europe. Estimated U.S. will need 3,000,000 to 4,000,000 men under arms for a long period of time (p. 1). Committee hopes to help create a climate of opinion favorable to Eisenhower's great mission and to offset spirit of complacency. Does not believe in the inevitability of World War III but believes way to prevent another global war is to build up adequate defense force to defend Europe (p. 4). Capacity to hold Europe is speculative, but any alternative is, as Eisenhower said, unthinkable (p. 6). Some who are developing support for Conant's position feel that the chance of a negotiation with the Soviet Union is slim under present balance of power; that if we could get a real balance of Europe a few years hence then a negotiation might be possible.

ECP

Letter, 4/30/51, American National Red Cross to ERM. I I 8
I J 2

ERM dead file.

Expresses gratitude for interest and support, which was of great assistance in 1951 Red Cross Fund campaign. Awards ERM 1951 American Red Cross Certificate of Honor.

ECP

5/23/51 exchange of telegrams Conant and ERM. I I 8

ERM dead file

ERM accepts membership on Committee on the Present Danger.

ECP.

5/11/52 Notes of Vannevar Bush's broadcast on ERM TV program.

I I 8
I J 5

ERM dead file

Dr. Bush telecasts under auspices of the Comm. on the P D.

Statements by Dr. Bush: "This country wants no third war. We are determined to prevent it. For this we need strength of our own, and well armed allies, so that no aggressor will dare attack us, and so that if he should we would prevail." Investigates importance of Mutual Security Bill as essential step in 3-year program of aiding Allies to rearm (p. 1). "We wish to live in peace. But we certainly intend to preserve our freedom and our way of life. For this purpose we intend to be strong. With resolution and common sense we have an excellent chance of avoiding war and leading the world in our strength toward better days." (p. 3--follows an emphasis for need for all kinds of weapons, including further development of A-bomb).

ECP

5/13/52 notes of Conant broadcast on ERM program.

I I 8
I J 5

ERM dead file

Statement by Conant under auspices of Comm. on the P D. Supports Mutual Security program as second installment of 3-year plan to build arms for troops being raised by European nations. "The present question is, shall we . . ., by cutting of appropriations, serve notice on the world that we are uncertain as to our determination? This is a matter of vital importance to every citizen of this nation for until the defenses of Europe are secure, the danger to this country remains acute. Until we can be confident that the Russians cannot overrun the Continent, the threat of a third world war hangs over us. We are arming not to initiate a war but to preserve the peace."

ECP

CBS

Includes:

Carnegie Document
IIE
Ford Foundation Board on Overseas Training Research
Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships Inc.
Franklin D. Roosevelt Foundation
Council on Foreign Relations
Committee on The Present Danger
The American Academy of Political and Social Science
Woodrow Wilson Foundation*
U.S. National Commission For UNESCO*
The Yale Quarterly Review*
Ad Hoc Committee to protest the removal of "The Nation" magazine from the New York City school library list*

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* Past membership.

E.C.P.

2

3 pamphlets, issued in 1953-54 by
Bureau of University Travel.

I I 3
I I 8 —

IIE

See It Now

I J 1, 6

Kinescope Excerpts, 3/8/53.

Obituary on Stalin; history of U.S.S.R.

ERM of Stalin: "He was extremely cruel, cunning and ruthless. He wanted only the world. He made great and telling use of Lenin as a symbol. Others will so use Stalin . . ." (p. 8)

". . . there is no excuse for us not understanding where these evil men propose to end up . . ." Quoting from Stalin's book on Lenin: successful revolutionists in one country can't rest until world is won.

"There you have it: revolution in all countries. That is the word of Lenin, Stalin and Malinkov. They will obviously settle for the world." (p. 9)

Reed Harris hearing follows substantially as shown on ERM's "first" McC program. ERM comment:

> "Extracts from the investigation into the Voice of America, which speaks to the rest of the world on behalf of all of us. It would seem that an analysis of the actual content of what is said by professional newsmen and experts in the field of public information might give us perhaps as much illumination on the kind of job the Voice of America is doing as does a prolonged discussion of the content of a book called "King Football." Good night and good luck."

B.A.P.

"ERM with the News" 2/12/54 I J 1 c

CBS II B 7

Several pages devoted to McLeod and 2,200 security risks. States that Republicans gave impression that most of these were subversives. But truth is dfferent. Leaks from House Appropriations Sub-Committee show that of 534 persons dropped from State Department only 11 were loyalty cases. Not one of the 11 was found to be active in subversion. Unidentified Congressman speaking about testimony before House Sub-Committee said: "They didn't claim to have found a single proven Communist or subversive. In the entire Voice of America operation, which had been the prime target of Communist hunters, they have failed to find a single case of acts of disloyalty or Communism." Goes on to state other facts to show very few Communists in other branches of the Government. Dewey says 1,500 security risks planted in Government by Democrats. Shanley, Special Counsel to Eisenhower, said 1,500 subversives kicked out of Government. McC said "practically all of the 1,456 were removed because of Communist connections and activities or perversion." Chairman of the Republican Finance Committee, Carlton Ketchum, said that Eisenhower and his team "had gotten rid of nearly 1,500 Communists, fellow travelers and their ilk." These men were speaking before the total figure of 1,456 was raised to 2,200.

Implies that ~~Employees of the~~ McLeod demoralized State Department.

ERM quotes Lincoln to the effect that we should be patient and not allow ourselves "to run off in a passion". Shanley admits mistake in charging all Federal employees dropped were "subversives"--"It was done inadvertently". See ERM with the News 2/9/54.

JSK

ERM with the News - 3/1/54

CBS

Civil Service Commission releases breakdown of persons fired as security risks.

J.E.R.

ERM with the News - 3/2/54

CBS

Civil Service Commission Chairman Young today said that of 2400 persons removed from government jobs as security risks 383 had something of a subversive nature in their case files. But Young added: He doesn't know whether a single one of these 383 was fired for disloyalty, subversion or communism. He has no way of finding out whether subversion was a controlling factor in each dismissal. He doesn't know how many of them were notified that there was subversive information in their files. And he acknowledges that some of the 383 may have been dismissed for other reasons, or resigned.

J. E. R.

ERM with the News - 3/2/54

CBS

Senate Internal Security subcommittee told by former Navy Secretary, Knox, that President Roosevelt in 1942 had said that considering the fact that we are Allies of Russia the United States is not bound to oppose activities of the Communist Party.

Retired Rear Admiral Staton said that during the war Adlai Stevenson, then an aid to Knox, told Staton "I don't think we should be too hard on Communists who were radio operators in the Merchant Marine." Stevenson described this as an old story -- answered during the 1952 Campaign and fully explained at the time.

J.E.R.

I J 1

II B 7

ERM - This is the News - 3/10/54

CBS

At McCarthy hearing, Gragas, a former communist, says he once gave Dr. Albert Einstein $21 for the American Committee for Spanish Freedom. McCarthy described this committee as "communist controlled". Gragas' relation with Einstein occurred in 1945, four years before organization on Attorney General's list. Witness says none of money collected from communists, however. In retrospect he thinks Einstein was abetting subversive organization. Einstein says he doesn't remember the $21 -- has no further comment.

J: E. R.

CBS

". . . I am persuaded that the most important thing that happened in Britain was that this nation chose to win or lose this war under the established rules of Parliamentary procedure."

J.E.R.

ERM: This Is London--7/1/45 I J 2

CBS

Comment on forthcoming British elections. "Elections have been out of favor in Europe for several years . . . exciting to see applied . . . the principles for which a terrible war was fought."

J.E.R.

ERM: This Is London--7/29/45 I J 2

CBS

Commenting on British labor victory: "Our own country is now the last major stronghold of our brand of free enterprise and relatively unrestricted capitalism."

J.E.R.

Final "This Is London" broadcast,
3/10/46.

I J 2
I J 5
I J 6

ERM.

Comments on Churchill's Fulton, Mo., speech. Reaction from left, that he is advocating an anti-Russian alliance; from the right, warm welcome; from the majority, confusion. Speech did not have advance government sanction or approval. Tendency is to regard solution of idiological, economic and geographic conflict between Russia and Western World as soluble only by creating a world either in the image of Churchill or that of Stalin. Notes that Churchill and his party were turned out of office despite war record indicating a search by British for middle ground between Churchill conservatism and Stalin suppressive collectivism. Russians have consistently attacked the Labor Government since its assumption of office. Appears that both England and U. S. wish to limit expansion of Communist influence and dominance by Moscow of neighbor nations. Question arises as to whether this is best done by coalition of English-speaking world or by eliminating economic, social and political inequalities which are Russia's greatest asset in the Middle East, India and Asia. The test of democracy during the war continues and will be determined by the degree to which Americans understand the role in world affairs that has been thrust upon them. U. S. has come into full inheritance and cannot mediate or non-intervene. Points out the dreadful effect in the war of American and British refusal to act in the 1930's. Europe now looks to the West with a mixture of hope and anxiety to see what U. S. will do with its power. From European point of view, U. S. is confronted with a choice between leadership and isolation resulting from failure to act to preserve European freedom.

ECP

letter, 7/8/49, Gen. H. A. Johnson (CG, Tenth Air Force) to ERM. I G 1 I J 2

ERM dead file.

Broadcast on 7/6 was one of greatest "boosts" for the Air Force Reserve program to date. Program will benefit immeasurably by coverage and prestige given through ERM comments, which will be responsible for a larger number of reservists attending camp this year.

ECP

1/4/50 letter, Dillon (Chief, Radio-TV Branch, National Mil. Estab., Office of Public Info.) to ERM. I G 1 I J 2

ERM dead file.

Thanks ERM for his work for Dep't of Defense since the radio and television services of the Armed Forces have been combined.

ECP

Letter, Caldwell (Administrator, Fed. Civ. Def. Admin.) to ERM. 4/11/51

I G 1
I J 2

ERM dead file.

Extends appreciation for narration by ERM of motion picture "Survival Under Atomic Attack".

ECP

Letter, 4/30/51, American National Red Cross to ERM.

I I 8
I J 2

ERM dead file.

Expresses gratitude for interest and support, which was of great assistance in 1951 Red Cross Fund campaign. Awards ERM 1951 American Red Cross Certificate of Honor.

ECP

List of 1950-54 programs, etc., in support of patriotic and charitable institutions, etc.

I J 2

McDonough.

ECP

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

J.E.R. March 27, 1954

SEE IT NOW January 5, 1954: Communist China

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Good evening. For two years we have been trying to get cameras and reporters into the Soviet Union and into Red China. We are still trying. But the other day we sent a crew from Tokyo down to Hong Kong. That's as near as you can get to Red China, and there they found a Chinese lawyer, a man who is retained by the Chinese Communist Government, and a man who has some skill in presenting the Chinese Communist line. We thought it might be interesting to present these points of view if we could find a young American who spent a lot of time in Asia, who knew our policy and who himself dealt at first hand with Chinese Communists. We found such a man, a young Naval Lieutenant here in New York. We will let these two men introduce themselves.

PERCY CHEN:

My name is Percy Chen and I am the eldest son of the late Dr. Eugene Chen who was several times the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the government of the Republic of China. I am a barrister-at-law and was called to the Bar 31 years ago in England. I returned to China in 1926 after completing my studies and I associated myself with the Chinese Revolution from that time.

HORACE UNDERWOOD:

My name is Horace Underwood. I am the son and grandson of Presbyterian Missionaries to Korea. I received my education in the United States, returned to the Far East. I was interned by the Japanese in 1941, and upon repatriation joined the U.S. Navy spending my time in the Pacific Theatre. After World War II, I returned to the Far East and was in Korea when the North Koreans invaded in June 1950. I came back on active duty with the U.S. Navy and was assigned on various duties, including the Inchon landings. In July of 1950, I was assigned as Senior Interpreter to the Korean Armistice negotiations in Panmunjom and spent two years talking to the Communists across that conference table.

CHEN:

The situation in the world, in the Far East, and in the relations between nations, has reached a turning point. . . . these nations can co-exist together and live in peace.

UNDERWOOD:

[paraphrased] Nations with different economic systems can co-exist. But this is not a question of economic systems, it is a question of national morality. If your new Wonderland is so beautiful why do you bar journalists, diplomats, missionaries and businessmen?

CHEN:

We have a reputation for being a very pacific and peaceful people. . . .

UNDERWOOD:

[paraphrased] Our prisoners in Korea were cruelly treated by the Chinese Communists, such treatment including brain washing. We were shocked to find out what the Chinese regime had done.

CHEN:
[paraphrased]
The United States press is picturing the Chinese people in a guise not in accordance with the truth. Situation can be remedied by peace and entry of China into United Nations.

UNDERWOOD:

[paraphrased] Chinese can't "shoot" her way into the United Nations. China does not subscribe to the principles of the United Nations. It delayed the Korean negotiations for trivial causes.

CHEN:

[paraphrased] Certain countries have attempted to destroy China's industry; on the other hand, the Soviet Union has long cooperated with China. Is it not natural that we should have a very friendly feeling towards them?

UNDERWOOD:

[paraphrased] The only friendship the Soviet Union has shown

to their satellites is to swallow up those countries whole, so that they have nothing left to themselves. You brag about what your new China has done for the people, but lets take a look at Hong Kong and at the thousands of refugees who have fled your regime.

CHEN:

[paraphrased] The refugee question is associated with the transient population that comes to Hong Kong from time to time. In addition, the floating population that comes to Hong Kong in order to see what is going on, and then after having spent their money, or having lost their employment, then returns to China.

UNDERWOOD:

It is easy to see from the population figures of Hong Kong that the refugee problem is much more serious than you say. . . . In Korea alone we have had over five million refugees from Communist North Korea in the years since 1945, and they are hardly the type of people who come to spend their money and then return to North Korea.

MURROW:

In just a moment we shall be taking you to Hong Kong for a visual examination of some of the things these two men have been discussing. Lieutenant Underwood did not tell you that his mother, a missionary, was murdered by Communists in North Korea in 1949.

* * *

MURROW:

[describes Hong Kong]

ED SCOTT (Assistant):

Ed, this is Lo Wu, New Territories, Hong Kong. Its the border between Hong Kong and Red China. Hundreds of people cross this borderline each day. Many never returned to Red China.

MURROW:

Side by side with only the border in between, the flags of two great powers fly.

INSPECTOR ROSE:

I am Inspector Rose of the Hong Kong Police. . . . The broadcast you can hear in the background is the Communist propaganda broadcast. It takes place daily on the arrival of the trains from Kowloon.

SCOTT:

There is a train from Canton or Shanghai every day and a priest who meets every train.

FATHER POLETTI:

I am Father Poletti. I belong to the Foreign Mission on Milan, in Italy. It is almost three years that I am coming here every day to meet all the missionaries, either Catholic or Protestant, who they are coming, but a great part of them are expelled by the Communists from China. . . .

MURROW:

Father Poletti meets missionary number three thousand, two hundred and one -- a Bishop.

* * *

SCOTT: Why did -- how did you get out of China?

BISHOP: They kicked me out and just because I didn't permit -- how to say in English?

FATHER POLETTI: You didn't agree.

BISHOP: I didn't agree.

* * *

GLADYS CHANG [Interpreting]:

His name is Wong Kioei Chin and he is from the area of Canton. He is a very wealthy landowner and the Communists wanted to force him out. The Communists bound his arms behind his back and beat him with a bamboo stick, and one evening he just took a chance and escaped to Hong Kong.

MURROW:

[interpreting statement of old woman] I have lived all my life in Canton. . . . Still, I go to Hong Kong and I shall never go back.

FATHER SIGFRIED SCHNEIDER:

I am just one of the many missionaries who have come out of Communist China . . . my hometown is in Louisville, Kentucky. . . . The Communist authorities began to find trouble with us and to make a case against us. In our orphanage, they began to make investigations and they dug up the cemetery and filled a number of coffins with bones. In the end of May, on the 25th, they arrested the Bishop and me. After a public trial in a theatre in which many people were present, we were accused of causing the death of many children, and I was sentenced to five years in jail, and the Bishop to three. . . .

MURROW:

[translating statement of Daniel Wong]: One day when I said I did not like Mao Tse Tung and the Communists, my youngest son scolded me and said, "Father, you can't talk that way about our leader. I will call the police. I will kill you." Then I knew I had to get them out of China.

MURROW:

This train from Lo Wu is the chief escape route out of Red China. . . . But its a way out.

MURROW:

James Mitchner has called Hong Kong "the jewel of Asia - one of the loveliest cities on earth." Right now it is probably the most crowded city on earth. . . . If you probe behind the front, there is the new city - the city of more than one and a half million refugees. Every accessible hillside is honeycombed with tiny huts tumbled together like so much non-descript debris. Match box shacks, where rain drains under the boards and is then hoarded for drinking purposes.

MURROW:

Nothing grows on Hong Kong except refugees . . . This camp is jammed with some of the two million escapees who came through

the gate of LoWu . . . These are the "transients and squatters", as the Communist spokesman referred to them. These are the three hundred thousand who came across to spend their money and have a good time and then return, he says. Actually, there are six times that number, and for them, even this is better than Communism.

MURROW:

Some of the conflicts between the Communists and the Free World can be expressed in words. You heard some of those words tonight. We tried to give you a little visual evidence of some of the human wreckage that seeps out of Red China into the free Port of Hong Kong.

Good night and good luck.

* * * * * * *

CBS

Assistant Secretary of State Robertson states that since 1949 Chinese Communists have killed 15 million of their own people.

JSK

ERM - This is the News - 3/11/54

CBS

Report on Schwable inquiry and torture by Chinese Communists.

J. E. R.

ERM With the News, 10/27/47.

I J 4
I J 12

McDonough

Comments on Mikolajczyk disappearance from Poland, as indicating despair in his program to prevent Poland from falling completely under the domination of the Communists. Stress is strongly anti-Soviet.

Re Hollywood investigation, ERM considers it in the light of fresh memory of friends in Europe who died or were exiled because they refused to admit the right of their government to determine what they should say and think. Without defending Hollywood or condemning Congressional investigations, comments that committees should appropriately concern themselves with what persons do rather than what they think. Persons have been accused of Communist connections by accusers who are safe from laws of slander and libel; denials are unlikely ever to catch up with the allegations. This investigation will induce increased timidity in an industry already cowardly enough. Re Mission to Moscow and Song of Russia, reviews connection in which films were made and issued. Problems confronting State Department and Atomic Energy Commission in maintaining security without doing violence to civil liberties, which may require special and wholly defensible security measures, do not arise with instruments of mass communication. Choice is whether we shall believe in intelligence and good judgment of American people, or in proposition that governments should "investigate, intimidate and finally legislate". Right of dissent is fundamental to existence of democratic society and is the first right abridged in every nation which has gone totalitarian. Present Communist scare is not a passing phenomenon such as appeared after World War I, because of strength and power of present Communist world, so this "internal tension, suspicion, witch-hunting, grade-labling [?] . . . will continue". Quotes Hitler: "The great strength of the totalitarian state is that it will force those who fear it, to imitate it."

"Word for Today", from Voltaire: "I may disapprove of what you say but I will defend to the death your right to say it."

ECP

ERM: This Is London--5/6/45.

I J 4 b
I J 17

CBS

Russia dominant power on the Continent. Whole problem of Poland has created deadlock between Russia and the Western Allies. Conversations suspended. Facts appear to be as follows: 15 or 16 Polish leaders went to talk with Russians--no word received from them. Statement issued yesterday that group had been arrested by Russians and now in Moscow--accused of preparing diversionary acts at the rear of Red Army and operating illegal radio transmitters. Alleged in House of Commons that 24 Poles who had opposed elections on a one party basis had been executed and that there had been other cases where Poles had been shot or hanged without trial.

Report of British criticism of Russian attitude in Austria.

The Moscow claim that Russian prisoners of war had been ill treated increased the irritation. Many of these Russians taken were armed and in German uniforms; others in German labor organizations. "Three reliable eye witnesses have told me that some of the worst atrocities encountered in the campaign in Southern France were committed by Russians in German uniforms." Some of these Russians in Britain have displayed an unwillingness to return to the Soviet Union. Quotes London Times critical of Russian attitude in Austria.

J.E.R.

ERM: This Is London--5/13/45. I J 4 b
I J 17

CBS

One word has been heard like an echo--the word is Poland. Russian action in arresting Polish leaders characterized as "abrupt" and "secretive". Difficulty arises from difference in definition of the word "democracy" which appears repeatedly in the Yalta agreement. In contrast to America and Britain, Russian Democracy means "a system where economic security and the right to education, especially technical education, are guaranteed by the State. So-called political activity is considered unimportant, and criticism must be confined to the mechanics of Government".

The Elbe is one major frontier in Europe. "How much freedom there exists east of that line, or west of it, depends upon your definition of Democracy." There are reports of mass arrests and deportations east of the Elbe. Polish question still a deadlock. In Austria the complete blockade of news continues, and confusion increases. Radio Austria appears to base its news on Tass.

J.E.R.

ERM: This Is London--6/3/45 I J 4 b

CBS

Reds had promised to shoot 50 Nazis for every Red soldier murdered in Eastern Germany.

Reds are also controlling information in Eastern Germany.

Conjecture that Russia will reduce the standards of living in the satellite countries by diverting products produced in those countries to the Soviet.

J.E.R.

ERM: This Is London--6/24/45 I J 4 b

CBS

Comment on Polish situation. Most of displaced Poles do not wish to return to Poland since they fear it will be dominated by Russia.

J.E.R.

See It Now I J 4 b

Kinescope Excerpts, 12/7/52

ERM, reporting execution of Communist leaders in Czechoslovakia:

"They were good Communists: they had betrayed their own country."

CBS correspondent Kendrick:

". . . But it seems to me there are several very real reasons behind this trial, real purposes behind this trial. I think the first and the most important is the internal purpose--to cover up the shortcomings and deficiencies and failures of the Czech program; to make it seem as if the program itself was not at fault, but merely had been sabotaged by people in high places. And I think the trial also has been connected with the new policy of the Kremlin--the peace policy, the Stalin policy enunciated at the last Communist congress, to join with moderate forces in the capitalist countries, to build united fronts, broad fronts, to get rid of the revolutionary elements among the Communist Parties and bank on the so-called moderates, and then stand by and watch capitalism go to pieces."

BP

B.A.P.

See It Now I J 4 b

Kinescope Excerpts, 1/4/53.

Prague purge trials giving sleepless nights to German Communists including Gerhardt Eisler. Eisler being criticized as "inept propagandist"; not always so; scenes of demonstration staged by Eisler; ERM comment:

"Even Hitler did not have the girls carrying guns."

BP

B.A.P.

See It Now I J 4/5

Kinescope Excerpts, 9/22/53

ERM and Conant at Brandenburg Gate.

Conant: "Berlin here represents the important struggle between the free world and the world of slavery which is on the other side of the Iron Curtain."

Interview between CBS Howard Smith and Mayor Reuter introduced by ERM:

"MR. MURROW: If there is one man in Berlin who personifies the toughness, the determination and the steadiness of these West Berliners, it is the Mayor, Professor Ernst Reuther. He was even good enough to come down and show Howard Smith around the bombed-out ruins of the Reichstag.

"MR. SMITH: Mayor Reuther, regarding your optimism about the reunification of Germany, how do you foresee that coming about?

"MAYOR REUTHER: It can come about only by using every means of pressure, persuasion, strengthening our moral force, and showing to the Soviets that they are not in a position to digest Germany, that it doesn't give sense for them to be obstinate, to stand on a place which is lost for them anyway."

BP

B.A.P.

"ERM with the News" 2/4/54 I J 4 b

CBS

Lengthy report on "common front", ~~and~~ new plan which calls for Communist alliance with the Socialist Parties of Western Europe, Latin America and the Far East. Murrow states this to be development of considerably more importance than anything that has happened so far in Berlin.

JBK

"ERM with the News" 2/8/54 I J 4 b

CBS

Report on increased freedom of populace in Hungary by Alex Kendrick. Kendrick concludes the Hungarians are certain of enjoying this Indian Summer of Communism. And the fact that they are doing so should be reported in the same objective way as we previously reported how hard they were having it.

JER

"ERM with the News" 2/9/54 I J 4 b

CBS

~~Comment~~ In discussing the "New Look" in defense, following statement by ERM made: "It happens that the Soviet Union's favorite weapon is a minor aggression. It is infiltration followed up by bloodless seizure of control, as in Checkoslovakia. Or it is the use of Nationals as in Korea, and as the Chinese Communists are using them in Indo-China."

Similar statement on 2/10/54 re Checkoslovakia in discussing the Berlin conference then in progress.

JBM

ERM: This Is London--9/2/45 I J 5

CBS

Advocates tough policy with respect to dealing with Russia in Europe. Says that Britain and America ~~are~~ to prevent Southeastern Europe from becoming exclusive zone of Russian influence. If so, is doubtful if long range lecturers and threat of non-recognition will do it. It didn't work in Poland.

J.E.R.

ERM: This Is London--10/7/45 I J 5

CBS

Quotes London Times on breakdown of London conference of foreign ministers, attributing the collapse to the Russians. Further quotes Times to say that all the serious hitches at San Francisco were of Russian origin.

J.E.R.

Final "This Is London" broadcast,
3/10/46.

I J 2
I J 5
I J 6

ERM.

Comments on Churchill's Fulton, Mo., speech. Reaction from left, that he is advocating an anti-Russian alliance; from the right, warm welcome; from the majority, confusion. Speech did not have advance government sanction or approval. Tendency is to regard solution of idiological, economic and geographic conflict between Russia and Western World as soluble only by creating a world either in the image of Churchill or that of Stalin. Notes that Churchill and his party were turned out of office despite war record indicating a search by British for middle ground between Churchill conservatism and Stalin suppressive collectivism. Russians have consistently attacked the Labor Government since its assumption of office. Appears that both England and U. S. wish to limit expansion of Communist influence and dominance by Moscow of neighbor nations. Question arises as to whether this is best done by coalition of English-speaking world or by eliminating economic, social and political inequalities which are Russia's greatest asset in the Middle East, India and Asia. The test of democracy during the war continues and will be determined by the degree to which Americans understand the role in world affairs that has been thrust upon them. U. S. has come into full inheritance and cannot mediate or non-intervene. Points out the dreadful effect in the war of American and British refusal to act in the 1930's. Europe now looks to the West with a mixture of hope and anxiety to see what U. S. will do with its power. From European point of view, U. S. is confronted with a choice between leadership and isolation resulting from failure to act to preserve European freedom.

ECP

ERM With The News--10/27/48 I J 5

CBS

ERM reports on history of formation of European mutual defense alliance. From his comments it is clear that he personallyfavors the Western Alliance.

J.E.R.

4/8/51: Text of CBS broadcast I I 8
"Your Son and Universal Military Training" I J 5

ERM dead file

Discussion between ERM and Conant under auspices of Committee on the Present Danger. Conant statements in support of drafting 18-year-olds:

Soviet explosion of atomic bomb altered whole international picture, indicating U.S. Strategic Air Force could no longer guarantee defense of Europe. Estimated U.S. will need 3,000,000 to 4,000,000 men under arms for a long period of time (p. 1). Committee hopes to help create a climate of opinion favorable to Eisenhower's great mission and to offset spirit of complacency. Does not believe in the inevitability of World War III but believes way to prevent another global war is to build up adequate defense force to defend Europe (p. 4). Capacity to hold Europe is speculative, but any alternative is, as Eisenhower said, unthinkable (p. 6). Some who are developing support for Conant's position feel that the chance of a negotiation with the Soviet Union is slim under present balance of power; that if we could get a real balance of Europe a few years hence then a negotiation might be possible.

ECP

5/11/52 Notes of Vannevar Bush's broadcast on ERM TV program.

I I 8
I J 5 ✓

ERM dead file

Dr. Bush telecasts under auspices of the Comm. on the P D.

Statements by Dr. Bush: "This country wants no third war. We are determined to prevent it. For this we need strength of our own, and well armed allies, so that no aggressor will dare attack us, and so that if he should we would prevail." Investigates importance of Mutual Security Bill as essential step in 3-year program of aiding Allies to rearm (p. 1). "We wish to live in peace. But we certainly intend to preserve our freedom and our way of life. For this purpose we intend to be strong. With resolution and common sense we have an excellent chance of avoiding war and leading the world in our strength toward better days." (p. 3--follows an emphasis for need for all kinds of weapons, including further development of A-bomb).

ECP

5/13/52 notes of Conant broadcast on ERM program.

I I 8
I J 5

ERM dead file

Statement by Conant under auspices of Comm. on the P D. Supports Mutual Security program as second installment of 3-year plan to build arms for troops being raised by European nations. "The present question is, shall we . . ., by cutting of appropriations, serve notice on the world that we are uncertain as to our determination? This is a matter of vital importance to every citizen of this nation for until the defenses of Europe are secure, the danger to this country remains acute. Until we can be confident that the Russians cannot overrun the Continent, the threat of a third world war hangs over us. We are arming not to initiate a war but to preserve the peace."

ECP

See It Now I J 4,5

Kinescope Excerpts, 9/22/53

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"MR. MURROW: If there is one man in Berlin who personifies the toughness, the determination and the steadiness of these West Berliners, it is the Mayor, Professor Ernst Reuther. He was even good enough to come down and show Howard Smith around the bombed-out ruins of the Reichstag.

"MR. SMITH: Mayor Reuther, regarding your optimism about the reunification of Germany, how do you foresee that coming about?

"MAYOR REUTHER: It can come about only by using every means of pressure, persuasion, strengthening our moral force, and showing to the Soviets that they are not in a position to digest Germany, that it doesn't give sense for them to be obstinate, to stand on a place which is lost for them anyway."

B.A.P.

ERM "Person to Person" show, 2/12/54 I J 5
(Stevenson).

ERM script file.

Re ideals of Abraham Lincoln, Stevenson says (p. 16), "I think somehow it is the same today; that now when we see ourselves, when we see the free man, the hope of all people, to choose their own way of life imperiled by the Communist conspiracy our position is not dissimilar from what it was in [Lincoln's] time and that he saw the universal implication of America's experiment in self government."

ECP

SEE IT NOW: Four Ministers Conference in Berlin. I J 5
I J 6

Television Script--2/16/54.

Round table conference in Berlin on intermediate results of Foreign Ministers meeting between ERM, Marian Podkowinski of the Warsaw Evening Express, Richard C. Hottelet CBS Berlin, Howard Smith CBS European Chief, Henri De Turenne French News Agency, and Richard Scott Manchester Guardian.

Agreement that nothing constructive had been done as yet; Molotov indicated unwillingness to bargain and desire to consolidate Soviet bloc. Podkowinski against EDC because dominated by Adenauer and susceptible to control by German militarists.

De Turenne predicts Molotov's attempt to play on French Indo-China sensitivity.

ERM interrupts discussion since "all seem to agree that nothing of substantial importance is likely to emerge from this conference" (p. 12). ERM turns discussion: "Certainly there will be a continuing struggle for trade. Is that not true, Scott?"

Scott: "International trade is, after all, something which is conducted for the mutual benefit of both participants and I don't think there is any reason to fear extending trade between East and West, so long as it is not in strategic materials" (p. 13).

Podkowinski: ". . . The East West trade is a very important thing for everybody . . ."

(ERM's turning the discussion might be distorted into an approval of East West trade. But ERM said simply that there would be "a continuing struggle for trade". Scott of the Manchester Guardian approved such trade as did Podkowinski. Smith, CBS spokesman, merely predicted a trade rivalry as an economic fact of life with Germany and Japan back in the market and America "trying to sell things instead of giving them away" (p. 14)).

ERM: Will these two competing blocs stand firm?

Scott: Solidarity of three Western Ministers remarkable.

Podkowinski: Poland hates the Germans worse than the Russians.

Smith: "I must say, in the past year, when there seemed to be a lessening of tension, Western unity has loosened up a great deal, and irresponsible people have grown more irresponsible. For example, American politicians engaging in a kind of self-mutilation of the United States and its morale by referring to one party as having committed 20 years of treason. I think Mr. Molotov here has had very little comfort. But those reports which have caused our allies to shudder in the German press here must have given him some comfort at least."

ERM: "Thank you very much gentlemen. It seems to me that you have agreed on certain things. You agreed, first of all, that this Foreign Ministers Conference should be held. You seem to agree that there have been no substantial important or revolutionary results flowed from it. You have also agreed there will be continuing and increasing trade rivalry between the two competing blocs. You also appear to have agreed that both blocs are solid and firm, and there is no real danger of a collapse on either side of what is called the Iron Curtain. It seems to me the most important thing you have agreed upon is that this conflict will continue so far as any of you can see. Thank you very much for sitting around this table here in Berlin and discussing the Foreign Ministers Conference. Good night and good luck."

BP

B.A.P.

CBS

"[British] are trying to find a middle ground between the rigid economic system of Russia with its sacrifice of civil liberties, and our system of minimum economic control."

J.E.R.

ERM: This Is London--9/30/45 I J 6

CBS

Critical statements re Russia.

Referring to London Commentary on World Affairs: "It claims that Russian military power and her determination to insure her security in her own way threatens to destroy in large areas that absolute respect for individual conscience which we regard as the core of democracy."

J.E.R.

ERM: This Is London--10/14/45 I J 6

CBS

ERM says that the revolutionary Communist Party, made up of Trotzkyites, is supporting the British longshoremen's strike.

J.E.R.

Final "This Is London" broadcast,
3/10/46.

I J 2
I J 5
I J 6

ERM.

Comments on Churchill's Fulton, Mo., speech. Reaction from left, that he is advocating an anti-Russian alliance; from the right, warm welcome; from the majority, confusion. Speech did not have advance government sanction or approval. Tendency is to regard solution of idiological, economic and geographic conflict between Russia and Western World as soluble only by creating a world either in the image of Churchill or that of Stalin. Notes that Churchill and his party were turned out of office despite war record indicating a search by British for middle ground between Churchill conservatism and Stalin suppressive collectivism. Russians have consistently attacked the Labor Government since its assumption of office. Appears that both England and U. S. wish to limit expansion of Communist influence and dominance by Moscow of neighbor nations. Question arises as to whether this is best done by coalition of English-speaking world or by eliminating economic, social and political inequalities which are Russia's greatest asset in the Middle East, India and Asia. The test of democracy during the war continues and will be determined by the degree to which Americans understand the role in world affairs that has been thrust upon them. U. S. has come into full inheritance and cannot mediate or non-intervene. Points out the dreadful effect in the war of American and British refusal to act in the 1930's. Europe now looks to the West with a mixture of hope and anxiety to see what U. S. will do with its power. From European point of view, U. S. is confronted with a choice between leadership and isolation resulting from failure to act to preserve European freedom.

ECP

See It Now I J 1, 6

Kinescope Excerpts, 3/8/53.

Obituary on Stalin; history of U.S.S.R.

ERM of Stalin: "He was extremely cruel, cunning and ruthless. He wanted only the world. He made great and telling use of Lenin as a symbol. Others will so use Stalin . . ." (p. 8)

". . . there is no excuse for us not understanding where these evil men propose to end up . . ." Quoting from Stalin's book on Lenin: successful revolutionists in one country can't rest until world is won.

"There you have it: revolution in all countries. That is the word of Lenin, Stalin and Malinkov. They will obviously settle for the world." (p. 9)

Reed Harris hearing follows substantially as shown on ERM's "first" McC program. ERM comment:

> "Extracts from the investigation into the Voice of America, which speaks to the rest of the world on behalf of all of us. It would seem that an analysis of the actual content of what is said by professional newsmen and experts in the field of public information might give us perhaps as much illumination on the kind of job the Voice of America is doing as does a prolonged discussion of the content of a book called "King Football." Good night and good luck."

B.A.P.

"ERM with the News" 2/8/54 I J 6

CBS

Critical statement on Russian tactics throughout the world during the first days of the Berlin conference.

ERM

"ERM with the News" 2/9/54 I J 6

CBS

ERM blasts Soviet disarmament proposal at Berlin conference.

JER

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I J 6

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B.A.P.

ERM: With The News

Radio script: 3/19/54

I H 2
I J 8, 20

Report McC-Army dispute. General Ridgeway comment to National Press Club: "'when the full story of unfolding events becomes known' the country will be deeply proud of Army Secretary Stevens".

Scott McLeod told House Committee that he found fewer State Department employees "with subversive tendencies" thanhe expected to find.

Long report Premier Scelba campaign against Communists in Italy. "The Communists already are crying that Scelba wants to be Dictator and are appealing to the domestic freedoms they have exploited to entrench themselves. They will try to weaken Scelba by stirring up hatred for America." Communism a reaction to Facism; the best way to fight Communism abroad is to hasten social reforms (p. 4).

BAP

CBS

Reports of the Hiss trials were made by ERM on June 1, 2, 3, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29 and 30 of 1949; November 18, 1949 and January 25, 1950.

The reports on the Hiss trials impressed me as being straightforward, factual accounts of the various testimonies during the trials. The only personal comments by ERM were of the following type:

> "The first trial of Mr. Hiss, most of which I watched, was like stumbling around in a dark room, listening to completely conflicting voices while searching for the light switch. No one found the switch, or at least the jury didn't, because they couldn't decide upon a verdict. Throughout the entire trial the feeling persisted that it was a badly written play being acted in deep shadow; neither the history nor the motives of the principal actors ever became clear. There was no agreement about the beginning or the end of the relationship between these two men; or what happened in between. Now the jury of eight women and four men will try again to reach a verdict."

J.E.R.

ERM pins disappearance of 9,000 Poles on Russians (Katyn).

Script filed.

ERM with the news--4/6/50

CBS

FBI puts Owen Lattimore completely in the clear. ERM runs recording of Senator Tydings' statement that the committee members had a complete summary of the FBI files made available to them, and they unanimously agreed that there is nothing in the file that shows that Lattimore was a Communist, had been a Communist or was in any way connected with any espionage.

McCarthy had said that he would stand or fall on his charges against Lattimore. Today McCarthy said of the Tydings statement: "Either Tydings has not seen the files or he is lying. I know what is in the files. I'm going to prove the case." Tydings' comment on this was: "I let my reputation for accuracy stand. Senator McCarthy's statement is completely self-serving."

ERM Reviews Lattimore Testimony

Today the committee heard Owen Lattimore, the distinguished scholar of Far Eastern affairs, who had been accused by McCarthy of being the top Russian espionage agent in the country. Lattimore said and proved that the Senator had not produced a single act or document to support his charges; asserted that he was engaged in action unworthy of a Senator--irresponsible, insincere, base and contemptible lies; said the Senator had started a reign of terror among government workers; damaged our foreign relations; vilified United States citizens. L said McCarthy had refused to live up to his word--to repeat the charges off the floor. Documents were introduced to show how McCarthy had twisted L's writings. L said that instead of being the architect of our Asian policy he had been the least consulted of our Far Eastern consultants. "Even before Senator Tydings revealed that the FBI files cleared Lattimore of the charges against him, the Johns Hopkins scholar had done a pretty thorough job of clearing himself." In addition to refuting McCarthy, Lattimore was defending the right to advocate unpopular views.

Senator Tydings said the hearings are becoming a "circus". John Foster Dulles said the procedures are helping to create a "frustrating confusion."

ERM Comments on Congressional Investigating Committees

Assuming everyone concerned is interested in exposing any real danger, the real danger does not arise from the public

confusion and suspicion created, or from the considerable damage to our foreign relations, or from the general confusion which misleads our enemies into believing that this country is divided; the real danger arises from the fact that "the method being employed just won't work--is no way to catch spies or uncover Communists". . . . "What we are getting, is all the danger, and damage, both home and abroad, of a witch hunt, without much chance of catching a witch." Careful screening and constant vigilance are necessary. President's loyalty review program was established for that purpose. The trouble with the method at present is that it doesn't work. Even Senator McCarthy has said that. Thinks Senator Lodge's suggestion of a 12 man non-partisan commission to study the matter would be a good idea.

J.E.R.

ERM With The News--5/2/50

I J 11
II D 5

CBS

Professor Owen Lattimore faced the Senate sub-committee for more than five hours. In a 15,000-word statement L dealt primarily with the accusations of Budenz. L called Budenz a liar. L pointed out that in the five years since Budenz left the party he never mentioned the name of L. That during those five years Budenz was exploiting his own past. That when a new sensation breaks, Budenz then rushes forward and says "I remember him too" and thus revives his reputation as the "peerless informant". Says that 170 leading scholars on the Far East unite in the belief that there is nothing in his writings to indicate that he is subversive or a fellow traveler. L wanted to know if the committee would seriously consider what he called the uninformed, reckless, mad, denunciations of McC and Budenz against the informed conclusions of these distinguished citizens.

ERM plays recording of statement by L that the investigation is distasteful to him but that he realizes that he has an obligation to establish beyond question the right of American scholars to think, talk, and write, freely and honestly without the fear of ~~the~~ similar attack to which he has been subjected.

After summary by ERM of L's statement that such charges as these endangered freedom of inquiry, he played another record of a statement by L to the effect that the processes of the Senate have been debased by McC; that he has been contemptuous; and has lied, distorted and vilified; and that he has grievously prejudiced the interest of our country, etc.

ERM concludes: "Having listened to the charges against Lattimore and his reply, one conclusion is inescapable: If there exists hard, factual, information or evidence in support of the charges against Owen Lattimore, such evidence has not been presented to the Senate sub-committee."

Quotes Professor Chafee--"Let us not, in our anxiety to protect ourselves from foreign tyrants imitate some of their worst acts, and sacrifice in the process the very liberties which we are defending . . ."

J.E.R.

ERM With The News--5/3/50

I J 11
II D 5

CBS

Lucas charged today that McC has not presented a "shred of evidence" to back up his charges of Communists in the State Department.

ERM reviewed testimony of Lattimore today. Various members of the subcommittee questioned him at length on his associations.

Senator Lodge points out that Acheson is going abroad for important conferences and it wouldn't do anybody any good to have reports of this inquiry appearing in the newspapers over there.

J.E.R.

ERM With The News--6/24/52

I J 11
II D 5

CBS

"Last week the State Department issued an unusual order, barring Professor Owen Lattimore from leaving the country." L has been accused of being a Communist sympathizer. He has been convicted of nothing. ". . . It would appear on the evidence available so far, that the State Department went off half cocked, and not for the first time."

J.E.R.

ERM With the News, 10/27/47.

I J 4
I J 12

McDonough

Comments on Mikolajczyk disappearance from Poland, as indicating despair in his program to prevent Poland from falling completely under the domination of the Communists. Stress is strongly anti-Soviet.

Re Hollywood investigation, ERM considers it in the light of fresh memory of friends in Europe who died or were exiled because they refused to admit the right of their government to determine what they should say and think. Without defending Hollywood or condemning Congressional investigations, comments that committees should appropriately concern themselves with what persons do rather than what they think. Persons have been accused of Communist connections by accusers who are safe from laws of slander and libel; denials are unlikely ever to catch up with the allegations. This investigation will induce increased timidity in an industry already cowardly enough. Re Mission to Moscow and Song of Russia, reviews connection in which films were made and issued. Problems confronting State Department and Atomic Energy Commission in maintaining security without doing violence to civil liberties, which may require special and wholly defensible security measures, do not arise with instruments of mass communication. Choice is whether we shall believe in intelligence and good judgment of American people, or in proposition that governments should "investigate, intimidate and finally legislate". Right of dissent is fundamental to existence of democratic society and is the first right abridged in every nation which has gone totalitarian. Present Communist scare is not a passing phenomenon such as appeared after World War I, because of strength and power of present Communist world, so this "internal tension, suspicion, witch-hunting, grade-labling [?] . . . will continue". Quotes Hitler: "The great strength of the totalitarian state is that it will force those who fear it, to imitate it."

"Word for Today", from Voltaire: "I may disapprove of what you say but I will defend to the death your right to say it."

ECP

ERM: This Is London--8/5/45 I J 14

CBS

Comment on British elections and economic systems of United States, Britain, and Russia.

Comment on Potsdam conference. He points out the Potsdam communique was not greeted with unquestioning enthusiasm in Europe. After stating further the many problems unsolved by Potsdam, he says: "But the fact remains that the Alliance forged in war did not break in the cooler atmosphere of peace."

". . . It is true that the small nations were ignored. That the Conference adjourned with much unfinished business; that the frontier decisions are likely to be reversed later on; and that most reporters will be impressed by the assurances of free access to Eastern Europe when that happens; but the progress was considerable, even remarkable."

". . . Those who believe Russia got everything she wanted out of Potsdam while we got nothing, might consider the possibility that perhaps we didn't know what we wanted.. . . The American meaning of Potsdam would seem to be that we have assumed the responsibility which our power has placed upon us."

J.E.R.

ERM With The News--9/19/50

CBS

Murrow reports on 5th anniversary of Potsdam Conference. Then the Allies decided to reduce Germany to a powerless state. U.S., France and Britain have now agreed to restore Western Germany. Today they agree that any attack on West Germany, or Berlin, will be regarded as an attack on themselves. Report on defense efforts in West Germany.

Cable from Hottelet in Berlin that all West German parties, except the communists, welcome agreement reached in New York. Joint guarantee an excellent psychological effect at beginning of winter.

"Five years ago, as we sat outside the barbed wire at Potsdam while the Allied leaders debated the future of Germany, neither the most far-seeing reporter nor the most optimistic German could have foreseen that in such a short time West Germany would be well on the way to equality - the recipient of solemn promises of defence and practical partnership. The whole history of World Communism - in that five years demonstrates that when expansion is blocked in one area, it erupts in another. While we are gaining ground in Korea, planning the defence and rehabilitation of Germany, there is a familiar note in the news;...from the borders of Indo-China, where Communist forces have launched a new attack, supported by modern heavy weapons, which the French allege have been supplied by the Chinese Communists. Even though Communism may have been thwarted for the time being in Western Europe, and in Korea, it still has a bewildering variety of opportunities for probing and bleeding actions without committing Russia to an overt act of aggression."

Script filed

J.E.R.

SEE IT NOW: Milo J. Radulovich. I J 15

Television script--10/20/53.

Report on case of Air Force Lieutenant Radulovich after Air Force Board recommended severance from the service because it regarded Radulovich as a security risk. That determination was based upon a finding that Radulovich had a close and continuing association with his father and sister, communists or people believed to have communist sympathies.

ERM background on Radulovich: 10 years in the Air Force; won a general commendation for work on a secret weather station in Greenland; now a senior at the University of Michigan and living in Dexter, Michigan.

(Was there anything harmful to Radulovich in his service record or history deliberately suppressed?)

ERM quotes Board finding, "No question as to loyalty is involved." No reporters permitted at hearing and Air Force refused to provide transcript although unclassified.

Charles Lockwood, attorney for Radulovich: "When this case started, the President of the Hearing Board placed a sealed envelope in front of him and said: 'These are the allegations. Now proceed to exonerate yourself' . . . In all the 32 years that I have been a practicing attorney in Detroit, I have never witnessed such a farce and travesty on justice as this thing developed. Now this whole theory of guilty by relationship is something that was adopted back in the thirteenth or fourteenth century and then abandoned as being inhuman and cruel. It was later revived in Germany under Hitler and Himmler and it died when they did. Now the Air Force, for some unknown reason, has revived this intolerable guilty by relationship and the whole country is shocked as a reason--by reason thereof."

Interviews of staff reporter Wershba with Dexter citizens:

John Palmer, Chief Marshall: ". . . It's still a mystery to me why they are condemning him for something that his father did. Certainly he can't condemn his father and cast him aside just because he read a paper that he wasn't supposed to read. I couldn't do that. Neither could any other boy who had a father. . . We would like to have him here if he would stay."

Mrs. Lewis, dry cleaning store manager: "Well, I felt like so many others in Dexter that Milo was really getting a pretty bad deal on this and we had quite a lot of faith in the boy . . ."

Dr. A. G. Wall, town dentist, and previously Mayor for 29 years: "The information that I have the only thing they seem to have on this boy is the fact that some of his relatives are communist or communist inclined, and from my viewpoint I can't see how they can hold a man responsible for the views and actions of his relatives because of the fact that you can't control them."

Ernst Alsasser, gas station operator: "I don't see why he should be held responsible for what his father and sister did. I know I wouldn't want to be held responsible for what my father did."

Steve Sorter, beer truck driver and Post Commander of the American Legion: "I wouldn't know him if he came down the middle of the street. And thats beside the point. What I want to say is this - that I do believe that if the Air Corps or United States Army or whoever they are that are purging him gets away with it, they are entitled to do it to anybody. You or me or anybody else. If it comes to the point where you and I are held responsible for the activities of any member of our family, then we all better head for cover - or we better uncover what is already started."

Wershba interview with Claude Bland, an officer of the elder Radulovich's local U.A.W. in Detroit.

(ERM: According to the testimony, Milo and Nancy Radulovich visited Radulovich's father every six weeks. Was there any evidence of more frequent visits?)

After Wershba established from Bland his union's anti-communist position:

Bland: "I would never classify John Radulovich as subversive in any way, shape or form . . . I never heard him say one word regarding the Communist philosophy."

John Radulovich's letter to the President: "Dear Mr. President: I writing to you with heavy heart. I am an American citizen who come here 39 years ago from Serbia. I serve America in the army in the first world war. My boy Milo was in this last war. My whole life, my whole family is

American. Mr. President, I writing to you because they are doing a bad thing to Milo. They are wrong. The things they say about him are wrong. He has given all his growing year to his country. Mr. President, I am an old man. I have spend my life in this coal mine and auto furnaces. I ask nothing for myself. I ask justice for my boy. Mr. President, I ask your help."

Statement of Radulovich's sister, Margaret Radulovich Fishman, prefaced by ERM's comment: "She neither defends nor explains her political activities."

"I do feel very personally. I feel very badly about the thing. I feel that he is being forced to undergo a strain for a very unjust cause. I -- I feel that my activities be what they may -- my political beliefs are my own private affair and I feel that the charges leveled against me and by reason of which they are trying to purge him from the Army just seem to me to be a fantastic trend in this country. Its ... I mean you know since when can a man be adjudged guilty, which is in effect whats happened to him, because of the alleged political beliefs or activities of a member of his family." (emphasis added).

(ERM's introduction and the underlined portion of the statement certainly don't dispute the sister's communist leanings.)

Wershba interview with Radulovich's wife in which she approves of her husband's making an issue of the case instead of resigning quietly.

Radulovich, in interview with Wershba:

". . . I have maintained throughout this entire hearing that what my sister does, what political opinions or activities she engages in, are her own affair because they certainly do not influence me . . . I am his son and I am her brother and I certainly can't cut the blood tie nor do I wish to cut the blood tie and [the Air Force Board] quoted me directly those words in their findings . . ."

"Yes. If I am being judged on my relatives, are my children going to be asked to denounce me? Are they going to be asked on what their father was labeled? Are they going to have to explain to their friends why their father's a security risk? I see absolutely that this is a chain reaction if the thing is let stand as first recommendation sent out by the Board. I see a chain reaction that has no end to anybody for anybody."

"Well, I believe that democracy is a state of being where the society is free. Each individual is free to do as he chooses as long as it does not bring physical harm or physical danger or impoverishment or anything like that to other individuals. I think that people in a democracy should be the ultimate authority over everything. That is over the military and over the civilian branches of the government. The people in a true democracy have and always should have the final say. I don't believe that this procedure that I have been subjected to by the Air Force is in that democratic tradition."

ERM reference to transcript of hearing received from Radulovich's lawyer; confidential investigation file received in evidence without opportunity for defense to examine.

ERM comment, closing: "Perhaps you will permit me to read a few sentences just at the end because I should like to say rather precisely what I mean. We have told the Air Force that we will provide facilities for any comments, criticism or correction it may wish to make in regard to the case of Milo Radulovich. The case must go through two more Air Force Boards routine and channels before it reaches Secretary Talbott who will make the final decision. We are unable to judge the charges against the father or the Lieutenant's sister because neither we nor you nor the Lieutenant nor the lawyers know precisely what was contained in that manila envelope. Was it hearsay, rumor, gossip or hard, provable fact backed by creditable witnesses; we do not know. There is a distinct difference between a loyalty and a security risk. A man may be entirely loyal, but at the same time be subjected to coercion, influence, or pressure, which may cause him to act contrary to the best interests of national security. In the case of Lieutenant Radulovich, the Board found that there was no question of his loyalty, but that he was regarded as a security risk. The Security Officers will tell you that a man who had a sister in Warsaw might be entirely loyal, but would be subjected to pressure as a result of threats that might be made against his sister's security or well being. They contend that a man who has a sister in the Communist Party in this country might be subjected to the same kind of pressure, but here again, no evidence was adduced to prove that Radulovich's sister was a member of the Party, and the case against his father certainly was not made. We believe that 'the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father,' even though that iniquity be proved beyond all doubt, which in this case, it was not. But we believe, too, that this case illustrates the urgent need for the Armed Forces to communicate more fully than they have so far done, the procedures and regulations to be followed in attempting to protect the national

security and the rights of the individual at the same time. Whatever happens in this whole area of the relationship between the individual and the state, we do ourselves--it cannot be blamed upon Malenkov, Mao Tse Tung or even our allies. It seems to us that - that is to Fred Friendly and myself that that is a subject that should be argued about endlessly."

(cross reference to See It Now: 11/24/53. Statement by Secretary of Air Force Talbott retaining Radulovich in the Air Force.)

BAP

B.A.P.

Clip, Daily Worker, 10/25/53.

I G 3
I J 15

CBS

Re Radulovich case, "[Ten million Americans] saw the Ed Murrow Show bring onto the stage the actor who has been so dismally missing--the Spirit of American democracy ready to challenge the hysterias of the unknown informer, the paid character assassin, and the take-it-or-leave-it arrogance of the Big Brass mouthing empty formulas about 'security'." Continues to extole Radulovich's loyalty while excoriating persons informing against Communists.

"Murrow talked solemnly about 'guilt by relationship', the 'doctrine of the 13th century revived by Hitler and Himmler.'"

ECP

SEE IT NOW: Radulovich; A.C.L.U. Indianapolis. I I 1
I J 15-

Television script--11/24/53.

Secretary Talbott, presented by ERM, clears Radulovich: "Mr. Murrow, as Secretary of the Air Force, it is my sworn duty to uphold and protect the security of the United States. I am also keenly aware of my responsibility to protect the individual rights and privileges of each man and woman in the United States Air Force. The preservation of our American way of life requires that we must be alert to safeguard our individual liberties. I have given the case of 1st Lieutenant Milo J. Radulovich the most serious consideration. I have decided that it is consistent with the interests of the national security to retain Lieut. Radulovich in the United States Air Force. He is not, in my opinion, a security risk. Routine investigation had produced certain information which raised a real question as to whether Lieut. Radulovich was a security risk as an Air Force officer.

This information related not to Lieut. Radulovich's own activities and views but to those of other individuals with whom Lieut. Radulovich appeared to be closely associated. It led an Air Force Board to question whether Lieut. Radulovich should be retained in the Air Force Reserve. The policy of the Department of the Air Force is not to discharge any officer or airman as a security risk without giving him notice of the derogatory information in the Air Force's possession, and a full opportunity to present his own case in justification of his retention in the Air Force. In the course of the hearings, Lieut. Radulovich testified at length concerning his relationship with his sister. He did not attempt to explain or justify her reported activities, but he maintained that he would not be influenced by them. Lieut. Radulovich is a mature officer with a family of his own. He served honorably and well for 14 months as an Airman, and 6 years as an officer on active duty with the Air Force. After reviewing the entire record in this case, I am convinced, that under all the circumstances, the nature of Lieut. Radulovich's association with his sister is not such as to make her activities and beliefs the determining factor in this case. I am also convinced that the record does not support the conclusion that Lieut. Radulovich's father has engaged in activities of such a type as to bear upon the decision in this case. The question raised as to security has thus been resolved in Lieut. Radulovich's favor, and I have, therefore, directed that Radulovich be retained in his present status in the United States Air Force."

Most of program was devoted to "The Argument in Indianapolis" between the American Legion and a group wanting to start a local chapter of A.C.L.U. Attempts of group to secure a meeting place related; auditorium in War Memorial refused because meeting protested by American Legion and Minute Women of Indiana, hence controversial; Marguerite Dice, past officer of Minute Women: "What a travesty it would be to open [the Memorial Building] doors for a meeting to which Communists are welcome . . ."; Chief protest from American Legion; American Legion Commander Amos: The Indiana War Memorial "must never be used as a sounding board for the advocacy of any policy of pampering Communists to the virtual exclusion of all others"; Claypool and Continental hotels refused space; Riddick Piano Company refused large studio; Public Library and YMCA, like others, said space previously booked or otherwise unavailable; Knights of Columbus refused auditorium because meeting controversial.

ERM states 2 of 33 newspapers ran editorials; the Indianapolis Times opposed Legion's ban and stated liberty belongs to everyone or to no one; Indianapolis Star stated Legion had right to oppose views of A.C.L.U. but not to prevent meeting.

Father Victor L. Goosens, Pastor of St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church offered group his church's social center; accepted.

Father Goosens: ". . . it seems to me that there is something much more basic involved here than merely the idea of a meeting place. We have to be very careful, of course, to recognize the rights of minorities. You know, we all of us at some time or other are going to find ourselves in a minority group. Perhaps it might be politically or it might be religiously or it might just be a minority group on some other question, but we are going to find that we are at some time or other in a minority, and it is possible for any group outside of the legally constituted branches of government to restrain another from peaceful assembly and from the right to express themselves freely --- then all our liberties are in danger, and I feel that way about it, that if an organization no matter how well intentioned it might be in its purposes -- if one organization can prevent another group of people who are not traitors, who are not subversive, from gathering together in peaceful assembly to discuss and speak freely, then what guarantee would there be that later on another group might not decide that when I or my people might gather for purposes of worship or the exercise of freedom of religion, that we should be stopped?"

Comment from Legion (Executive Committee) and A.C.L.U. meetings juxtaposed to form "debate".

LEGIONNAIRE: "You are assembled here tonight to receive information on a new development on the 'red firing line' in Indiana."

W. ROLAND ALLEN (A.C.L.U.): We had difficulty hiring a hall. "This is no time to be afraid."

LEGIONNAIRE: The A.C.L.U. "is an organization that is parading its avowed purposes of protecting the civil rights of individuals."

MERLE MILLER (ATTORNEY A.C.L.U.): True conservatives will always stand with true liberals in protecting civil rights.

LEGIONNAIRE: "The Indiana Department of the American Legion, with documentary evidence at hand of the facts that the speaker for the meeting of the American Civil Liberties Union has subscribed to and been a member of an organization listed as subversive, took the stand that the Indiana War Memorial dedicated to the memory of our war dead should not be used as a sounding board for his philosophy or policy."

ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS, presented by Professor Ralph Fuchs of the Indiana University Law School: President Eisenhower approves of A.C.L.U.; General MacArthur on Roger Baldwin: "He stands out as one of the architects of our cherished American way of life."

LEGIONNAIRE: Referring to A.C.L.U. newspaper advertisement 6/28/32 calling for fight against the Smith and MacCarran Acts, "I believe that any organization that would advertise such a fact cannot have the interest of the United States at heart . . ."

ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS: "Controversy is as American as the Rocky Mountains or the Fourth of July."

LEGIONNAIRE: "An organization which gives aid and comfort to anyone such as [Harry] Bridges does not belong in Indiana."

ERM commentary, after Executive Committee of Legion approves action taken, "The Legion had its say and its Resolution, and the Civil Liberties Union had their meeting. Indianapolis is still there and controversy is everywhere."

Father Goosens: "Well, the fact that there was more excitement made me that much more concerned, because it proved to me in a way, that the time had come when we had to take a stand on that--when the climate is such that so many people are so quick to take the law into their own hands or rather I should say perhaps, to ignore the law and to deny to others the right of peaceful assembly and free speech--then somebody has to take a stand on the subject and prove to them that they are in their activities actually un-American in their way of procedure. And its up to us, I think, to lead the way because we know that the freedoms - the American freedoms are all based upon the rights which God has given us and if the church and religion do not uphold those basic principles which come from God, then who will?"

(Was any derogatory information on Arthur Garfield Hays suppressed? Were Father Goosens closing comments recorded verbatim, edited or possibly improved upon?)

B.A.P.

Clip, Daily Worker, 12/1/53.

I G 3
I J 15

CBS

TV played significant role in victory of Radulovich over McCarthyism. "Such is the power of television when used in a just cause . . . It showed that when the American people are given the facts about a political frameup they will rally to the defense of our democratic tradition of free thought and fair play." Adds that, "Give a Smith or McCarren Act defendant the same opportunity to state his case freely . . . and the verdict is also bound to be not guilty."

ECP

ERM: This Is London--5/6/45.

I J 4 b
I J 17

CBS

Russia dominant power on the Continent. Whole problem of Poland has created deadlock between Russia and the Western Allies. Conversation suspended. Facts appear to be as follows: 15 or 16 Polish leaders went to talk with Russians--no word received from them. Statement issued yesterday that group had been arrested by Russians and now in Moscow--accused of preparing diversionary acts at the rear of Red Army and operating illegal radio transmitters. Alleged in House of Commons that 24 Poles who had opposed elections on a one party basis had been executed and that there had been other cases where Poles had been shot or hanged without trial.

Report of British criticism of Russian attitude in Austria.

The Moscow claim that Russian prisoners of war had been ill treated increased the irritation. Many of these Russians taken were armed and in German uniforms; others in German labor organizations. "Three reliable eye witnesses have told me that some of the worst atrocities encountered in the campaign in Southern France were committed by Russians in German uniforms." Some of these Russians in Britain have displayed an unwillingness to return to the Soviet Union. Quotes London Times critical of Russian attitude in Austria.

J.E.R.

ERM: This Is London--5/13/45.

I J 4 b
I J 17

CBS

One word has been heard like an echo--the word is Poland. Russian action in arresting Polish leaders characterized as "abrupt" and "secretive". Difficulty arises from difference in definition of the word "democracy" which appears repeatedly in the Yalta agreement. In contrast to America and Britain, Russian Democracy means "a system where economic security and the right to education, especially technical education, are guaranteed by the State. So-called political activity is considered unimportant, and criticism must be confined to the mechanics of Government".

The Elbe is one major frontier in Europe. "How much freedom there exists east of that line, or west of it, depends upon your definition of Democracy." There are reports of mass arrests and deportations east of the Elbe. Polish question still a deadlock. In Austria the complete blockade of news continues, and confusion increases. Radio Austria appears to base its news on Tass.

J.E.R.

ERM With The News--11/9/53 I J 18
11/11/53
11/12/53

CBS

White Case

11/9/53: Case of White has raised more questions than it has answered. This because there has been much talk but little evidence. This reporter does not pretend to know whether Mr. White was or wasn't a communist spy. A Queens County grand jury in 1947 failed to return an indictment against White. McC says anyone knows you can have a completely documented case of espionage which would not be a legal case. Further says dishonest to say that unless you can send them to jail they are innocent. ERM: Our traditional concepts are that a man must be presumed innocent. "One can only assume that what the Senator meant was that a given body of evidence might convince him that a man had engaged in espionage, but the evidence could not convince a jury."

The House committee in a report after Mr. White's death said that no charge of Communist Party affiliation had been made against him. The difficulty in this case is the lack of evidence, etc. A charge of this nature made with the approval of the President against a former President--a charge which clearly implies that Mr. Truman was knowingly or unknowingly an instrument of espionage--should be backed by rather more evidence than has so far been produced.

"Again this reporter doesn't know whose right and whose wrong, for the evidence has not been disclosed." But this procedure raises a fundamental question for the Attorney General with the approval of the President has asserted that a man was a spy, without producing evidence. If this practice is pursued it may subsequently be applied to you or to me. The question here is not whether Brownell is right, or Truman is right, or whether Harry Dexter White was a spy. We are being asked to make up our minds about [sic] access to evidence. And if that should become our habit then our heritage is in danger.

11/11/53: [Report on President's statement with respect to the White case.] Mr. Eisenhower said he doesn't believe Truman knowingly advanced a communist spy.

McC thinks the President was "being a gentleman" at his news conference today. McC says Mr. Truman "deliberately, knowingly and without regard for the interests of the country, appointed, promoted and advanced a communist".

Adlai Stevenson issued a statement saying that to subpoena a President for partisan purposes is a serious matter.

Republican National Committeeman Gates says the White charge gives the Republicans an "issue". Senator Ellender wants to see the FBI report about White. Senator says he has been assured time and again that the FBI never makes a conclusion.

Whole White episode confusing. [Summarizes reports received from England, France and Germany.] London Daily Mail says summoning of Truman beyond the imagination of most Britons. Wonders if Administration has adopted McCarthy tactics permanently.

German politicians appalled by serious damage done to the office of the presidency. One German newspaperman said: "This looks like the apex of McCarthyism." Another said: "This seems like an approach to political cannibalism."

Editor of leading newspaper in France says: "Eisenhower's news conference remarks today are a remarkable evasion of the issue . . ." [French editor implies that Eisenhower is playing a political game.] Other reports from Paris are very critical of the episode.

Schoenbrun informs ERM that Belgian, Dutch and Swiss papers took much the same line as the French papers.

It is clear from these reports that in the eyes of many Europeans who believe what they read in the papers, our stature has diminished.

11/12/53: Truman rejected subpoena from House Un-American Activities Committee.

[ERM reports factually House Committee and Senate Committee hearings.]

[Report of Truman's statement to Velde on why he refused the subpoena.]

[ERM points out that there is no court precedent dealing with this exact situation.] As things stand now Brownell has made a charge. He has not produced hard evidence to support it; and there the matter stands. There are skilled politicians on both sides--there is no shortage of opinions or documents--but a great shortage of evidence.

J.E.R.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

J. E. R. March 27, 1954

SEE IT NOW November 17, 1953: The Harry Dexter White Case

Unless otherwise indicated the following statements are verbatim quotes of the indicated persons.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Good evening. For some days now Mr. Harry S. Truman and Mr. Herbert Brownell have been arguing amongst themselves about the case of the late Harry Dexter White. We bring you a small excerpt from that session. Mr. Truman's portion was reported as he broadcast from Kansas City last night, and Mr. Brownell as he testified in Washington.

HARRY S. TRUMAN:

Herbert Brownell, Jr. the Attorney General of the United States, the highest legal office in our government, has degraded the highest function of government, the administration of justice into cheap political trickery. He has made the Justice Department headquarters for political skullduggery. The Attorney General of the United States has not only degraded his office, he has deceived his Chief as to what he proposed to do, and in saying Harry Dexter White was known to be a Communist spy by the very people who appointed him he lied to the American people.

HERBERT BROWNELL, JR.:

The matter that should be determined by Mr. Truman and his associates was whether Harry Dexter White should be advanced to a post of high honor, great trust and responsibility and of vital importance to the security of our country.

HARRY S. TRUMAN:

[paraphrase] I first learned of the accusations of White early in February, 1946, from an F.B.I. report delivered to me by General Vaughan and brought to my attention by Secretary of

State Byrnes. This report showed that serious accusations had been made against White but pointed out that it would be practically impossible to prove these charges with the evidence then at hand.

HERBERT BROWNELL, JR.:

[paraphrase] If there was solid evidence at the time certainly no one would contend that White should have continued in government service simply because a criminal conviction could not be obtained.

HARRY S. TRUMAN:

[paraphrase] The final responsibility for this decision, of course, was mine. The reason was that other persons were potentially involved and any unusual action with respect to Mr. White's appointment might have alerted these persons, thus endangering the success of the investigation.

HERBERT BROWNELL, JR.:

I will now read a letter from J. Edgar Hoover to General Vaughan dated a month before that, November 8, 1945. The Bureau's information at this time indicates that the following persons were participants in this operation or were utilized by principals in this ring for the purpose of obtaining data in which the Soviet is interested: Dr. Gregory Silvermaster, a long time employee of the Department of Agriculture; Harry Dexter White, Assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury.

HARRY S. TRUMAN:

I want the American people to understand that the course we took protected the public interest and security and at the same time permitted the intensive F.B.I. investigation then in progress to go forward. No other course could have been -- could have served both these purposes.

HERBERT BROWNELL, JR.:

[restatement of fact of delivery of report to HST] President Truman, on January 23, 1946, then publicly announced his nomination of Harry Dexter White for appointment to the International Monetary Fund. I just don't understand this. It still seems completely incredible to me.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Today, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover testified that he told Attorney General Tom Clark that White was unfit to serve his country. Hoover also said that the F.B.I. had never suggested that a man should be changed from one job to another in order to check upon him. It seems to us that some of us may perhaps be in danger of becoming so much concerned with the internal dangers of communism and also with the prospect of bombardment from the air with atomic weapons, we have forgotten the real and continuing threat from another source, mainly submarines. Hitler started the late war with submarines - the Russians now have 350. If we lose control of the Atlantic, our Allies will be overrun and our bases abroad will wither away, and we might as [sic] well lose the war. We are going to conduct a small examination of this problem of submarines and its dangers after this word from Alcoa.

The remainder of the program was devoted to a description of the operations of a group of Navy ships in locating and combatting a submarine simulating an attack on the United States East Coast.

* * *

EDWARD R. MURROW:

. . . back on the Carrier, we asked the Commodore the big question.

Q. In case of war with the Soviet Union how do you think we would do against their submarines?

COMMODORE FITZHUGH LEE:

A. Frankly, Mr. Murrow, I don't know, but we would do our best and I hope that our best would be good enough. I think it would be, but we have to remember that America's control of the sea is one of the most interesting facets of her security. . . .

EDWARD R. MURROW:

We have taken you out to the Atlantic and the gruesome defense going on against the potential thrust of the enemies' submarines.

CBS

"Here in London, particularly in Parliamentary circles, feeling is growing that an early meeting of the Big 3 is imperative, because the Yalta agreement is obviously not being carried out in accordance with the understandings of any of the contracting parties.

J.E.R.

"Publishers' Weekly" for 11/8/47 I J 20
(Vol. 152, No. 19, Section 1).

CBS Reference Dep't.

At p. 2251, under caption "Currents in the Trade" ERM program of 10/27/47 discussing and criticizing Hollywood investigation by Dies Committee. ERM points out that motion pictures, etc., should be judged by what appears on the screen, etc., at that time; comments that personal beliefs of individuals involved would not seem to be legitimate field of inquiry, either by government or by other individuals.

ECP

5/28/48 I J 20

ERM Personal

Norman Thomas appeared on program "Interviews with Presidential Candidates" on 5/28/48. Wallace appeared on same program on 6/3/48. Wallace interview contains questions by ERM relating to Wallace Communist support and Wallace fervent embracement of same.

ECP

News Broadcast 12/21/48.

I B 3
I J 20 ✓

ERM

Re Laurence Duggan, duty is to report at some length. Duggan fell or jumped from 16th floor. There were no witnesses and he left no note. Rep. Mundt released secret testimony a few hours later from Isaac Don Levine that Chambers had identified Duggan to Berle as having furnished documents in 1939. Chambers denies having named Duggan except as, in Chambers' opinion, a member of a "pro-Soviet bloc" in State Department. Mundt said his Committee had not called Duggan because they believed Duggan might be called by Grand Jury. Grand Jury had not subpoenaed him. Hiss said he was shocked at death of one of his very good friends and that Duggan was "victim of persecution". Duggan gave no sign that he was being persecuted. "You will see from what I have just reported . . . that the only evidence linking Duggan to espionage . . . [is] the unsupported statement of one Isaac Don Levine--a statement subsequently denied by Whittaker Chambers who, according to Mr. Levine, made the original charge. . . . It is on the basis of such evidence--or rather, lack of it--that a dead man's character is being destroyed in some of the public prints . . .". Duggan gave no sign of intention to commit suicide. ERM was Chairman of Board of IIE when Duggan was selected as director. Mundt says he is thinking of making recommendations for changing procedure at Committee hearings to give persons the right to be heard before a report is issued. "The members of the Committee who have done this thing upon such slight and wholly discredited testimony may ~~not~~ consult their actions and their consciences. . . . Well, the truth is hard to come by under the present system of congressional investigation. And certainly, in the espionage case, what we want most are the facts--the truth. . . ."

ECP

See It Now I H 2

Kinescope Excerpts, 12/16/51 I J 20 -

Film of McC's "my cup and my heart are so full, I can't talk to you" speech at Milwaukee.

After McC returned to his seat mute, ERM commented with the dubbed-in voice of McC in the background:

"MR. MURROW: We too agree with the Senator in his disdain for politics by smear. We have no way of knowing what the Senator's thoughts were at this emotional moment in his career. But from here we cannot refrain from recalling another McCarthy on other days.

"SENATOR McCARTHY [voice in background]:

"The planks in Mr. Lattimore's platform are identical to the planks in the platform of the Communist Party.

"The law firm that was on record as the agent of Communist Poland was the law firm of Dean Gooderham Acheson.

"The almost criminal folly of the disastrous Marshall mission to China.

"Who paid for the smear campaign against Nationalist China, a campaign that was so successfully pioneered by the publication of Mr. Jessup's organization?

"MR. MURROW: We played recordings of those last three or four sentences from earlier speeches by Senator McCarthy to remind us of a time when he was attacking or smearing--whichever you like--Acheson, Marshall, Lattimore and others. It would appear that the difference between smearing and straightforward attack depends upon whose reputation is being gored. The Senator himself is now under attack."

(This sequence was run again in the "first" McC program without McC's accusations being dubbed in.)

B.A.P.

See It Now

I H 2
I J 20 -

Kinescope Excerpts, 3/16/52
3/23/52

3/16/52, ERM interview with McC.

ERM: "Are you worried about being flung out of the Senate?"

McC: "You mean am I worried about being flung out by the voters of Wisconsin or by Connecticut's mental midget?"

ERM asks McC if protection is needed for citizens appearing before Congressional committees. McC: A man who tells the truth has nothing to worry about.

Discussion re Congressional immunity. McC attacks Benton objecting to McC's use of immunity to expose Communists and yet Benton notes on front of his testimony handed to press: "No part of this must be used by the press until it becomes immune as I testify."

3/23/52, ERM interview with Benton.

ERM refers to McC misquote just above.

"Now what actually appeared on the front of that 30,000 word document is this: 'No portion, synopsis or intimation may be given out, published or broadcast except under the conditions herein set forth.' Nothing was said whatever in the cover to that document about immunity. Later Senator Benton offered to waive his senatorial immunity."

Benton declares safeguards needed for individuals appearing before committees. Benton reads from Constitution's "immunity" clause: ". . . shall not be questioned in any other place." Senate should expel McC. ". . . and I documented my charges with 30,000 words, carefully documented showing how he [McC] was practicing fraud and deceit. . . ."

B.A.P.

See It Now I J 20

Kinescope Excerpts, 5/11/52

ERM on May Day riots in Tokyo:

"But on May Day in Japan, springtime and peace and independence were all much less spectacular than the riots which took place just outside General Ridgeway's headquarters in the Daichi Building. It started out as a big Independence Day celebration; it ended with riots in the streets .... overturned automobiles. Hardly a propaganda victory for the new Japanese government. We had been expecting it from the Communists in Berlin. We got it in Tokyo. [Pictures of riot scenes in Tokyo.]

"We now have an alliance with Japan. We are forming one with Germany. We have commitments to preserve the peace all the way around the world. Never before in our peacetime history have we had such a group of alliances. But we should remember that the passage of seven years of time and the signing of a piece of paper do not necessarily alter or change the traditional aspirations, desires and demands of any people. The reward for our victory is that we now preside over a most uneasy alliance that stretches pretty well around the world."

BP

B.A.P.

See It Now

I J 20
II F 1,2

Kinescope Excerpts, 11/2/52

Candidate Eisenhower repudiating "those who believe that any means are justified in the end of rooting out Communism."

Candidate Stevenson: McC "told the truth for once the other day when he said that his power in Washington depends upon the General's election."

OP

B.A.P.

IJ 20 ✓

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

J.E.R. April 3, 1954

SEE IT NOW November 23, 1952

The first part of the program was devoted to showing the way turkey is prepared in the armed services, and reporting on the headquarters of President-elect Eisenhower at the Commodore Hotel.

The last part of the program was a film on a discussion in Harrison, New York with respect to a loyalty oath proposed to be required of all people using school buildings. The statements of the speakers presented appear well balanced in that it does not seem that an excessive amount of time was given to either side of the argument.

Comment by ERM:

"Both sides were able to present their side of the argument. But it was all quite academic. Several hours earlier, the school board had passed the resolution, and the board members had been the first to take the oath . . . The school board had the last word. They signed the oath. But as for us, the last words we remember were those of the Reverend Chator as he quoted the distinguished jurist Learned Hand." Screen shows Reverend Chator quoting Hand: "That community is already in the process of dissolution, where each man begins to eye his neighbor as a possible enemy . . ."

ERM concludes by saying he finds unusual the procedure of decision preceding debate. He says Harrison dispute presented because there is a tendency in this country to confuse dissent with desertion. He says it is important that the individual be permitted to be right and also to be wrong.

Copy of filed here

J.E.R.

Telephone conversation: ERM-Stanton--9/16/53 I J 20
III F

F. S. security files

Memorandum of telephone conversation by undisclosed writer indicates that Messrs. Paley, Stanton and Van Volkenberg were opposed to having Lucille Ball appear on ERM's first broadcast of Person To Person, that ERM was in favor of having her appear with her husband, and that ERM acceded to Miss Ball's request to be excused.

J.E.R.

SEE IT NOW: New York Stock Exchange. I J 20

Television Script--10/27/53.

ERM leadoff: "It was just 24 years ago this week that the bottom fell out of the stock market . . . There have been a lot of changes since then both in the country and in the Stock Exchange, and we are going to take you down there . . ."

Interview with Keith Funston, President of the Exchange:

ERM: "You know, this place used to be called something of a gambling den. Is it easier or more difficult to gamble now than it was 25 years ago?

FUNSTON: "Well, Ed, I hate to have the word 'gambling' used in any connection with this Exchange - past, present or future. What we are doing here is providing a market where the American people can freely buy and sell securities with full disclosure with the price openly arrived at and published immediately . . .

ERM: "But isn't it possible for two or three fellows to get together and with a little psychological warfare drive the price of the stock up beyond its real market value?

FUNSTON: "Well Ed, what you are referring to there is manipulation and that's a nasty word around the Stock Exchange here . . . We don't believe that there is any opportunity for manipulation here, and our rules are designed to prevent it, and our Governors are watching and enforcing those rules every day."

(ERM's questions might be taken as suggesting that the Stock Exchange is unstable and an instrument for exploitation but the tenor of the program is sympathetic; an illustration is given of a purchase of General Motors stock by a farmer through a Merrill, Lynch office in Des Moines, Iowa.)

ERM concludes interview with Funston and program:

ERM: "After the meeting, Keith Funston and I walked out onto the balcony again to watch the final operation of the day.

ERM: "You know, Keith, as a reporter I spent a lot of time talking about the cold war which in one sense is a conflict or contest between communism and capitalism, and this place that you run is certainly the center or a symbol, at least, of capitalism. How do you feel about this whole contest?

FUNSTON: "I think that you are absolutely right that this contest for the minds of men between capitalism and communism is one of the great problems of our time. The communists, for example, say lets - let everybody in the nation own a part of the country by the government controlling it. Well, now, here in America, we have a much better way to make capitalism work for all the benefit of the people through the right capitalistic system, and I mean by getting every American who can afford to, and eventually I hope to have every American own a part of American industry. It seems to me that if we could bring that about, we would teach people what capitalism means. We would give them a vested interest in that capitalism because I have often said that oratory doesn't speak half as loudly as ownership."

ERM commentary: "We went down to the Stock Exchange... curious how it operated...thought you might be too. What happened here was that the profit from Iowa corn bought one hundred shares of GM. If business is good, the farmer will make a profit - if it isn't, he won't...but it was done in a free market with full disclosure. Don't know much about stocks or corporations but Thoreau was probably right. 'It has been truly said that a corporation has no conscience, but a corporation of conscientious men is a corporation with a conscience'."

BaP.

B.A.P.

SEE IT NOW: Election night New York City; General Marshall; Lieut. John S. Quinn.

Television Script--11/3/53.

First part, report of Wagner winning Mayoralty.

Second part, report on award of Nobel Peace Prize to General Marshall. Interview (p. 6):

ERM: "Can you ever find it in your heart to forgive that little handful of men in public life who attacked General Marshall's personal loyalty and patrotism?

Ex-PRESIDENT TRUMAN: "No, that's one of the dirtiest tricks that ever happened. The man who made that attack was not fit to shine General Marshall's shoes."

ERM comment (p. 10): ". . . We have not always seen eye to eye with [President Truman] but certainly we do on the subject of George Marshall, and we are also obliged to applaud Mr. Truman's selection of shoe shine boys."

Third part, ERM interview with Lt. Quinn, who had been forced in a Communist prison camp to admit to false charges of bacteriological warfare; pressure psychological, not physical torture.

ERM: "Well Lieutenant, we have had ample evidence placed before the world in the past several days of every form of physical torture, violence and disgusting inhumanity practiced against U.N. prisoners. In your opinion, was any of this simply the brute indifference of primitive people in the value of individual life?

QUINN: "No sir, this was controlled. It wasn't anything that they just let go and run amuck. This -- the treatment that we received over there and this whole campaign behind germ warfare, I am absolutely convinced in my own mind, was strictly Commie from the word go. I think you can divorce it completely from the fact that it was executed by the Chinese."

ERM: "Do you feel that the whole business was such a colossal fact that no harm can be done?

QUINN: "I certainly think we can smash it and at the same time expose it. I think right now we have the living proof of how the Communists build up their propaganda campaigns, and I just hope to heaven that we make complete use of it in every respect to show up to the world in various countries where Communism is getting a start, where people are being led to believe the lies that they put out. Give them the facts on how they build up their propaganda campaigns and keep them in the right frame of mind because its not living when you get under Communism. Its an existence. You are not even allowed to think your own thoughts."

ERM commentary: "Most human beings have a breaking point. Most of us don't know what is the cause. We haven't been tested. Only those who shared the experience of Lieutenant Quinn and his fellow prisoners who confessed are entitled to comment on their action.

"Good night and good luck."

BP

B.A.P.

ERM With The News--11/9/53

I J 20
II D 12

CBS

News items on President Pusey of Harvard. Pusey said he does not know of any person on the Harvard faculty who is a member of the Communist Party. Last week Senator McCarthy had asked Pusey about his attitude towards retaining teachers who refused to state whether they were communists.

J.E.R.

SEE IT NOW: Trieste. I J 20

Television script--11/10/53.

Report on effect of British and United States withdrawal from Zone A on October 8, 1953; scenes of Trieste; interviews with military personnel and civilians there.

ERM recreated interview with Vitorrio Vidali, "the Communist leader in Trieste...He was deported from the United States in 1927". Vidali states solution for Trieste constitution of a free territory.

"Q. Signor Vidali, if Italy should go Communist, would the Trieste Communists still favor independence for Trieste?

"A. Now listen here. We Communists are realistic. I say if tomorrow Italy would become Communist, then tomorrow we would decide also about the problem of Trieste because this free territory of Trieste between Tito-Yugoslavia and Pella Italy, and controlled by the organization of the U.N. which is very good control by the United States. I don't believe its possible to create a Communist regime or to have a better chance to create it in Trieste.

"Q. You mean the U.N. is controlled by the United States?

"A. I believe that and you know it too.

"Q. Will you repeat that? I don't think we heard it.

"A. That the U.N. today are completely under the control of the United States.

"Q. (Inaudible question.)

"A. Oh well, I hope that the whole word..."

ERM: "Like all Communists he would settle for the world. Those people know Communism too. They have been fighting it and have fled from it in East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia... there are 25,000 refugees in camps in Trieste. They were encouraged to flee by the U.N. Now they are frightened. They fear the Italians because many of them are Slovenes. They fear a Tito Coup because many of them fled from Yugoslavia or from Zone B. They know that if the allies pull out they will be beyond the protection of the U.N."

BP

B.A.P.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

J. E. R. March 29, 1954

SEE IT NOW December 8, 1953: Report on the United States by a former Labor Member of the British Parliament

MURROW:

This afternoon, before the United Nations, President Eisenhower suggested the creation of a new international stockpile of atomic energy. . . . We will hear some of the President's concluding remarks in a few moments.

Last summer, England saw a television report on India done by a young British journalist named Aidan Crawley, former R.A.F. pilot. He is also a former Labor Member of Parliament, and we suggested to Mr. Crawley that he might come to this country and take a camera with him and wander about and make a report as to how America looks to one Englishman.

AIDAN CRAWLEY:

This is . . . Indian Head, Maryland . . . John Smallwood is a tobacco tenant farmer.

[Discussion of Smallwood's economic life ensued]

CRAWLEY and SMALLWOOD:

Q. Have you taken an interest in this controversy between Truman and Brownell?

A. Well, Mr. Truman was a very good man. And this may be a good man. I don't know the man. But we haven't had yet but one good man in that White House to do us a job, and that was President Roosevelt.

CRAWLEY:

We thought he was a great man in England too.

SMALLWOOD:

Did you? Yes sir. He brought this country -- this country was down to starvation when that man went in there, and our people were starving.

Q. And you think he did a great job?

A. He did a good job. . . .

CRAWLEY:

Not everyone I met agreed with John Smallwood. In Washington, Mr. Hamilton Fish, former Congressman, had just formed a new political group.

Q. Colonel Fish, can you tell me what this new action group you formed is going to try to do?

A. Well, the group met in New York last week and they proposed to form a nation-wide organization to stop or curb this rampant internationalism or what we call "giveaway" internationalism, and promote Americanism in its place.

Q. Leaving aside the foreign aspect of your group, what are they going to do internally?

A. Well, they are going to organize in all the States of the Union . . .

Q. Have you drawn a lot of money?

A. Yes. It will be backed by a great deal of wealth and that will be the least of my difficulties. I think it will sweep the country.

Q. What do you mean by Americanism?

A. I -- well, I mean by putting the interest of America first . . .

CRAWLEY:

At Mt. Summit, Indiana, I spent several nights with Mr. Pomeroy Sinnock, a former Naval officer who is now drilling for oil.

SINNOCK:

. . . We think that you should not trade with Russia.

CRAWLEY:

Well, of course, we have got to trade to live. Obviously, if we could trade more with you, which we can't because of your tariffs, we would trade less with countries like Russia. . . . as long as you are not at war with a country, it is right to trade with it.

SINNOCK:

Yes, that would probably be true but you have to make up your minds whether you are or are not at war with Russia. . . . we have heard that Churchill proposes to visit the Kremlin . . . that may be like Chamberlain's zero-hour visit to Hitler.

CRAWLEY:

That's quite startling to an Englishman. I don't think any of us have ever dreamed of Churchill as an appeaser.

SINNOCK:

Yes, but we feel . . . . that anything that might take place . . . has very little chance for fruition in favor of the West.

CRAWLEY:

Later, Mr. David Tallman, a Presbyterian minister, came in, and in another part of the room continued the discussion he had been having with Mr. Sinnock.

CRAWLEY:

I have heard a great deal about the function of the Protestant Church in relation to communism.

SINNOCK:

. . . the Church does not take an affirmative enough stand to point out the things that are bad with communism, but more often, will point out the things that are bad with their own country.

TALLMAN:

No one can do much about the sins or the failings of someone else until they take care of themselves . . .

SINNOCK:

. . . if you point out everything that's wrong with the United States . . . how can we sell the things that we believe to be true . . . We have got to be affirmative in our approach.

TALLMAN:

No one has said it's no good. . . .

SINNOCK:

You point out that it's wrong.

TALLMAN:

We don't point out that they are wrong. We point out that we are wrong, and any time that any culture . . . fails to recognize it's own sins . . . it's in a pretty sad state.

TALLMAN:

And because we slipped at that point, we lay outselves wide open . . . for instance, our treatment of the negro . . .

[Crawley then interviewed Robert Hall who had just been laid off at the Chrysler Works and who lived in an unimproved house costing $800, in three rooms, with four other people]

[He then interviewed a Mr. Porfido, a private detective, who works on the waterfront, in relation to a waterfront strike.]

MURROW:

That was an expert on the New York waterfront briefing Aidan Crawley.

* * *

MURROW:

This report on America as seen through the eyes of an Englishman,

continues. Reporter Aidan Crawley and Marty Barnett, Cameraman, kept encountering this argument about McCarthyism wherever they went - all over the country.

[Interview of Mr. Robert Morris, Chief Counsel of the Jenner Committee]

CRAWLEY:

Mr. Morris, I think the other day you issued an invitation to members of the public to give information, either to the Committee or the F.B.I., in private, about Communism. . . . a general invitation to become informers . . . it was just those methods that the Nazis and the Russians themselves have used. . . .

MORRIS:

. . . the term "informer" is an unfortunate choice of words. . . . evidence . . . that would indicate that a certain person is a member of the Communist Party [would be given] under oath. . . .

CRAWLEY:

But it's not yet illegal in this country to be a Communist, is it?

MORRIS:

No, but I think the records will show . . . it is at least one step in a series . . . which . . . would result in your conviction for a crime. . . .

CRAWLEY:

That same day, I asked Mr. John Stuart, a financial consultant and enthusiastic Republican, if he was pleased with the present administration.

STUART:

Mr. Crawley, on the whole, I am not. . . . not giving us the positive leadership . . . trying to do things in the nicely-nicely manner.

CRAWLEY:

You agree then with the criticism that Senator McCarthy made the other day - criticisms of the administration?

STUART:

Frankly, I do. I am a very strong supporter of Senator McCarthy. I may be very unpopular for that reason but I still think that he is a fine American, and what he is attempting to do is, on the whole, excellent.

CRAWLEY:

However, not all Republicans see eye to eye. I asked Senator Duff . . . whether he shared Senator McCarthy's view . . .

DUFF:

No. . . .

CRAWLEY:

From outside, one would judge that of all the free countries, this one's least likely to be captured by communists from within.

DUFF:

[paraphrased] In case of difficulty with Russia the people will take care of the communists.

CRAWLEY:

Have you any doubts or anxieties about the methods that are being used to route out communists here?

DUFF:

[paraphrased] I think the American people want all communists removed from important public offices, but do not generally want inquisitorial methods.

CRAWLEY:

Do you feel that some of the Congressional inquires border on inquisitorial methods?

DUFF:

. . . they give the appearance of it . . .

CRAWLEY:

The problem of communism goes deeper than politics. . . . Professor Robert MacIver is directing the American Academic Freedom Project at Columbia University.

CRAWLEY:

[paraphrased] Professor MacIver, do you support the view that universities should not employ communists?

MACIVER:

. . . no college or university would appoint a man knowing he is actually a member of the Communist Party.

CRAWLEY:

That would be true at Columbia too. Wouldn't it?

MACIVER:

Oh, yes.

CRAWLEY:

[paraphrased] Should communism be closed to university discussion?

MACIVER:

. . . that would be a great mistake . . .

CRAWLEY:

What do you think the best way of dealing with communist ideas is?

MACIVER:

. . . free and full discussion . . .

MACIVER:

. . . when these [emotional] waves come, there are people who do their utmost to exaggerate the danger.

CRAWLEY:

My last stop in the States was on a troop transport . . . it seems to me that you still fight your battles with all the passion of pioneers. Today, it's communism that's the enemy and you hate it fiercely and perhaps a bit indiscriminately, but as an Englishman, I know that it's good that you are fighting it so strongly. . . . And if in defending the things you believe in so passionately, you occasionally do things which to some Americans and to some others seem a bit un-American, well I reckon you can look after them yourselves.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER:

[over loud speaker system of troop ship]

. . . the United States pledges . . . to help solve the fearful atomic dilemma . . .

MURROW:

In spite of new and fearsome weapons, it is still necessary for the youth of the country to honor our word. We have given you a glimpse through Aidan Crawley, a visiting British journalist.

Good night and good luck.

* * *

CBS

Senator Bridges stated that in 1944 a Senate Committee forced Roosevelt Administration to cancel an order to destroy Army files on Communists. Senator Jenner says it is verified that Admiral King told Admiral Nimitz the same year "the White House" ordered the destruction of certain files on Communism.

JER

"ERM with the News" 2/2/54

I H 2
I J 20
II B 7

CBS

State Department investigation fails to prove McC charges that State Department employees engaged in "shake-down" of friendly foreign nation. McC replies information is correct.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

J. E. R. March 29, 1954

SEE IT NOW February 2, 1954: Norwalk V. F. W.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Good evening. Tonight's report is not unrelated to freedom from fear and freedom from want. The first comes from Norwalk, Connecticut where the local Post of the Veterans of Foreign Wars set up a Committee to report on their fellow citizens who might be suspected of Communist activities or Communist leanings, these names to be reported to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. This created a very considerable controversy, and on Thursday of last week, the local Post held a meeting from which photographers and reporters were excluded, but at the end of that meeting, the Chairman -- the Commander of the Post, Albert A. Beres, told us what happened.

BERES:

. . . this is the statement expressed by the members of this Post. . . . "Every loyal citizen can help fight the Communists. Every suspicious act should be reported to the nearest FBI office in full detail. Then let the FBI complete the investigation." . . . We now have a list of people. The statement that's going to be made here is the same statement that is going to be put out . . . Right now this is the statement that's going to be published and their answers. Other than that we will not give now.

Q. Do you now have a list of people?

BERES:

This is the statement published tonight.

MURROW:

Commander Beres just spoke of the Americanism program of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. The National Chairman of this program is Chief Justice Charles Daugherty of the Criminal Courts, Cook County, Illinois. We asked Judge Daugherty what he thought of the Norwalk action.

CHIEF JUSTICE CHARLES S. DAUGHERTY:

. . . my comrades at Norwalk have temporarily forgotten that the responsibility for ferreting out Communists in the United States is the responsibility of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. . . . if all of the Posts throughout America began operating in this same style, we would be building up in America a police state . . .

WERSHBA:

. . . how would you define - un-Americanism?

DAUGHERTY:

Well, un-Americanism is everything that Americanism isn't. . . .

MURROW:

Our camera has noted a degree of disagreement inside the Veterans of Foreign Wars . . .

[The rest of the program was devoted to a report of the economic situation in Lawrence, Mass., where one of American Woolen's principal mills, proposed to be sold, is located]

MURROW [Closing]:

The stockholders' meeting was adjourned due to a restraining order issued by the Massachusetts Court. Since that time two offers have been made to buy the assets of the company. We hold no views as to the wisdom of management, stockholders, or employees. We are concerned only to show that there are people behind the economic and financial news. The report from Lawrence had something to do with freedom from want. The one from Norwalk -- freedom from fear. We are a restless, impatient, traveling people accustomed to move. Our factories and our industries move. So do our people, but there are or have been certain bench marks -- beacons -- basic principles that have served us well. A factory may close because of obsolescence . . . because of the high cost of power -- the high cost of labor . . . or just because of the demise of the blue serge suit, but the closed mind has rather far more reaching consequences. It is something that only the individual can do, and it is something that Judge Daugherty of Chicago was talking about in his remarks.

Good night and good luck.

* * *

"ERM with the News" 2/4/54 I J 20

CBS

Chief Soviet spy in Japan seeks political asylum in U.S. Sources say Russian's decision "is a great victory that may be decisive in Japan".

DRK

"ERM with the News" 2/5/54 I J 20

CBS II F1

Democrats say that McC considerably more careless with the truth while away from Washington than when he is in Washington.

JBR

ERM "Person to Person" show, 2/5/54 (Pusey). I J 20

ERM script file.

P. 17 of script, ERM asks Pusey's views on academic freedom. Pusey statement: "He certainly shouldn't have less freedom. I don't know as one would say he should have more. There is a great deal of misunderstanding, I think, in connection with academic freedom. People think that it is freedom to do whatever you want and of course it never was so intended. The great importance in t he university is simply the freedom the professor has to enquire, to follow where his mind leads him and to be free from the necessity to try to say things that he doesn't believe or hasn't discovered for himself. He certainly doesn't enjoy any license just to go off the deep end. The discipline he is subject to all the time, of course, is the discipline of truth and his colleagues would be very quick to point out to him when he has departed from that."

ECP

SEE IT NOW: Lincoln's Birthday. I J 20

Television Script--2/9/54.

Comments at Republican dinner in Washington, including Vice-President Nixon; Senator Dirkson; Speaker Martin, G.O.P. Chairman Hall; Senator Bricker; Senator Knowland; and President Eisenhower: Government should be liberal in dealing with its people and conservative in dealing with its people's money.

At same time ex-President Truman railed at Republicans in Waldorf Astoria, New York.

Eric Sevareid in Washington, at the house where Lincoln died, gives account of his death.

Bob Pierpoint interviews Lieutenant Porter in Korea who, even after truce, has patrols out.

ERM: "The right to be a citizen, the inherent right to fight for it. The right to vote, and the right to demonstrate. This was Harlem", introducing a woman presenting a gift to Mrs. Eisenhower.

Interview between British reporter and Maryland tenant farmer.

Farmer Smallwood: "Mr. Truman was a very good man and this may be a good man . . . But we haven't had yet but one good man in that White House to do us a job, and that was President Roosevelt."

British Reporter Crawley: "We thought he was a great man in England too."

Farmer Smallwood: "Did you? Yes sir. He brought--this country was down to starvation when that man went in there. Our people were starving."

ERM: The 13th Amendment was ratified by Louisiana in 1865; Shreveport has made considerable progress towards making its people free; adult Negro education particular success. Night classroom scene in Shreveport.

ERM: Following a woman taught to vote by her son: "We don't know what Mr. Lincoln would think if he were here. He might not approve of what went on, but we might think that he might recognize and record that very considerable progress had been made. Good night and good luck."

BP

B.A.P.

"ERM with the News" 2/9/54 I J 20

CBS

Critical statement by ERM on situation in Indo-China. "Compromise in Indo-China could be a defeat for this country of immeasurable magnitude. It could round out substantially the defeat suffered from the Communist conquest of China".

JEK

"ERM with the News" 2/11/54

I H 2
I J 20 —
II B 3, 7

CBS

McC says price too high for him to stop attacks on "Democratic treason".

Stevens says no recollection of Army order to destroy Communist files. McC had so charged. McC admits mistake in accusing McCloy of ordering destruction of files involving Communist conspiracy in Germany. McC says, however, McCloy did order end to discrimination against party members seeking commissions. No comment by McCloy.

SEE IT NOW: United Nations Charter Revision; military education.

Television Script--2/23/54.

Record of interviews of Special Senate Sub-Committee on revision of United Nations Charter, Chairman Senator Wiley, in Akron, Ohio. Mrs. Max Johnstone for abolishing veto; Reverend C. Willard Felton for restricting veto so that veto could not block voting on peaceful settlement of disputes or admission to U.N.--"If this meant that it would then be possible for Red China to become a member of the United Nations, we would be willing for this to happen";Mrs. Gerald Duryee (D.A.R.) stated U.S. lost over 25,000 dead in Korea while Britain lost 710; Thomas G. MacGowan: withdrawal from U.N. would be supreme tragedy.

(If the charge of slanting in favor of the U.N. can possibly be construed as a black mark, use long harrangue against U.N. by Raymond Hardin, engineer in the State Highway Department and member of the American Legion, excerpts from which follow: ". . . I think the United States should get out of the United Nations and get the United Nations out of the United States . . . When General MacArthur was fighting Communism in Korea, he had to report to a Russian officer . . . [The U.N.] has enabled the Iron Curtain countries to have big delegations here who many times have constituted spies . . . We are giving One hundred million dollars a year to Israel. We are giving the Arabs a few tents and a few loaves of bread and barely enough to keep them alive while we are building whole cities in Israel with your money and mine . . .").

ERM comment immediately following Hardin (p. 7): "Well, not everything that is said may be wise. No two people are obliged to agree. But through this process of talking, of listening, of reading, and of arguing, somehow in a mysterious fashion, the national mind is made up and national policy is formed."

The second portion of the program covered education of military personnel as to the evils of Communism and the virtues of Democracy. Interview between Wershba and Admiral Binford, Commander of the I. & E. school for officers and non-coms at Ft. Slocum for all branches of the Service; Binford unable to state in two minutes what he would tell troops as to "why they fight";would take a good hour and "sometimes six weeks".

Then ERM turns to some good instructors in the field.

Captain Alfred Maehlke: Communism in Russia means lack of rights and the individual dignity but the Russians are accustomed to autocracy and as peasants have a passionate love of the land; Sergeant Thomas, in skit for troops embarking for Europe: "We need Europe for our own security. By defending Europe we are really defending the United States. The Communists would like it very much if we would withdraw all our aid from Europe - our troops, our technical - economic advisers, who are working to make Europe strong and united, so they can take over more of the job of defending themselves against Communism."

Corporal Ben Parsons closing a program on the Armed Forces Radio Network: "This is the American Forces Korea Network. We need the strength of all nations still free to man the long line we must hold against the Communists. We cannot depend entirely upon political expediency to hold them by our side. We need their loyalty and friendship. The Reds will use our every unkind and discourteous act to divorce our allies from us."

Program closes with advice of Lieutenant Jack Gwyn to Korean troops: "The Communists would like to attain one big goal. That goal is to get us out of Korea. They accuse America of aggression when they themselves are the aggressors - both in World War II and the Korean War. They accuse us of being imperialists and of grabbing territory while they have swallowed up Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Roumania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Manchuria, China, and last but not least North Korea, and are trying to get South Korea. Remember, the Communists want one thing, and that is to get us out of Korea. Do you have any questions?"

Sergeant Strauber: "Sergeant Strauber, sir. While this fighting was still going on, we could clearly see that Communist propaganda and aggression. Why ... what kind of propaganda are they using now?"

Lieutenant Jack Gwyn: "Sergeant Strauber, although we are not fighting now, the Communists are still using their favorite angle which is propaganda. As I stated earlier in the talk, they are trying to make us dissatisfied with the Army. They are trying to make the foreign peoples who we are associated with turn against us. This propaganda they use comes to us in many ways. Radio, newspapers, and even letters to our families and Congressmen in the United States."

ERM commentary: "Some Congressman are concerned about the new look in our military establishment, but it is a matter of urgent necessity that citizen soldiers be informed in order that they may take an informed look at the world they may be called upon to defend. Goodnight and good luck."

BP

B.A.P.

SEE IT NOW: New York Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra.

Television Script--3/2/54.

Report of the orchestra in action.

ERM closing: "You have just been listening to the New York Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra. We thought that you might like it too. We also desired to do one report that has nothing whatever to do with the cold war, with current crises, or with the retreat into unreasoning fear that seems to be part of the climate in which we live. We shall try to deal with one aspect of that fear next week."

BP

B.A.P.

I J 20
II A 16

ERM - This is the News - 3/5/54

CBS

McCarthy drops $2,000,000 libel and slander suit against former Senator Benton. McCarthy says suit dropped because no one would believe Benton statement. "Benton, repeating his charge that McCarthy has committed perjury, fraud and calculated deceit on the people, says McCarthy dropped the suit because he 'refuses to face examination in court'".

J. E. R.

ERM - This is the News - 3/8/54

CBS

Republicans select Nixon to reply to Stevenson's charge that Republican Party is "half McCarthy and half Eisenhower".

J. E. R.

ERM - This is the News - 3/9/54

CBS

McCarthy says he is going to test refusal by CBS and NBC to give him free time to answer Stevenson's speech.

J. E. R.

I J 20,
I J 23
II B 3

ERM--This is the News--3/10/54

CBS

President approves Flanders' speech. Also says that CBS and NBC discharged their responsibilities in giving Nixon radio and television time.

McCarthy says Republican Party suffering a great deal of damage not from him but from his critics. Republican leaders issued guides to conduct of all investigating committees.

McCarthy charges that some Senators have made irresponsible statements about his success in exposing communists. He says he has been turning up "current communists".

McCarthy met with Wilson. Later he told reporters "they have no argument". "Wilson has been combatting communists a lot longer than the Senator and McCarthy agrees 100% with Wilson that the Army is not coddling communists."

J.E.R.

ERM: With The News I J 20

Radio script: 3/17/54

Report on Mc-Army dispute. Lead off: "The President has full confidence in the honesty and integrity of Army Secretary Stevens."

BAP

ERM: With The News

I H 2
I J 8, 20

Radio script: 3/19/54

Report McC-Army dispute. General Ridgeway comment to National Press Club: "'when the full story of unfolding events becomes known' the country will be deeply proud of Army Secretary Stevens".

Scott McLeod told House Committee that he found fewer State Department employees "with subversive tendencies" thanhe expected to find.

Long report Premier Scelba campaign against Communists in Italy. "The Communists already are crying that Scelba wants to be Dictator and are appealing to the domestic freedoms they have exploited to entrench themselves. They will try to weaken Scelba by stirring up hatred for America." Communism a reaction to Facism; the best way to fight Communism abroad is to hasten social reforms (p. 4).

BAP

ERM: With The News

I H 2
I J 20 —

Radio script, 3/23/54

Report on McC-Army dispute. McC re "blown up fight between Mr. Cohn and Mr. Adams" opposed by ERM comment "Cohn is McCarthy's Chief Counsel who, with the Senator, has been accused of seeking special favors of Army Private David Schine." (emphasis added).

Davies: Secretary Dulles convening special security board to hear more evidence in case of Career Diplomat John Patton Davies, Jr. "Davies, a frequent target of McCarthy, has been cleared seven times in the past, by State Department loyalty security boards.

Excerpts from U. S. Government report on dangers of atomic weapon smuggling into U. S. ERM: "the only appropriate comment, is to express the hope, however, far fetched it mayseem, that any foreign agent entering this country with a small sized ball or less of fissionable material, on his or her person, will be recognized instantly."

BAP

ERM With the News, 4/13/54. I J 20

McDonough

Re Oppenheimer suspension, stresses that published charges have not been backed up with published evidence; that Oppenheimer passed up opportunity to resign, choosing to undergo formal security hearing; that decision to press charges against him was made when heat was on Truman over Harry Dexter White matter; that accusation re delay in making hydrogen bomb was under investigation before McCarthy was heard on this theme, and suspension of Oppenheimer is therefore not a consequence of McC's remarks on SIN the preceding week. Reviews Oppenheimer left wing associations as admitted by him; stresses political naivete in earlier years. Reviews specific charges and Oppenheimer responses to each.

ECP

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

J. E. R. March 27, 1954

SEE IT NOW December 1, 1953: Proposed Wire Tapping Bill

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Good evening. At the end of his testimony in the Harry Dexter White case, Attorney General Brownell recommended legislation that would permit the introduction into Federal Courts of evidence secured by wire tapping. This is an argument that has been going on for a long time, and so tonight, we present an informed argument on this controversial subject. It is on film. On monitor number one, Congressman Charles Halleck of Indiana, Republican and Majority leader of the House. Mr. Halleck is speaking to us from his office in Washington. Good evening, Mr. Halleck.

HALLECK:

Good evening, Mr. Murrow.

MURROW:

On monitor number two, from his office at 30 Rockefeller Plaza in New York, James Lawrence Fly, prominent attorney, and former Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission. Good evening, Mr. Fly.

FLY:

Good evening, Ed.

MURROW:

Congressman Halleck, will you begin by telling us why you favor wire-tapping legislation.

HALLECK:

. . . we have had real threats to the security and threats to the country . . . I think the Harry Dexter White case is another evidence of a very definite fact that it is not red herring to be dragged across the trail. It is a real threat that can't be laughed off.

FLY:

Well Ed, I think Mr. Halleck and I are in complete agreement in wholeheartedly opposing communism and all totalitarian systems at home and abroad. I certainly think we ought to oppose any totalitarian methods at home. Wire tapping is a familiar part of the Soviet technique. . . . I don't wonder that Justice Holmes called this "dirty business."

HALLECK:

. . . Justice Sutherland had something different to say about it, Mr. Fly. People of this country will recall the Judith Coplon case. She was definitely proved to have been delivering vital secrets to a Russian agent, who since left the country. . . .

FLY:

. . . I would like to comment on the Coplon case. . . . we all agree that Judith Coplon should have been punished . . . the question Mr. Halleck poses is the familiar one. . . . should not the Government be permitted to tap the wire of a known spy? Well, you might ask, can I catch a bird if I can put salt on his tail? Now, in actual practice, the thing doesn't work that way.

HALLECK:

Well now, let [interrupted]

FLY:

Now, wait a minute. When . . . you tap a whole raft of wires, you may tap the wires of a thousand innocent people in the hope that you will turn up with one Judith Coplon.. . . its contrary to the whole American system of justice . . .

HALLECK:

Mr. Fly, you don't know what we are talking about apparently. Mr. Murrow, I don't know about how this time is divided up. I don't want to monopolize all of it and I don't want Mr. Fly to monopolize all of it. Now, he talked about the constitutional prohibition in the Fourth Amendment against unreasonable search and seizure. The Supreme Court of the United States held a long time ago that wire tapping does not violate that prohibition of

the Fourth Amendment. The whole problem arises out of . . . language in the Communications Act . . . construed as preventing the use in Federal Courts of evidence to obtain wire tapping. Now, no one wants to engage in indiscriminate wire tapping. The prohibition law was intended to prevent that. But now when we point out what was proposed by the Attorney General it becomes apparent that Mr. Fly was building up a strawman. As a matter of fact. As a matter of fact, we are spending billions of dollars trying to restrain communism and to fight communism and to be prepared to fight communism.

FLY:

No one is in favor of communism here, Mr. Halleck . . . but no one. I don't see why you bring that into this discussion. . . . In the name of security, the Police State justifies its arbitrary decisions. Now, when you say the F.B.I. is going to tap, isn't it a fact that the Military and Intelligence Services will originate tapping -- walking through the . . . (Interrupted).

HALLECK:

No - not under the provision of the Bill which I have before me.

FLY:

Mr. Halleck, I thought you said that there would have to be a showing upon sworn testimony . . . you have . . . here a rubber stamp by the Prosecuting Attorney himself. . . . Who is going to stop the Attorney General from tapping all that he pleases. . . . He is going to tap the wires of innocent people . . . you are going to let him run wild without any Court supervision . . . In the past, the F.B.I. has refused to tell the public what it has been doing, and whether . . . (Interrupted).

HALLECK:

Well, Mr. Fly, let me interrupt right at that point . . .

FLY:

. . . it was used. Now time and again, they have violated the existing law and yet we are going to turn this very vital measure right back to that same agency and leave them unsupervised.

HALLECK:

You may want to question the F.B.I. but you and I know, Mr. Fly, that the F.B.I. refuses to disclose the things it has learned. You can't point to one single instance when the F.B.I. by disclosure has ever done anything like what you are talking about. In other words, the whole. . . (Interrupted).

FLY:

I can point to specific places where they violated the law. I tell you Mr. Halleck, let me tell you . . . (Interrupted).

HALLECK:

Well, it is no violation of the law to wire tap to begin with.

FLY:

[paraphrased] The F.B.I. has a written form for the destruction of government documents -- the form to be destroyed when the purpose is accomplished.

HALLECK:

Well, of course, if you had the degree of confidence in the F.B.I. and I think the people generally have in the Attorney General, or should have in the Attorney General, why the things you are talking about couldn't possibly come to pass. Once in a while, maybe they may tap the wire of someone who is innocent, but if there is no disclosure of it, except in a criminal proceeding, why certainly the innocent person won't be harmed in any degree.

FLY:

What can a free nation pay for the possibility of catching one spy?

MURROW:

That argument went on for almost an hour. We tried to bring you the essence of it tonight.

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The rest of the program was a documentary on the production of aluminum.

"ERM with the News" 2/17/54 I J 22

CBS

Report by Schoenbrun from Paris re Indo-China situation. Reports that many of the French papers say that France's best export, her best dollar earner, is blood in Indo-China. Says that French attitude is that war in Indo-China is going very badly. They have no hope ~~report~~ of military victory in Indo-China. French sources say step-up in aid to France will be immediately countered by Chinese aid to Communists.

JSK

See also I J 20 "News" 2/9/54.

See It Now I J 26

Kinescope Excerpts, 3/15/53

Discussion between Mayor Reuter and Averill Harriman at Plaza Hotel.

Reuter introduced by ERM as a "tough, steady symbol of defiance".

BP

B.A.P.

See It Now I J 26

Kinescope Excerpts, 6/14/53

Visit to Oberlin College, commencement week. ERM:

"It is our hope that some of the vitality and enthusiasm of the Class of '53 may rub off on us."

Student discussion concerning communism and academic freedom. Student quoting L. Hand: "He said risk for risk he thought it would be a whole lot less dangerous to let a few traitors go undetected than to cast a pall of suspicion over the whole country." [Transcript from recording tape.]

BP

B.A.P.

"ERM with the News" 2/18/54 I J 23

CBS II B 3

Army-McC Dispute

McC demanded that Stevens take immediate action to undo "the disgraceful coddling of Communists at Camp Kilmer." McC called for action against Zwicker. Zwicker said McC offered a "colored and slanted" version of the secret testimony.

Stevens says any Reserve Officer who refuses to answer loyalty questions will forfeit commission.

JSK

"ERM with the News" 2/19/54 I J 23 -

II B 3

CBS

Army rejects McC demand of names of all persons involved in the honorable discharge of former Major McC called "a Communist party leader". [Peress]

ERM

"ERM with the News" 2/23/54 I J 23
I J 25
FB 3

CBS

McC charges Army employs woman who is a Communist Party member, Mrs. Annie Lee Moss.

Transcript of Zwicker hearing fails to show reason for attack by McC. Zwicker said he had not postponed discharge of Peress, since evidence produced at McCarthy Committee's hearing was already known to Army. McC failed to show evidence new. All he did was strengthen his attack with familiar stratagem of strengthening a case without strengthening the evidence. In present day America, charges are daily mistaken for evidence, something Senator McCarthy well knows. Stevens tells McC that another Peress case would not occur, but that this case could not be undone.

Murrow justifies Zwicker's action. Generally criticizes McC.

"ERM with the News" 2/22/54 I J 23, 25

CBS II B 3

McC says he is investigating another phase of the Army's handling of Communists. Zwicker charges McC abuse. Stevens orders Army officers not to answer McC. McC says Zwicker not fit to wear uniform; calls Stephens dupe of hangovers from last Administration.

White House declines comment.

JSK

"ERM with the News" 2/24/54 I J 23

II B 3

CBS

General factual report on "memorandum of understanding".

Reaction in Europe to McC's tactics:

Schoenbrun from Paris: "Senator McCarthy and Marilyn Monroe attack U. S. Army on two fronts, is the headline feature piece from Paris influential 'Le Monde' tonight. Their correspondent cabled: 'The spectacle presented by McCarthy Committee is sheer buffoonery'. And the correspondent concludes: 'Despite protests, Senator McCarthy will continue to exercise his talents, for, in fact, the large number of the American administration, including Secretary Stevens and the unfortunate General Zwicker, themselves approve the general line and objectives of McCarthy, reserving their criticism only for his methods'."

Schoenbrun says: "This is the general tenor of French observation about McCarthy . . . a case of burning down the barn to catch a rat, one French editor told me . . . All [French government officials] without exception expressed privately consternation at the loss of American prestige among the mass of people here . . one French statesman told me: 'I hope you won't make too much of French criticism of McCarthy, because you will be sure to make him a hero back home if we attack him.'"

Smith from London: "The British happen to be acutely alarmed at Senator McCarthy presently, as their concern for the demoralization of the United States Army, whereon all free Europe depends, coincides with the first close-up experience of one of the Senator's investigations". Smith says in TV program by Aden Crawley, he narrated shots of McCarthy questioning Reed Harris, and the English press reacted to what they term 'the smear-and-run methods' with disgust. News Cronicle talks of 'witch-hunt'. The conservative Evening News says: 'Were this merely a domestic scandal in a friendly country, no comment would be called for. But, clearly, it's a matter of principle which concerns all who want to both maintain freedom and order in the democratic society and to fight Communism.'" The conservative Daily Telegraph says: 'Even the most understanding friend of America abroad finds it hard to preserve a sense of balance about activities epitomized in the name of Senator McCarthy . . . World Communism couldn't ask for richer ore than pours into its propaganda machine every time Senator McCarthy makes an utterance.'

Kendrick from Vienna: McCarthy methods disliked in Austria as detrimental to democratic process. Viewed as one of the primary reasons for the serious loss of American prestige. Kendrick says: "It gets discouraging to have Austrians offer you condolences about the loss of your democratic traditions." General feeling among headquarters officers is to blame Eisenhower for not standing up to McC.

JER

I J 23

II B 3

ERM with the News - 2/25/54

Army -- McCarthy Dispute

CBS

Stevens says he does not accede to the abuse of Army personnel. White House supports Stevens. Rehash of "memorandum of understanding". Stevens says he had been assured by members on McCarthy Committee that such conditions will not develop in the future. Announcement made because of newspaper reaction saying Stevens had ~~succumb~~ succumbed to McCarthy.

General description of scurrying in Washington as a result of this incident.

J.E.R.

ERM--With the News--2/26/54

Army--McCarthy Dispute

CBS

McCarthy says he considers "the unpleasant hassle" with Stevens at an end. Senate Republican leaders decided to launch an investigation of all the methods of investigation committees. Republican Senator Potter says Stevens correct in saying that McCarthy committee had assured him that Army witnesses would not be brow beaten. Senator Jackson says the recent argument makes it clear why the Democrats pulled out last year. "Now" he says, "the majority party, which failed to support us, are watching their chickens come to roost".

Murrow's Comments on Incident.

McCarthy could have had peace with honor by agreeing to the simple statement that the rights of witnesses before his committee would be protected. Apparently McCarthy did not want peace. Easy to understand why. "He may win in the end even if the Republican Policy Committee revises the rules for Senate investigation". The Senator says on p.1; "the whole nation continues to talk about him. It is a formula he best understands." Eagerness of McCarthy one of few clear things in this case. Conduct not strange. "As soon as he could draw a breath, after hearing what Secretary Stevens said, he accused him of falsehood." [restatement of episode] McCarthy snatched at poorest case to fight on his treatment of General Zwicker and then he played his ace of trumps, the Peress case.

Needs no sermonizing that Army under political sway is lost to democracy. Reports foreboding from Europe; U. S. Army indispensable shield there. "Demagogues who distract attention from their personal ambitions by the shrillness of their attack on communism have figured tragically in recent European history. Such analogies may seem far-fetched to most Americans. But here is a General with a distinguished record for valor and leadership who is so shamefully treated that the morale of the U. S. Army is in danger, and the Senator responsible says only he was too lenient. The Zwicker case would have seemed far-fetched only a short time ago."

J.E.R.

I J 23 -

II B 3

ERM with the News - 3/1/54

CBS

McCarthy says his committee will hear from Stevens this Thursday or a week from today. McCarthy says he wants to ask Stevens about what he called "contradictory" policies in handling a case of persons accused of communism.

J. E. R.

I J 23

II B 3

ERM with the News - 3/2/54

Army -- McCarthy Dispute

CBS

Hall rebukes McCarthy.

Secretary Wilson returning from Florida describing the McCarthy - Stevens row as "a lot of wind to blow up over one left-wing dentist".

McCarthy says he is ready to declare moratorium.

J.E.R.

I J 23

II B 3

ERM - This is the News - 3/3/54

Army -- McCarthy Dispute

CBS

ERM plays record of statement made by President at news conference today:

[paraphrased] Army made serious ~~[illegible]~~ error in handling Peress case. Army correcting future procedures -- abstractly criticizes McCarthy -- ultimate responsibility for conduct of executive branch rests with President -- praises Zwicker. Employees in executive branch to respond cheerfully to Congress, but to be shown courtesy -- responsibility of Congress to see that it's procedures are fair -- unfortunate that our attentions are diverted from the grave problems facing us today.

ERM plays recorded statement by McCarthy: [paraphrased] This tempest in a teapot arose because we brought to light the facts about a Fifth Amendment Communist officer -- continued exchange of statements ridiculous. I stated last night that I will no further take part in this pointless waste of time -- rather I shall spend my time in action -- in the continued exposure of those who are dedicated to the Communist enslavement of the World -- if a stupid man in a position of power is found aiding the Communist Party he will be exposed -- when the shouting dies the American people and the President will realize that this unprecedented mud slinging against the committee by the extreme left wing elements of the press and radio was caused because another Fifth Amendment Communist in Government was finally dug up out of the dark recesses and exposed to view.

ERM: Current controversy coming to a head.

JUNIUS: "Integrity in man is measured by their conduct.

BEECHER: "One may be better than his reputation but never better than his principles."

J. E. R.

ERM, This is the News, 3/4/54.

I J 23
II B 3
II C 2

CBS

Wilson says idea that Army is coddling Communists is "just damn tommyrot".

McC replies that certain individuals in the Army have been protecting Communists. Says he is sure Wilson agrees with him on this point. He hopes "they won't have to waste time . . . arguing about 'fifth amendment communists'".

White House has received hundreds of telegrams praising President's calling for fair play in Congressional investigations.

Senator Mundt says controversy simmering down.

Hall says nonsense that Fascists have torn Republican Party.

Senator McClellan says he has asked Army for a documented report on whether anyone has tried to get special treatment for Schine, former staff member of McC committee.

J. E. R.

ERM--This is the News--3/5/54

CBS

Kane, special assistant to Stevens resigns in protest over what he says was the failure of Stevens' superiors to support the Secretary.

Stevenson says Army has not coddled communists any more than Democratic Administration ever coddled a single subversive traitor or spy deliberately.

Senator Johnson doesn't believe the Communist issue will be effective Republican campaign material.

J. E. R.

ERM--This is the News--3/9/54

Army--McCarthy Dispute

CBS

Senate Republican leaders agreed on proposals to "guide" Senate investigations. Chairman Saltonstall, of the Armed Services Committee, says that his group will start a hearing to find out what Defense Department is doing about "subversives and Communists in the armed services". A possible move to steal play from McCarthy. Senator Flanders charges that McCarthy attempts to shatter Republican Party. Flanders asked: "Is McCarthy a hidden satellite of the Democratic Party which he is furnishing so much material for quiet mirth?" Slanders says McCarthy diverts nation from world dangers.

J.E.R.

I J 20,
I J 23
II B 3

ERM--This is the News--3/10/54

CBS

President approves Flanders' speech. Also says that CBS and NBC discharged their responsibilities in giving Nixon radio and television time.

McCarthy says Republican Party suffering a great deal of damage not from him but from his critics. Republican leaders issued guides to conduct of all investigating committees.

McCarthy charges that some Senators have made irresponsible statements about his success in exposing communists. He says he has been turning up "current communists".

McCarthy met with Wilson. Later he told reporters "they have no argument". "Wilson has been combatting communists a lot longer than the Senator and McCarthy agrees 100% with Wilson that the Army is not coddling communists."

J.E.R.

ERM With the News, 3/2/54, I J 24
Caracas Conference.

CBS

Caracas similar to Berlin and Geneva--same basic problem, the question of ultimate Communist power. U.S. wants united fronts against Communist infiltration, in particular condemnation of the state of affairs in Guatemala. Latin-American resistance to a united front against Communism is stubborn, because of the old issue--intervention. Very mention of internal affairs tastes of intervention to Latin-Americans.

Danger of Communism in Latin-America is that it doesn't look dangerous. But "Latin America is a natural breeding ground for social and political extremism. . . . a happy hunting ground for Soviet intrigue." Solidarity against Communism can be built up by our greater concern for Latin-America's economic and social problems.

Horace: "Your own property is at stake when your neighbor's house is on fire."

J. E. R.

Copy on File

ERM--This is the News--3/10/54

CBS

Report by Schorr from Latin-American Conference in Caracas.

ERM critical of U.S. statement re Latin-American economic policy as being "vague generalities".

J.E.R.

"ERM with the News" 2/22/54 I J 23, 25

CBS II 6 3

McC says he is investigating another phase of the Army's handling of Communists. Zwicker charges McC abuse. Stevens orders Army officers not to answer McC. McC says Zwicker not fit to wear uniform, calls Stephens dupe of hangovers from last Administration.

White House declines comment.

"ERM with the News" 2/23/54 I J 23
I J 25
II 6 3

CBS

McC charges Army employs woman who is a Communist Party member, Mrs. Annie Lee Moss.

Transcript of Zwicker hearing fails to show reason for attack by McC. Zwicker said he had not postponed discharge of Peress, since evidence produced at McCarthy Committee's hearing was already known to Army. McC failed to show evidence new. All he did was strengthen his attack with familiar stratagem of strengthening a case without strengthening the evidence. In present day America, charges are daily mistaken for evidence, something Senator McCarthy well knows. Stevens tells McC that another Peress case would not occur, but that this case could not be undone.

Murrow justifies Zwicker's action. Generally criticizes McC.

ERM - This is the News - 3/11/54

I J 25
II B 3

CBS

ERM reviews testimony by Annie Lee Moss before McC committee.

McC says [reading UP dispatch from Washington]: "that charges he has not uncovered active Communists in the American government are completely false. . . . In a radio interview with Fulton Lewis, Jr., denies he was waging a battle against Army. Replied to a charge of Flanders that the greatest danger from Communism is external."

J. E. R.

filed

I J 25

MEMORANDUM FOR MESSRS. CONNELLY
PERKINS

March 26, 1954

Our copy of the current Washington telephone directory, dated September, 1953, includes the following:

MOSS ANNA LEE MRS 1310 T Nw------NOrth 7-4427

MOSS ANNIE L MRS 1244 Evrts Ne--LAwrnc 6-2109

B. R. S.

6/10/47 telegram, ERM to Owen J. Roberts. I I 8
I J 26

ERM dead file.

Shares Roberts' concern (expressed in telegram 6/10/47 to ERM, attached) about possible Congressional failure to act on military training. ". . . in view of my official position which involves the fair and impartial allocation of radio time for this and other controversial issues I feel that I must decline your invitation to join Citizens Emergency Committee."

ECP

ERM With The News--3/13/50

I J 26
II D 19

CBS

McC talked for about 2-1/2 hours to the Senate subcommittee investigating his charges that there are a lot of communists in the State Department. He named Haldore Hanson, a specialist and expert on Chinese affairs, who was partially responsible for developing plans for Point IV. Hanson was accused of having written pro-communist publications. State Department says Hanson has been thoroughly investigated and the Department is satisfied he is a loyal American citizen. Department says the same thing about Mrs. Esther Brunauer, who works in that part of the State Department devoted to cultural relations with foreign countries. McCarthy says she was instrumental in communist front organizations. Mrs. Brunauer categorically denies McC's statements. Mr. Brunauer, in reply to McC, says he has never been a member of the Communist Party; however, between 1923 and 1927, he was a member of the Hungarian section of the Young Workers League in New York, which, he said, advocated communistic principles.

Senator McC also named Owen J. Lattimore. In substance McC said Lattimore was "one of the principle architects of our Far Eastern policy" and had misled the Government in advising how the communist threat in China should be dealt with.

J.E.R.

ERM With The News--3/14/50

I J 26
II D 19

CBS

Review of Testimony of Dorothy Kenyon:

Dorothy Kenyon answered the charges of Senator McCarthy that she is a fellow traveler or worse. She said she had never been a supporter of, a member of, or sympathizer with, any organization she knew or suspected of being controlled or dominated by communists. Miss Kenyon is a great "joiner"-- no question about that. She joined dozens of organizations. Some she sponsored she later left because she didn't "like the look of the people" or came to suspect that communists were taking over. When confronted with letterheads bearing her name, she frequently pointed out the names of friends of hers who were also listed, college presidents, bishops and the like.

She had advocated lifting the arms embargo on shipments to the Spanish government. And she had joined with others in sending greetings to Russian women in 1943, reminding the Senators that at that time Russia was an ally.

"One conclusion can be drawn from a careful study of Senator McCarthy's charges, Miss Dorothy Kenyon's testimony, and the subsequent questioning; and that is this: If she had been guilty of subversive or disloyal acts, no evidence has yet been placed upon the record to prove it."

J.E.R.

ERM With The News--3/20/50 I J 26
II D 6

CBS

When Ambassador Jessup was on a roving mission to Asia, Senator McC accused him of "having an unusual affinity for Communist causes". Jessup hurried home to make reply. He said that during his absence he had been attacked by two sources, McCarthy and the Moscow official newspaper, "Isvestia". He said that anyone who believes in the concept of guilt by association might draw some startling conclusions from this fact.

ERM plays recording of Jessup's statement that if it were true that he were a traitor to his own government, Emphasis ~~they~~ might well feel they could place no confidence in the statements by any of the representatives of the United States abroad; that it is a question of utmost gravity when an ambassador-at-large is held up before the rest of the world as a liar and traitor; that Senator McCarthy's charges and insinuations are not only false, but utterly irresponsible and, under the circumstances, reveal a shocking disregard for the interests of our country.

Senator Tydings read a letter from General Marshall saying he was "shocked and distressed" at the attack against Jessup. There was another letter from General Eisenhower saying no one who has known Ambassador Jessup could question his sincerity to America.

The committee wrangled about access to the State Department files. Senator McMahon and others think the Republicans don't really want the files. What they want is to be able to claim that the Administration is afraid to have them inspected. The question of opening confidential files places the Administration in a real dilemma. A refusal leaves it open to the charges of whitewash. An agreement would establish a dangerous precedent. Any effort to keep personal material secret would probably fail "for the evidence indicates that in almost every Congressional committee, there will be found one or more honorable gentlemen who qualify for the title of blabbermouth".

ERM With The News

CBS

I J 26
II D 10
II D 19

The only reference which ERM has made to the public cases of Duran, Schuman, Service, and Shapley have been abbreviated ones in the form of news items.

J.E.R.

10/27/51 issue Collier's Magazine "Preview of the War We Do Not Want".

ERM dead file.

Article contributed by ERM to Collier's "The Third World War" issue describing fictional delivery of A-Bomb over Moscow as if commenting on actual event. ERM received considerable critical comment in the form of correspondence, indicating left wing origin. Correspondence left in file. Ed

ECP

Carbon, letter, ERM to D. F. Fleming,
Vanderbilt Univ.

ERM dead file.

Acknowledges Fleming letter of 11/16/51 which expressed regret that ERM contributed to 10/27/51 Collier's issue and enclosed article from Nation. ERM comments that Fleming's article in The Nation was restrained; reaction of French friends in journalism and government was considerably less than restrained; describes Collier's article as result of a sort of collective irresponsibility; shall not contribute to subsequent ventures of that kind.

ECP

Address: "The World Crisis--Our Way Out" I K 3

The Educational Record, Vol. XXXI, No. 3,
July 1950.

Address given before annual meeting of American Council on Education in Chicago 5/6/50. Theme: Strengthening of alliance with Western Europe as most effective means of defense against Soviet Russia. Excerpts:

"We are today, I suggest, on the defensive almost everywhere in this conflict with the Soviet Union. What, then, are we to do about it? I would make, with all humility and merely as a reporter, certain suggestions. I would suggest that we remember what Clausewitz said about war, that the first duty of a nation at war is to recognize its enemies. I think it is the first duty of a nation at peace to recognize its friends, and if those friends, particularly in Western Europe, are not cast in our image economically or politically, we must still recognize them as friends. And many of our friends in Western Europe are socialists. Their economic gods are not our economic gods. They were so close to the fire that they determined to provide a fuller measure of equality, fairer shares for all, than they had had before the war. The fact that they have chosen Western democratic socialism does not deny their value to us as allies, does not deny that they share with us the traditional freedom of the individual that we inherited from them.

". . .

"We must permit our allies the maximum degree of flexibility. We must not make the mistake that the Russians made of demanding conformity down to the last detail, of trying to remake our allies into satellites, trying to persuade or force them to follow precisely our pattern.

". . .

"I think, too, that we must plan now for disaster. I think we should have mobilization laws upon the books, that the plans should be made for an alternate capital for our country. I think the plans should be made for a priority economy and that we should not, if war comes, be caught again as we have been caught in all of our previous wars.

". . .

"Above everything else, I would suggest that we must recognize the nature of the Russian strategy in this war. There is at the moment no indication that the Russians are being driven by inner compulsions or dissensions as were the Nazis. They can well play a patient game in the hope

and the belief that we will destroy ourselves, that we will bankrupt ourselves, that we will lose most of our liberties in the process of trying the [sic.] defend them.

"I think above everything else that we must recognize what is a fact--or at least I believe it to be a fact--that the right of dissent is in danger in this country; that dissent is being confused with subversion; that men who are writing and talking are less inclined than they were a few years ago to write and talk bluntly lest they be accused of disloyalty or subversion.

"We are now in a state of mild hysteria. . . . And it seems to me of the upmost importance that we protect, insofar as we can, the right of the citizen to be wrong, the right of the citizen to hold unorthodox and unpopular views.

". . . I think if I had anything to do with teaching political science these days, I would do my best to expose my classes to the transcript, or better still, recordings, of the hearings before the Senate subcommittee having to do with Owen Lattimore; in saying that, it would be none of my purpose to defend or condemn Lattimore. It would be rather to expose students of political science to the tactics that are being employed in a situation where there are no rules of evidence, no rules of procedure, and where not only one man's reputation but the reputation of scores of people may be destroyed by single, casual sentences or by loaded questions.

". . .

". . . That is that all major states in it are attempting to use the United Nations as an instrument of their own policy. It has, I think, failure and futility built into it in terms of the veto upon which we, together with the Russians, insisted.

"It has accomplished, however, much more than most of us are disposed to remember, in terms of the settlement in Iran, India and Pakistan, and Indo-China. It serves as a useful sounding board not only for us, but it gives us in turn an opportunity to examine Russian propaganda and Russian tactics. . . .

"I personally would regard it as a tragedy if we were to follow Mr. Hoover's suggestion of breaking the United Nations and attempting to expel the Communists in it.

". . .

"PRESIDENT CONANT: Would you care to comment on the proposal that we might try to work out with the Russians withdrawal of the troops from the whole of Germany without a rearmament?

"MR. MURROW: Of course, it is obvious that the Russians would withdraw behind the frontier. We would withdraw presumably to our own country. The Russians would leave somewhere in the vicinity of 150,000 people, police trained in military formation, equipped with automatic weapons and a certain amount of armored gear.

"If we were now to withdraw, I should think the danger to the Western Zone would be very great. That we must at some time withdraw seems to be inevitable. But to do it now, I think, would rank as a very considerable victory for the Russians and operate as a very discouraging factor on the Western Zone."

ECP

Letter, 6/20/47, ERM to
Joseph E. Davies.

I L

ERM dead file.

Comments on Davies' letter of 6/10/47 to Parnell Thomas. Felt that much of published material re filming of "Mission to Moscow" was distorted. Penultimate paragraph in Davies' letter "is a magnificent statement of recent history that most people have forgotten".

Davies' letter explains history of and attitude toward making film "Mission to Moscow"; expresses clear opposition to Communism. Penultimate paragraph reads:

> "It is the simple truth, and a matter of fact, that when 'Mission to Moscow' was written, and when this picture was made, it would have been difficult to find anyone in public life in Washington or any intelligent publicist in the United States, who did not recognize then that it was vital to civilization and to ourselves, that Russia should be kept fighting, and that anything that could be done to sustain their morale, their courage, and their fighting, was a service to the war effort and deserved support."

Letter, 12/3/47, ERM to James Fleming. I L

ERM dead file.

Replying to Fleming's of 10/27/47, attached. Re criticism of reporting of Hollywood investigation, so far as individuals in Hollywood hearing are concerned, ERM holds that it is no part of his responsibility to pick out the sheep from the goat. As to "Song of Russia" and "Mission to Moscow", is no movie critic but doesn't think legislation exists "which permits that a Congressional committee of inquiry should inquire into what people believe."

ECP

2/7/50, ERM to Prof. Harold C. Urey. I L

ERM dead file.

Replies to Urey letter of 1/30/50 (attached). Urey letter criticizes radio broadcast re Urey statement that with hydrogen bombs in the hands of the Russians it might be unnecessary for them to be used at all. States that ERM treatment was critical of such statement; stresses importance of hydrogen bomb as decisive weapon and states that "our failure to move energetically" was made on advice of men who also did not initiate the work on the atomic bomb.

ERM letter agrees that both are immensely concerned about the people of the United States understanding the seriousness of the situation. ERM has done his best toward that end, but encounters difficulty in not having scientific knowledge or training.

ECP

4/18/50 draft of letter to
R. M. Budd (Campbell Soup).

I G 1
I L

ERM dead file.

Replying to letter transmitting interchange of correspondence with critical ERM listeners. Shows strong resentment to failure of Campbell Soup to react more vigorously in ERM's favor on receiving letters questioning his loyalty. Refers to many personal friends, some of them high government officials, who have either been murdered or exiled by Communists in Europe. Refers to fact that ERM has been and is a whipping boy for the Moscow radio. Refers to repeated receipt of Overseas Press Club Award; to Forrestal offer in 1948 of position as Assistant Secretary of Defense; to request from McCloy to act as Assistant to the High Commissioner in Germany; refers to unsolicited letter from J. Edgar Hoover commending fairness, objectivity and accuracy of broadcasts; refers to recent broadcast with Gen. Omar Bradley, Lord Woolton, Governor Warren; refers to private invitations to lunch with Churchill.

Final letter, dated 4/20/50, omits this material. Attached to draft is letter from Budd dated 4/14/50, carbon of ERM reply as sent, and carbons of correspondence with complaining listeners.

ECP

1946 campaign
✓Judicial record

McCarthy defeated Senator Robert M. La Follette, Jr., for the Republican nomination by a vote of 207,935 to 202,557.

While the campaign was in progress, the Wisconsin Supreme Court was asked to bar McCarthy from the ballot because of the Wisconsin constitutional ban on judges running for political office during their term on the bench. The Wisconsin Supreme Court concluded, however, that it did not have jurisdiction because McCarthy was running for a federal office, but nonetheless indicated that his conduct was improper.

In 1949, the Wisconsin State Board of Bar Commissioners asked the Wisconsin Supreme Court to take disciplinary action against McCarthy for "violating the public policy of the State of Wisconsin, the Code of Judicial Ethics, his Oath of Office as Judge, and his Oath of Office as a Member of the Bar". (McCarthy, in answer to the petition, pleaded, among other defenses, that he was not a member of the American and Wisconsin State Bar Associations and was therefore not bound by their code of ethics.) The Wisconsin Supreme Court did not take disciplinary action against McCarthy, but stated that by accepting and holding the office of United States

Senator during the term for which he was elected to the Circuit Court, he had violated the terms of the Constitution and the laws of Wisconsin and his oath as Circuit Judge and attorney. (State v. McCarthy, 255 Wis. 234)

[Record 17-19]

1946 campaign
Judicial record

State v. McCarthy, 255 Wis. 234, 38 N.W.2d 679 (1949):

"PER CURIAM.

"The questions involved may be stated as follows:

"(1) Did the defendant violate his oath of office by becoming a candidate to the office of United States senator while holding the office of circuit judge of the 10th judicial circuit?

"(2) Did the defendant violate a standard of conduct established for judicial officers by running for the office of United States senator while occupying the office of circuit judge of the 10th judicial circuit of the state of Wisconsin?

"(3) Did the defendant's actions evince such moral turpitude as to warrant his suspension or disbarment as an attorney at law?

"[1] The applicable provisions of the Constitution of the State of Wisconsin and of the Wisconsin Statutes are set out in the margin.[1]

"[1] Art. VII, sec. 10, relating to compensation and qualifications of judges of the supreme and circuit courts, among other things provides: 'They shall hold no office of public trust, except a judicial office, during the term for which they are respectively elected, and all votes for either of them for any office, except a judicial office, given by the legislature or the people, shall be void. * * * '

"Art. XIII, sec. 3, provides:

"'No member of congress, nor any person holding any office of profit or trust under the United States (postmasters excepted) or under any foreign power; * * * shall be eligible to any office of trust, profit or honor in this state.'

"[Under this section the acceptance of any office of

"On behalf of the petitioners it is argued that 'the vice sought to be prevented by the adoption of the constitutional provision, and the laws enacted pursuant thereto, is clearly shown by defendant's conduct here under consideration. No challenge has, or can be made as to the validity of the statutory provision when applied to state nonjudicial

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profit or trust under the United States vacates the office of a state officer. State ex rel. Hazelton v. Turner, 1918, 168 Wis. 170, 169 N.W. 304.]

"Sec. 256.02(1) Stats., provides:

"Every person elected or appointed justice of the supreme court, or judge of the circuit court, * * * shall take, subscribe, and file the following oath:

"'State of Wisconsin, }
"County of .... } SS.

"'I, the undersigned, who have been elected (or appointed) to the office of ....., but have not yet entered upon the duties thereof, do solemnly swear that I will support the constitution of the United States and the constitution of the state of Wisconsin; that I will administer justice without respect to persons and will faithfully and impartially discharge the duties of said office to the best of my ability. Subscribed and sworn to before me this ... day of ....., 19...

.....
(Signature)'

"Sec. 256.29(1) provides:

"'(1) Attorney's Oath. Each person admitted to practice as a member of the bar of any court of this state shall subscribe the roll of attorneys to be kept by the clerk and shall in open court take an oath or affirmation of the tenor following, to-wit: I do solemnly swear:

"'I will support the constitution of the United States and the constitution of the state of Wisconsin;

"'I will maintain the respect due to courts of justice and judicial officers;

offices. The breach of official trust and obligation is as great when applied to a candidate for the office of United States Senator as it would be if applied to one for Governor of the state. In either situation, to have a judge passing upon the rights of litigants appearing before him and using his judicial position and power to influence votes for his candidacy and others of his political party, constituted a violation of the State Constitution and State laws and was in direct conflict with the duties and obligations of the trust which he assumed by his oath of office.'

"I will not counsel or maintain any suit or proceeding which shall appear to me to be unjust, or any defense, except such as I believe to be honestly debatable under the law of the land;

"I will employ, for the purpose of maintaining the causes confided to me, such means only as are consistent with truth and honor, and will never seek to mislead the judge or jury by any artifice or false statement of fact or law;

"'I will maintain the confidence and preserve inviolate the secrets of my client and will accept no compensation in connection with his business except from him or with his knowledge and approval;

"'I will abstain from all offensive personality and advance no fact prejudicial to the honor or reputation of a party or witness, unless required by the justice of the cause with which I am charged;

"'I will never reject, from any consideration personal to myself, the cause of the defenseless or oppressed, or delay any man's cause for lucre or malice. So help me God.'

"Sec. 256.29(2) provides:

"'Unprofessional Conduct. It is hereby declared to be unprofessional conduct and grounds of disbarment for any attorney to violate any of the provisions of the oath prescribed by this section;

" * * *."

"If the word 'office' as used in the quoted provision of sec. 10 Art. VII, which provides that judges shall hold no office of public trust except a judicial office, applies to the office of United States senator, it is clear that the defendant violated the quoted provision of sec. 10.

"We held in State ex rel. Wettengel v. Zimmerman, 1946, 249 Wis. 237, 24 N.W.2d 504, that the state either by constitutional provision or statutory enactment could not prescribe qualifications in addition to those prescribed by the constitution of the United States of a candidate for nomination for the office of United States senator, and for that reason the provisions of sec. 10, art. VII were ineffective against such candidate for the office either at a primary or general election, and for that reason the supreme court had no jurisdiction to cancel a certificate of nomination issued by the State Board of Canvassers merely because the nominee therein named was a circuit judge.

"That as applied to a candidate for the office of United States senator the times, places and manner of holding elections for that office are those prescribed by the legislature of each state and therefore the right of Joseph R. McCarthy to have his name appear upon the ballots at the general election was a right guaranteed to him under the laws of the United States and could not be increased or diminished by a state action. In the opinion in that case the matter of dual citizenship under our form of government was dealt with and what was said there need not be repeated here.

"In this case we are dealing with a pure state matter over which the federal government neither has nor claims any jurisdiction. We are here inquiring into the conduct, duties and obligations of the defendant as an attorney at law under the laws of the state of Wisconsin. The provision of sec. 10 art. VII that a circuit judge shall hold no office of public trust except a judicial office applied to the defendant before he became a candidate for the office of United States senator. His obligation under the provisions of sec. 10 were in full force and effect when he decided to become a candidate for the office of United States senator. While the state could not destroy or limit the defendant's right to become a candidate for that high office, it could and did prescribe his obligations as an attorney at law and a judge of the circuit court. That the office of a senator of the United States is an office of public trusts [sic] admits of no doubt and needs no discussion.

"[2] On behalf of the defendant it is argued that the decision in State ex rel. Wettengel v. Zimmerman, supra, limited the scope of the public policy declared in the constitution and the statutory law of this state and that under the terms of that decision the defendant was completely justified in relying upon it as a guide for his subsequent conduct as well as a vindication of his conduct previous to that time; that all of the facts in relation to the matter were within the knowledge of the State Board of Bar Commissioners who took no action in the matter until a complaint was filed in this proceeding.

"The argument seems to be an attempt to interpose a bar to this proceeding on the ground that the State Board of Bar Commissioners and the courts of the state of Wisconsin have been derelict in failing to bring this matter up for consideration for more than two years. It is considered that this argument has no merit.

"The case of State ex rel. Wettengel v. Zimmerman, supra, was an original action in this court in which it was sought to enjoin the defendant from having his name placed upon the official ballot at the November election as a candidate for the office of United States senator. After hearing, this court dismissed the petition for the reason that it had no jurisdiction to cancel a certificate issued by the State Board of Canvassers and to compel it to issue one designating Robert M. La Follette as the candidate of the Republican party.

"On behalf of the defendant it is further argued that in offering himself as a candidate for the office of United States senator at the November election he pursued a course of conduct which he had a clear legal right to do as is admitted by state's counsel and which was not prohibited by any public policy established in the state of Wisconsin. It is considered that this proposition is unsound so far as public policy is concerned and does not touch the question at issue in this case. Whether the Board of Bar Commissioners did or did not move promptly is immaterial here. However, it should be said that the matter was brought before the Board by petition filed July 7, 1948. Thereafter the Board proceeded with commendable promptness. It can not be urged that the defendant has lost any rights by reason of the lapse of time, nor does the contention made on his behalf that he was misled by the decision of this court in State ex rel. Wettengel v. Zimmerman, supra, deserve discussion. His conduct from the beginning was in clear disregard of the provisions of sec. 10, art. VII and sec. 256.02(2) Stats., which provide that the judge of any court of record shall be ineligible to hold any

office of public trust except a judicial office during the term for which he was elected or appointed, except as provided by sec. 49.51(1), which last named provision has no application to the facts of this case.

"We discover no support in reason or authority for the argument that there is a limitation either in the decisions of this court or in the statutes of this state on the public policy declared by the constitution and statutes. The argument that the constitutional provisions and the statutory enactment of a state cannot restrict the right of a member of the state judiciary to seek an office under the federal government is sound, but that in no way limits or affects the application of the constitution and the statutes so far as state control over its officers is concerned.

"[3,4] While a circuit judge may become a candidate under the laws of the United States for the office of United States senator at an election held and supervised under state law, he nevertheless does so in defiance of the laws of the state which are not effective to prevent his candidacy but his conduct is nevertheless a clear violation of provisions of the constitution and the statute. As pointed out in State ex rel. Wettengel v. Zimmerman, supra, those who opposed the candidacy of the defendant did not give full weight to the fact that citizens of this country are subject to two governments. It is apparent that the defendant fell into the same error.[2]

"We again call attention to the fact that the constitution provides that a circuit judge shall hold no office of public trust except a judicial office '<u>during the term for which they are respectively elected</u>.' Sec. 256.02(2) is to the same effect.

"In this case the defendant was not only a candidate for the office of United States senator but was a holder of that office during the term for which he was elected circuit judge, although he was not a holder of the office of

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"[2] In this connection the case of McDougal v. Green, 335 U.S. 281, 69 S.Ct. 1, 93 Law Ed.____, is called to our attention. That case dealt with the power of a state to prescribe the conditions under which a new political party might become entitled to a place upon an official ballot. So far as we are able to see it has no bearing upon the present controversy.

circuit judge and United States senator contemporaneously.

"Under the facts of this case we can reach no other conclusion than that the defendant by accepting and holding the office of United States senator during the term for which he was elected circuit judge did so in violation of the terms of the constitution and laws of the state of Wisconsin, and in so doing violated his oath as a circuit judge and as an attorney at law.

"It is the contention of petitioners that while the decisions of this court do not make a violation of the code of ethics a ground for disbarment a violation of the principles therein enunciated is not infrequently used as a ground for disciplinary action.

"This court said in Hepp v. Petrie, 1925, 185 Wis. 350, 354, 200 N.W. 857, 859:

"'Lawyers of the English-speaking world have from time immemorial set up certain standards and observed certain practices in their relations with one another. Violation of these established practices, or a failure to adhere to the standards so set up, has always been considered unprofessional conduct and, where moral turpitude is involved, is ground for disbarment. * * *

"'The latest and perhaps the most complete statement of these matters is to be found in Canons of Ethics, adopted by the American Bar Association. * * * Such authority as these canons have is derived, not from the fact that they are approved by the American Bar Association, but because they are statements of principles and rules accepted and acknowledged by reputable attorneys wherever the common law of England obtains, and are recognized and applied by courts in proper cases. Ellis v. Frawley, 165 Wis. 381, 161 N.W. 364.'

"[5,6] It is almost universally held that misconduct of an attorney which discloses a lack of moral qualifications may furnish a ground for disbarment, and the fact that an attorney may be a judicial officer at the time of breach of his duties as a judge does not exempt him from disciplinary action by a court where proper grounds therefor appear. This matter was dealt with at length in In re Stolen, 1927, 193 Wis. 602, 214 N.W. 379, 216 N.W. 127, 55 A.L.R. 1355, and what was said there need not be repeated here.

"Counsel for the petitioners called to our attention the fact that when Chief Justice Charles E. Hughes became a candidate for the office of President of the United States he resigned his office. In that case there was no constitutional provisions or statutory enactment applicable to the situation of Judge Hughes such as we have here in this state. His sense of propriety did not permit him to be a candidate for a public office while holding a judicial office.

"In response to this suggestion counsel for the defendant called attention to the fact that vice president Alvin [sic] W. Barkley, at the time of his election to the United States senate, was judge of McCracken county court, Kentucky, and served as such until his election to congress. Senator Homer Ferguson was circuit judge for Wayne county, Michigan, and served as such judge until elected to the United States senate on November 3, 1942. Other similar examples are called to our attention. The conduct of other persons under the same or similar circumstances may have some bearing upon the question of the moral quality of the defendant's behavior but are not relevant on the question of the legal consequences of defendant's conduct.

"Canon 30 of the canons of judicial ethics, adopted by the American Bar Association, is set out in the margin.[3]

"[3] While holding a judicial position he (a judge) should not become an active candidate either at a party primary or at a general election for any office other than a judicial office. If a judge should decide to become a candidate for any office not judicial, he should resign in order that it cannot be said that he is using the power or prestige of his judicial position to promote his own candidacy or the success of his party.

"'If a judge becomes a candidate for judicial office, he should refrain from all conduct which might tend to arouse reasonable suspicion that he is using the power or prestige of his judicial position to promote his candidacy or the success of his party. He should not permit others to do anything in behalf of his candidacy which would reasonably lead to such suspicion.'

"No facts are alleged in the petition which charge that the defendant is guilty of any violation of Canon 30 except his failure to resign when he became a candidate for office of United States senator. Under the provisions of the constitution and statutes of this state resignation would not have changed the result. It is holding an office of public trust during the term for which he is elected that is forbidden.

"[7] While it is true that the canons of ethics, both those governing the conduct of lawyers and of judges, set up standards which should be faithfully observed by those to whom they are applicable they do not amount to rules of conduct for which a lawyer or a judge may be punished as for a misdemeanor or a crime. A violation of the canons may or may not involve moral turpitude, depending on the circumstances.

"[8] In his answer the defendant admits the facts alleged in the petition. His denials set forth in paragraphs 5, 6, and 7 of the answer raise only questions of law. The only matters alleged by way of excuse or justification are that the defendant ran for the office of United States senator openly and without concealment and that defendant's actions were never complained of or critisized by the Board of State Bar Commissioners. A violation of the law has the same legal consequences whether it is done openly or surreptitiously.

"[9] This is a special proceeding under sec. 256.28, Stats., relating to the suspension and disbarment of attorneys. In these cases punishment is not and should not be a primary consideration. Under sec. 256.28 a lawyer found guilty of unprofessional conduct or an act involving moral turpitude may be suspended or disbarred from practice, but no other penalty is provided. The question for consideration is: Does the evidence in this case show that the defendant is so lacking in moral sense and appreciation of the relation of attorney and client that he should not be permitted in the public interest to continue the practice of law? Or, stated in other words: Does the evidence show such a degree of moral turpitude on the part of the defendant as to make him an unsafe person to practice law? State v. Kern, 1930, 203 Wis. 178, 233 N.W. 629.

"[10] No valid excuse or justification can be offered for the defendant's violation of the oath which he took as an attorney and as a circuit judge. While the viola-

tion was clearly in connection with defendant's office as circuit judge, in this proceeding this court is not concerned with the conduct of the defendant as a circuit judge except as it bears upon the question of his moral turpitude. The defendant is not charged nor are there any facts alleged which show that he has been guilty of unprofessional conduct as that term is defined in sec. 256.29(2) Stats.[4]

"While section 30 of the judicial canons declares that when a judge seeks a nonjudicial office he should resign, and thus sets up a standard of conduct which in the public interest should be observed, the state has not considered it a matter of such importance as to embody it in its statutory law.

"By ch. 134 of the Laws of 1923 it was provided that the office of any judge should become vacant upon his becoming a candidate for or accepting nomination for election or appointment to any office of public trust other than a judicial office during the term for which he was elected or appointed. It was further provided that any judge who accepted the nomination for election or appointment to any office other than a judicial office during his term should be guilty of a felony and might be punished by imprisonment in state prison for not more than five years nor less than one, or fined not more than $5000 nor less than $1000, or both such fine and imprisonment. It was further provided that such candidacy or acceptance of election or appointment should deprive a judge of his rights as a citizen and that he should thereafter be ineligible for any state, county or municipal office of public trust until pardoned. These provisions were repealed by ch. 180 of the Laws of 1943, and no enactment creating a similar offense has since been passed.

"[4](2) Unprofessional Conduct. It is hereby declared to be unprofessional conduct and grounds of disbarment for any attorney to violate any of the provisions of the oath prescribed by this section; or to stir up strife and litigation; or to hunt up causes of action and inform thereof, in order to be employed to bring suit, or to breed litigation by seeking out those having claims for personal injuries or other grounds of action in order to secure them as clients; or to employ agents or runners for like purposes or to pay or reward, directly or indirectly, those who bring or influence the bringing of such cases or business to his office, or to remunerate policemen, court or prison officials, physicians, hospital attaches or others who may succeed in influencing the criminal, the sick, the injured, the ignorant or others to seek his professional services.

"We are not unmindful of the fact that James R. Doolittle of Racine was elected circuit judge in 1853, and in 1857 was elected to the United States senate and accepted the office and served for six years; that Charles M. Webb, a circuit judge, became a candidate for the United States senate; he was subsequently reelected circuit judge and held that office until his death; that Henry Graas, a circuit judge, was candidate for the office of congressman and after his defeat was repeatedly reelected circuit judge and held that office until his death.

"The candidacy of a circuit judge in effect pledges him to accept the office if elected. The constitutional provision was intended to deter judges from political activities and there is little difference in the moral quality of being a candidate and holding the office if elected. It may have been argued that sec. 10 applied only to state offices of public trust. The subsequent language of the section that all votes cast for circuit judges by the legislature or the people makes perfectly clear that the office of United States senator was included. At the time of the adoption of the constitution United States senators were elected by the legislature. Neither the defendant nor the persons named could plead ignorance of the law.

"In our society moral standards are derived in large part from Christian teaching and are reflected more or less accurately in what is termed public opinion, which is the consensual judgment of the general public. In determining the moral quality of defendant's conduct some consideration must be given to the character of the oath which he took.

"[11] The official oath to which the defendant subscribed does not affirm the present existence of a fact, and relates to the future conduct of the affiant. The affiant solemnly promises that <u>he will</u> support the constitution of the United States and the constitution of the State of Wisconsin, and that <u>he will</u> administer justice without respect to persons, and that <u>he will</u> faithfully and impartially discharge the duties of his office. Such an oath is called a promissory oath. There is a violation of the oath if and when the affiant accepts an office of public trust other than a judicial office.

"Violation of an oath of office does not constitute perjury as that offense is defined in the law. State v. Evans, 1938, 229 Wis. 405, 282 N.W. 555. 2 Bishop, sec. 1026, p. 770.

"In 1 Hawkins, P. C. 431, first published in 1716, a standard text on English criminal law, the rule is stated thus:

"'Also from what has been said it appears that the notion of perjury is confined to such public oaths only as affirm or deny some matter of fact contrary to the knowledge of the party; and therefore, it doth not extend to any promissory oaths whatsoever. From which it clearly follows that no officer, public or private, who neglects to execute his office in pursuance of his oath, or acts contrary to the purport of it, is indictable for perjury in respect to such oath; yet is is certain that his offence is highly aggravated by being contrary to his oath, and therefore that he is liable to the severer fine on that account.'

"See 4 Blackstone, p. 137.

"The violation of the official oath is not grounds for impeachment, which is a matter over which the courts have no jurisdiction. 43 Am.Jur. sec. 179, p. 29. Impeachment lies only for high crimes and misdemeanors unless statutes provide otherwise.

"Moral turpitude, which is the only ground alleged as a basis for discipline in this case, has been defined as follows:

"'Moral turpitude is an act of baseness, vileness, or depravity in the private and social duties which a man owes to his fellow men, or to society in general, contrary to the accepted and customary rule of right and duty between man and man.'

"In re Henry, 1908, 15 Idaho 755, 99 P. 1054, 1055, same case 21 L.R.A., N.S., 207.

"In 27 Words and Phrases, Perm. Ed., page 553 et seq. under the title 'Moral Turpitude' may be found many cases in which the meaning of that phrase has been considered. A number of quotations from the decisions of courts are given under the heading 'Disbarment Proceedings.'

"In United States ex rel. Ciarello v. Reimer, D.C., 32 F. Supp. 797, it was held:

"'The term ["moral turpitude"] is vague and indefinite but imports an act of baseness, vileness or depravity in

private and social duties which a man owes to his fellowmen or to society in general contrary to the accepted and customary rule of right and duty between man and man.'

"In the case of United States v. Carrollo, D.C., 30 F. Supp. 3, it was held that one may be guilty of a felony or infamous crime without being guilty of crime involving moral turpitude so as to authorize deportation.

"In In re Jacoby, 74 Ohio App. 147, 57 N.E.2d 932, 936, it is held:

"'Moral turpitude is anything done contrary to justice, honesty, principle or good morals. It is also defined as an act of baseness, vileness, or depravity in private or social duties which a man owes to his fellow men or to society in general contrary to accepted and customary rules of right and duties between man and man.'

"Whether a person is guilty of moral turpitude depends upon the circumstances of each case. The same rule cannot be applied to every case involving a violation of law.

"[12] While the act of the defendant subjects him to just censure it is one in a class by itself which is not likely to be repeated. It did not meet the condemnation of a majority of the voters at the 1946 election. The manner in which the legislature dealt with breaches of the constitution and statute relating to judges discloses that it withdrew its first judgment and left the matter, so far as it was concerned, to the condemnation of the electorate. In the act repealing ch. 134, Laws of 1923, the legislature did not in any way characterize an act done in violation of the constitutional provision under consideration.

"The defendant practiced law for many years and in his relation to his clients and the courts, so far as the record shows, he has never been derelict in the discharge of his duties and obligations as a lawyer. While the defendant is guilty of an infraction of the moral code, upon reason and authority it cannot be said that under the facts of this case the failure of the defendant to keep his solemn promise to support the constitution made when he became an attorney and a circuit judge discloses such a degree of moral turpitude that he is unfit to discharge the duties of an attorney at law.

"The petitioners demurred to the answer of the de-

fendant. This demurrer raised the question of the sufficiency of the petition. The conclusion which we have reached requires us to hold that the petition does not state facts sufficient to warrant the court in adjudging that the defendant be suspended or disbarred. For the reasons stated the petition must be dismissed.

"The petition is dismissed."

Pegler column for Friday, 3/26/54. II E 14

News Clips.

Spills vitreol on Drew Pearson, Washington Post, Greenspun and some others. Mostly devoted to Greenspun and his gambling and underworld contacts.

ECP

Income tax difficulties
Financial matters

The report submitted to the Wisconsin Secretary of State by the Joe McCarthy for U.S. Senate Club showed that substantial contributions had been made to the club by McCarthy's close relatives. McCarthy's father, Timothy, his brother, Howard, and his brother-in-law, Roman Kornely, were listed as contributors of $4,000, $10,600 and $3,000, respectively. The income tax returns of those persons failed to show incomes sufficient to support such substantial contributions.

McCarthy paid the following state income taxes during the years 1935-1945:

Year		Income	State Tax Paid
1935		$ 777.81	None
1936		2,059.24	6.32
1937		2,500.00	14.01
1938		2,475.00	10.28
1939		1,055.00	None
1940	(Circuit Judge)	8,000.00	267.54
1941		8,000.00	196.41
1942		5,333.36	86.84
1943		42,353.92	2,677.54
1944		5,527.14	27.50
1945		9,231.55	135.05

McCarthy did not originally file a 1943 return. He appended a note to a blank return in which he stated that during that year he was serving in the armed forces of the U.S. and did not spend any time in the states. He

also stated that he did not have any property in the state and did not receive any income from within the state. McCarthy did not mention that he netted $40,560.92 from speculation in securities in the year 1943 as well as $1,293 in dividends. McCarthy did not pay a tax upon that income until ordered to do so by Assessor of Incomes J. L. Tibbetts in 1947, at which time he paid a tax of $2,459.54, plus interest of $218.32.

With respect to McCarthy's reluctance to file a return on his 1943 income, it is to be noted that: (a) McCarthy was out of the state in 1942 and 1944, but did not claim non-residence for those years; (b) the only year in which he claimed non-residence as a ground for not paying his income tax was 1943, the year in which he made a $40,560 profit in the stock market; and (c) McCarthy was born, raised and educated in Wisconsin, still held a judgeship in Wisconsin, and was then planning to run for U.S. Senator from Wisconsin.

On 2/13/47, it was reported that the Bureau of Internal Revenue had levied an additional assessment of $3,500 on McCarthy's income for 1943.

McCarthy's state income tax returns for the period 1946-1949 are as follows:

Year	Income	State Income Tax Paid
1946	$ 7,334.00	None
1947	13,537.51	None
1948	28,947.08	None
1949	17,120.00	None*
	$ 66,938.59	

* Two years later McCarthy paid $134.23 on 1949 income on orders of the State Tax Commission.

McCarthy was able to report the substantial income indicated and yet pay no income tax by showing losses from stock speculation in the 4-year period of $51,298.78 and interest payments of $18,575.96. He accordingly claimed losses of $69,874.74 as against income of $66,938.59. His income, stock losses and interest payments during that period were listed on his returns as follows:

Year	Income	Stock Losses	Interest Paid
1946	$ 7,334.00	$ 8,080.91	$ 313.00
1947	13,537.51	15,046.40	None
1948	28,947.08	25,881.47	3,090.42
1949	17,120.00	2,290.00	15,172.54
Total	$ 66,938.59	$ 51,298.78	$ 18,575.96

If the 1949 interest deduction of $15,172.54 were capitalized at 4%, McCarthy was in debt in the sum of $379,313.50; his interest deduction for 1948 would indicate an indebtedness of $77,260.50--a difference of $302,053. In his 1949 return, McCarthy reported an interest payment to the Appleton State Bank of $9,150, or a principal amount

at 4% of $228,750.

When McCarthy filed his 1950 return, it was noted that the deduction for interest fell off from $15,172 claimed in 1949 to $2,852.60 in 1950. His 1950 return reported total income of $22,025--$12,500 from his salary as a Senator, $6,675 in dividends and $2,850 in speaking fees. He paid a tax of $1,175.78.

[Record 26-33]

Summary of information re Benton Suit. II A 16

J. H. Pickering.

Summarizes information obtained from Van Arkel in McCarthy v. Benton litigation file. Van Arkel file includes supporting material on all 10 of Benton's "cases".

ECP

3/15/54 clipping, IUE-C.I.O News.

Benton

Received with Benton letter of 3/18/54. Ad placed by International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (C.I.O.) headed "Some People Do Believe!" Reprints copy of letter, 3/6/54, addressed to McC stating belief in Benton charges, signed by approximately 80 persons.

ECP

Proof, Ad, appearing in N.Y. Post 3/16/54. II A 16

Benton

Advertisement placed by Artistic Modern Furniture stating belief in Benton charges. Headed "McCARTHY, Whom Do you Think You're Fooling?" Asks people to write in support.

ECP

Undated proof of advertisement expected to be placed in N.Y. Times and Tribune during week of 3/20/54.

Benton

Full-page ad "Wanted: Believers that 'Senator McCarthy practiced calculated fraud and deceit on the United States Senate and on the people of the country'". Sponsored by National Committee for an Effective Congress. Recaps Benton charges and asks for people to write in support.

ECP

Letter, 3/18/54, Benton to ERM. II A 16

ERM

Comments on absurdity of McC withdrawal of libel suit. Has received scores of letters, many of them copied to McC, stating belief in Benton charges. Suggests ERM mention Benton testimony on 4/6/54 program and offered to send copies.

ECP

Letter, R. C. Hottelet to ERM, 3/20/54. II A 17

ERM

Comments on Cohn/Schine aspects of McC dispute and suggests contact Bedell Smith to see if he has anything to add. Attached: Press dispatch dated 6/22/53 to CBS, Church for Collingwood and Murrow relating to RIAS incident and effect of McCarthy action in announcing his committee would call director Gordon Ewing to Washington for questioning, declaring that during the June 17 uprising in Eastern Germany.

ECP

Washington Post articles. II B 2

News Clips.

Washington Post articles from issues of 11/10/53, 11/11/53, 11/12/53 and 11/14/53, re Monmouth investigation.

ECP

Photostat of editorial from Trenton, N.J., Times repeated in the Denver Post (edition not shown).

II E 1

News Clips.

Editorial captioned "Is Senator Joe McCarthy Really a Communist?". Points out various ways in which McCarthy's activities give aid and comfort to the Communists; that McC has yet to uncover a communist in a high or important place. Asks, in light of this record, if Senator McCarthy is not really a Communist himself?

ECP

Memo, 4/7/54, Rebe Holder to ERM, cc. BRS. II F 5

McDonough.

Cites official Catholic magazine "America" run by Jesuits. States that McCarthy calls the magazine communistic and contains letters from him in issues of 11/22, 12/13, 12/20/52 and 1/3/53.

ECP

"Counterattack" for 9/22/50.

Communism--1950--F.S.

III A 2
III B
III D
III E

"Jay Gorney joins staff of CBS" with William N. Robson (named in "Red Channels"). Lists Gorney's Left Wing affiliations, including: Sponsor of Waldorf "peace" conference; contribution of material to "Show Time for Wallace", produced by Progressive Citizens of America; did music and sketches for A.L.P.'s production of "Broadway in a Democratic Key"; sang "Bill of Rights" song at A.L.P. meeting for Marcantonio; etc.; etc.

Attacks The Weavers TV program, and protests meetings over cancellation resulting from earlier Counterattack attack (6/9/50).

What to do: Write to F. M. Flynn, station WPIX, re The Weavers; write to Stanton re Jay Gorney.

Attached: Note to "Dear Frank", signature illegible. "For Gossakes! Clean up our TV."

ECP

Letter, ACLU to Stanton, 2/3/50.

Communism--1950--F.S.

III A 3
III D
III E

Noticed from press reports that Paul Draper shots were being deleted from kinescope version of Ed Sullivan program for 1/22/50. Would appreciate being advised as to whether these reports are true.

ecp

"COUNTERATTACK"

6/6/52

III A 3
III B
III F

ACLU filed a petition with the FCC charging four major radio and TV chains, including CBS, with blacklisting performers and other persons on political grounds. The petition charged that the networks and stations named had demonstrated "lack of qualification" to hold licenses because they had blacklisted persons on political grounds. License renewals were withdrawn on Commissioner Hennock's motion to reconsider, and the stations and networks concerned were given only temporary licenses.

JER

"Counterattack" for 1/13/50.

III B
III D 3

Communism--1950--F.S.

Page 2: Criticizes appearance of Corwin and Ferrer on Philharmonic program for CBS. Cites record of each, stating that CBS leaped to Corwin's defense when his name was mentioned during Coplon trial. Urges readers to write Paley.

ECP

"Counterattack" for 9/22/50.

Communism--1950--F.S.

III A 2
III B
III D
III E

"Jay Gerney joins staff of CBS" with William N. Robson (named in "Red Channels"). Lists Gerney's Left Wing affiliations, including: Sponsor of Waldorf "peace" conference; contribution of material to "Show Time for Wallace", produced by Progressive Citizens of America; did music and sketches for A.L.P.'s production of "Broadway in a Democratic Key"; sang "Bill of Rights" song at A.L.P. meeting for Marcantonio; etc.; etc.

Attacks The Weavers TV program, and protests meetings over cancellation resulting from earlier Counterattack attack (6/9/50).

What to do: Write to F. M. Flynn, station WPIX, re The Weavers; write to Stanton re Jay Gerney.

Attached: Note to "Dear Frank", signature illegible. "For Gossakes! Clean up our TV."

ECP

"Counterattack", 1/5/51, p. 4. III B
III F

Communism--Ream file.

Reports on protests from left-wing groups received by CBS over security questionnaire, put in effect 12/20/51. Reports that Daily Worker, Radio Writers Guild, Authors League of America protested adoption of the measure. Comments that most Communists will willingly sign a false statement to protect their position, and that CBS has not announced what action it will take on the questionnaires. "CBS should check its employees' loyalty statements against ["Counterattack and "Red Channels"] and other records", since questionnaire, unaided, has limited utility.

ECP

"COUNTERATTACK"

III B
III D 2

5/23/52

"CITY HOSPITAL" is a CBS-TV dramatic show sponsored by Carter's Little Liver Pills (alternate Tuesdays, 9:00-9:30 p.m., EDT).

Curt Conway, a defender of Moscow purge trials of 1938, directs this program. Cites other instances of Conway's CP activities. Ralph Alswang is assistant scene designer for the show. Like ~~Conway he~~ has been active in NCASP, the CP's top cultural front. Alswang sponsored phony Waldorf "Peace" Conference in 1949 and other CP activities.

Martin Ritt was featured in role on CITY HOSPITAL program this week. In 1947 he helped several CP controlled locals of the Retail Wholesale and Department Store Union stage their annual show. Like Conway, he backed the NCASP, and was a sponsor of the Waldorf "Peace" Conference and was billed last year as a lecturer at the CP's own theatre training center, the school run by People's Drama.

2/1/52

Curt Conway, an instructor at the Drama Lab and who has front record, is Director of Casey Crime Photographer. He also directed the CBS-TV Workshop program on January 27. Similar statement in COUNTERATTACK 1/4/52.

1/4/52

Sidney Lumet, Director of DANGER (CBS-TV) is also a member of Drama Lab's faculty. CBS should ask Conway and Lumet why they are giving their services to Drama Lab. Mere fact that they are on faculty does not mean they are Communists or pro-Communists, but the record shows clearly that Drama Lab is run by Communists and fronters, and is helping CP.

Curt Conway and Martin Ritt were dropped from CBS's talent payroll.

JER

"COUNTERATTACK"

6/6/52

III A
III B
III F

ACLU filed a petition with the FCC charging four major radio and TV chains, including CBS, with blacklisting performers and other persons on political grounds. The petition charged that the networks and stations named had demonstrated "lack of qualification" to hold licenses because they had blacklisted persons on political grounds. License renewals were withdrawn on Commissioner Hennock's motion to reconsider, and the stations and networks concerned were given only temporary licenses.

JER

"COUNTERATTACK"

7/25/52

The CBS network featured a full-page ad drawn by Ben Shahn in leading newspapers. Ad plugged CBS's coverage of the Republican and Democratic Conventions sponsored by Westinghouse Electric Corporation. Shahn had done art work for -- listing CP publications. Shahn has backed many CP fronters. He drew illustrations for lying ad in New York Times of 1/15/51 attacking Government's refusal to issue passport to Paul Robeson and Howard Fast. It defended the Hollywood ten, attacked COUNTERATTACK's book "RED CHANNELS" and publicized a story used by Communists for propaganda purposes. Drew cover illustrations for The Nation's issues smearing U.S. as one step from Facism. Drew key progressive party poster mocking Republican and Democratic Parties.

8/8/52

CBS'S EXECUTIVE DEFENDS NETWORK USE OF COMMUNIST FRONTER.

J. L. Van Volkenburg, President of CBS Television, subsequently wrote to COUNTERATTACK and said CBS had paid "full cost of ad . . . contrary to COUNTERATTACK's statement that Westinghouse paid part of cost". says if a mistake, this information came from CBS itself. Van Volkenburg's letter important because it is an indirect ~~offense~~ defense of CBS's use of Ben Shahn to illustrate its ad. Van Volkenburg went out of his way to praise Shahn as being "universally recognized as one of the greatest living painters". Derives implication from CBS statement that ad was to build "maximum audiences" that as long as CBS is working for a noble cause it doesn't matter that a CP fronter gets a big sum of money from CBS. Van Volkenburg letter a weak attempt to defend CBS's error by beating around the bush and subtly whitewashing Ben Shahn.

JER

III B
III D 2, 3

"COUNTERATTACK"

9/26/52

"DANGER", TV Show, Seems To Be Appropriately Named.

"DANGER", a TV program featured on the CBS network each Tuesday at 10:00 p.m., EDT, has employed the following people in the last few months. Will Lee, Martin Ritt, Salem Ludwig, Howard Wierum, Walter Bernstein, Lee Grant, Eli Wallach, Alice Childress, Lou Gilbert and Sidney Lumet, Director of "DANGER". Cites facts as to each named person purporting to show ~~supporting the show~~, Communist leanings. "CBS itself produces and packages DANGER for the Block Drug Company. Both the network and the Drug Company are equally responsible for the many CP fronters being subsidized by this program." Ritt and Bernstein have been dropped from CBS's talent payroll.

JER

"COUNTERATTACK"

III B
III D 2

10/10/52

Anti-Communists in Radio Writers Guild ~~incorporated~~ encouraged by testimony of Owen Vincent, Radio Director and former CP member who testified before House Committee on Un-American activities in Hollywood last week and named a number of Guild members he had known as Communists. They are: Abe Burrows, well-known radio and TV comedian, and others.

Mr. Burrows has been dropped from CBS's talent payroll.

JER

"COUNTERATTACK"

III B
III E

4/3/53

Camel Cigarette Program features identified Communist agitator on March 25. Albert Ottenheimer had a role in the weekly MAN AGAINST CRIME program (CBS-TV). Says, that Ottenheimer was identified as a CP member by two former party members before the Canwell Committee of the State of Washington. Cites Ottenheimer's connection with the CP's repertory playhouse and other instances to show his CP activities.

JER

"COUNTERATTACK"

III B
III D 2

5/29/53

Long Island University's Polk awards, ~~which~~ are named after George Polk, CBS correspondent who was murdered by the Communists in Greece, naming the awards after him was ordered because Polk had written for a pro-CP news letter in this country, sponsored the anti-Communist Government of Greece and also the U.S. policy of helping the Greece Government fight the Communist who were trying to overthrow it by civil war.

COUNTERATTACK pointed out the peculiar slate of some of LIU's Polk awards in its issue of February 22, 1952. Goes on to cite several instances in which awards were given to alleged Pro-Communists.

JER

III B
III E

"COUNTERATTACK"

6/12/53

On May 21, the Four-Star Play House (CBS-TV), sponsored by the Singer Sewing Machine Company, featured a play by Milton Merlin. Article goes on to list several activities of Merlin allegedly showing a front record and stating that he is a top official of a union, Radio Writers Guild, found to be dominated by Communists.

JER

12/25/53

Survey shows that Tempo Productions, producers of Communist-serving records, has profited in the last year from work done for the following business corporations--and lists CBS-Columbia, Inc. (TV receivers) among, approximately, 20 others.

JER

"COUNTERATTACK"

1/29/54

ACLU asked FCC for rehearing on its 1952 petition that CBS and other networks be denied renewal of their licenses because they are firing or refusing to hire Communists and fronters.

JER

"COUNTERATTACK"

1/15/54

I F
III B

ERM featured Theodore White, author of the recently published book "Fire In The Ashes; Europe in Mid-Century", on his Person-to-Person TV show and plugged his book. The book had been praised by Raymond Graham Swing and many others. Rest of two pages is primarily devoted to showing alleged pro-communist leanings of Theodore White.

JER

Counterattack, Vol. XIII, No. 12, 3/19/54. I F
III B

CBS

Why does the Communist press praise ERM so highly? No radio or TV commentator has received as much praise from the CP press during past few months as ERM. Daily Worker consistently plugs "See It Now" and "Person to Person"; news commentary has recently been getting same favorable treatment. ERM criticized State Dep't for not embracing Churchill's proposal of talks with Malenkov which was supported by Communists. Attacked Brownell on H. D. White case and misrepresented basis on which White received Federal Grand Jury clearance in '47. Accused Eisenhower and Brownell of asserting that a dead man was a spy without producing evidence. Received high praise from CP for Radulovich program. McC program is example of devious techniques: Misquotation of McC as to CLU being listed as a subversive front (refers to H.R. # 2290, 71st Cong., 1931; Mass. H.R. # 2100 (1938); N.Y. Leg. Rep. # 90 (1939); 1943 and 1948 Calif. committee reports; Browder testimony in '39). Deplores "guilt by the association" but used "innocence by association" in connection with IIE charges. Was on Advisory Committee of the Bureau of University Travel promoting Russian seminar in 1933; gives quotes from brochure. "Pro-Soviet tone" provides all commentary necessary on ERM's explanation as to why "he served the Moscow State University in 1935"; asks if ERM's interest in international education extended, on the same plane, to Hitler Germany. Quotes from Owen Lattimore book complimentary to ERM. Criticizes Wertenbaker, author of New Yorker profile 12/26/53. ERM quoted from Brecht, leading cultural light in Communist world, on 10/27/53 broadcast. Cites 2/22/52 issue of Counterattack in defense of Lattimore. ERM "talks on the side of the angels" but "preaches dangerous doctrine", vastly underrating the domestic Communist party menace. This points up lack of real understanding in many quarters of Moscow's conspiracy which is a threat to U.S. survival.

Letter from Emergency Civil Liberties Committee--8/13/52 III C 3

F.S. security files

Letter to Mr. Stanton from the director of this committee says: "For some time you have been sending me material on the work of the Columbia Broadcasting System. I would like to say that nothing you have sent me has been so impressive as Howard K. Smith's recent broadcasts and his refusal to be intimidated by the Pentagon officials." [The persons associated with this committee have a long record of front activities.]

J.E.R.

1/28/50 letter, Hillman to CBS

Communism--1950--F.S.

I G 3
III D
III E

Protests deletion of portion of program in which Paul Draper appeared. Identification with groups on Attorney General's list is not relevant to Draper's dancing ability. Has enjoyed ability and frankness of Lesueur, H. K. Smith and ERM.

ECP

Letter, ACLU to Stanton, 2/3/50.

Communism--1950--F.S.

III A 3
III D ✓
III E

Noticed from press reports that Paul Draper shots were being deleted from kinescope version of Ed Sullivan program for 1/22/50. Would appreciate being advised as to whether these reports are true.

ecp

"Counterattack" for 9/22/50.

Communism--1950--F.S.

III A 2
III B
III D
III E

"Jay Gorney joins staff of CBS" with William N. Robson (named in "Red Channels"). Lists Gorney's Left Wing affiliations, including: Sponsor of Waldorf "peace" conference; contribution of material to "Show Time for Wallace", produced by Progressive Citizens of America; did music and sketches for A.L.P.'s production of "Broadway in a Democratic Key"; sang "Bill of Rights" song at A.L.P. meeting for Marcantonio; etc.; etc.

Attacks The Weavers TV program, and protests meetings over cancellation resulting from earlier Counterattack attack (6/9/50).

What to do: Write to F. M. Flynn, station WPIX, re The Weavers; write to Stanton re Jay Gorney.

Attached: Note to "Dear Frank", signature illegible. "For Gossakes! Clean up our TV."

ECP

5/23/52

"CITY HOSPITAL" is a CBS-TV dramatic show sponsored by Carter's Little Liver Pills (alternate Tuesdays, 9:00-9:30 p.m., EDT).

Curt Conway, a defender of Moscow purge trials of 1938, directs this program. Cites other instances of Conway's CP activities. Ralph Alswang is assistant scene designer for the show. Like Conway he has been active in NCASP, the CP's top cultural front. Alswang sponsored phony Waldorf "Peace" Conference in 1949 and other CP activities.

Martin Ritt was featured in role on CITY HOSPITAL program this week. In 1947 he helped several CP controlled locals of the Retail Wholesale and Department Store Union stage their annual show. Like Conway, he backed the NCASP, and was a sponsor of the Waldorf "Peace" Conference and was billed last year as a lecturer at the CP's own theatre training center, the school run by people's Drama.

2/1/52

Curt Conway, an instructor at the Drama Lab and who has front record, is Director of Casey Crime Photographer. He also directed the CBS-TV Workshop program on January 27. Similar statement in COUNTERATTACK 1/4/52.

1/4/52

Sidney Lumet, Director of DANGER (CBS-TV) is also a member of Drama Lab's faculty. CBS should ask Conway and Lumet why they are giving their services to Drama Lab. Mere fact that they are on faculty does not mean they are Communists or pro-Communists, but the record shows clearly that Drama Lab is run by Communists and fronters, and is helping CP.

Curt Conway and Martin Ritt were dropped from CBS's talent payroll.

JER

"COUNTERATTACK"

9/26/52

"DANGER", TV Show Seems To Be Appropriately Named.

"DANGER", a TV program featured on the CBS network each Tuesday at 10:00 p.m., EDT, has employed the following people in the last few months. Will Lee, Martin Ritt, Salem Ludwig, Howard Wierum, Walter Bernstein, Lee Grant, Eli Wallach, Alice Childress, Lou Gilbert and Sidney Lumet, Director of "DANGER". Cites facts as to each named person supporting the show, Communist leanings. "CBS itself produces in packages DANGER for the Block Drug Company. Both the network and the Drug Company are equally responsible for the many CP fronters being subsidized by this program." Ritt and Bernstein, have been dropped from CBS's talent payroll.

JER

"COUNTERATTACK"

10/10/52

Anti-Communists in Radio Writers Guild ~~incorporated~~ encouraged by testimony of Owen Vincent, Radio Director and former CP member who testified before House Committee on Un-American activities in Hollywood last week and named a number of Guild members he had known as Communists. They are: Abe Burrows, well-known radio and TV comedian, and others.

Mr. Burrows has been dropped from CBS's talent payroll.

JER

"COUNTERATTACK"

III B
III D 2

5/29/53

Long Island University's Polk awards, ~~which~~ are named after George Polk, CBS correspondent who was murdered by the Communists in Greece, naming the awards after him was ~~ordered~~ because Polk had written for a pro-CP news letter in this country, sponsored the anti-Communist Government of Greece and also the U.S. policy of helping the Greece Government fight the Communist who were trying to overthrow it by civil war.

COUNTERATTACK pointed out the peculiar slate of some of LIU's Polk awards in its issue of February 22, 1952. Goes on to cite several instances in which awards were given to alleged Pro-Communists.

JER

"Counterattack" for 1/13/50..

III B
III D 3

Communism--1950--F.S.

Page 2: Criticizes appearance of Corwin and Ferrer on Philharmonic program for CBS. Cites record of each, stating that CBS leaped to Corwin's defense when his name was mentioned during Coplon trial. Urges readers to write Paley.

ECP

Salant

Series of Anti-Communist and pro-American programs.

CBS statement of policy on 1948 political broadcasts, 5/17/48.

III E 2

CBS

States CBS policy line in respect to free time, program policy, sales policies, submission of scripts, requests for time.

ECP

List of Public Service programs. III E 2

CBS

List showing (a) CBS documentary programs, 1948 through January 1954; (b) CBS Television One-Time Special Programs, January 1948 through December 1953. Included wide variety of public service, patriotic, etc., programs.

ECP

I I 4
III E

Text of E. C. Carter talk "Soviet Russia Today" 1/ /38.

ERM dead file.

Six-page copy of talk highly complimentary to Soviet Russia. Noted in pencil on p. 1 "Early in January 1938--Air Copy". Also noted on face "Institute Pacific Relations". Announcer text appended indicates this was part of program over WABC presented by CBS Department of Talks.

Text of opening and closing announcements for Communist candidate broadcasts. III E 1
III E 3

Browner

June 2, 1940 (Browder) and October 10, 1940 (Israel Amter).

ECP

Carbon, letter, ERM to Carr (Pres., Committee on Civil Rights). 5/14/47 III E 3

ERM dead file

At request of Committee, outlines CBS policy on treatment of minority groups. CBS pledged to freedom and fairness of the air, giving every speaker right to express his views subject only to general laws and libel or slander and requirement that he may not seek to provoke racial or religious hatred. No discussion to be one-sided so long as any qualified spokesman wants to take the other side. Minorities must always have fair opportunities to express themselves. CBS supplies time and facilities for discussion of controversial public issues without charge except in the case of active candidates for public office, where cost of free time would be prohibitive.

ECP

"Counterattack" for 9/22/50.

Communism--1950--F.S.

III A 2
III B
III D
III E

"Jay Gorney joins staff of CBS" with William N. Robson (named in "Red Channels"). Lists Gorney's Left Wing affiliations, including: Sponsor of Waldorf "peace" conference; contribution of material to "Show Time for Wallace", produced by Progressive Citizens of America; did music and sketches for A.L.P.'s production of "Broadway in a Democratic Key"; sang "Bill of Rights" song at A.L.P. meeting for Marcantonio; etc.; etc.

Attacks The Weavers TV program, and protests meetings over cancellation resulting from earlier Counterattack attack (6/9/50).

What to do: Write to F. M. Flynn, station WPIX, re The Weavers; write to Stanton re Jay Gorney.

Attached: Note to "Dear Frank", signature illegible. "For Gossakes! Clean up our TV."

ECP

"COUNTERATTACK"

III B
III E

4/3/53

Camel Cigarette Program feature identified Communist agitator on March 25. Albert Ottenheimer had a role in the weekly MAN AGAINST CRIME program (CBS-TV). Says, that Ottenheim was identified as a CP member by two former party members before the Cantwell Committee of the State of Washington. Cites Ottenheimer's connection with the CP's repertory playhouse and other instances to show his CP activities.

JER

III B
III E

"COUNTERATTACK"

6/12/53

On May 21, the Four-Star Play House (CBS-TV), sponsored by the Singer Sewing Machine Company, featured a play by Milton Merlin. Article goes on to list several activities of Merlin allegedly showing a front record and stating that he is a top official of a union, Radio Writers Guild, found to be dominated by Communists.

JER

W.S.P. statement of CBS policy
for Newsweek. 3/17/54

III E 3

Paley

Ream--3/24/54 conference ECP

CBS "Suspense" program on which, over a period of time, persons listed in Red Channels appeared consistently as performers. It is not clear whether this was the responsibility of Phil Lumet, Director, or somebody at the responsible advertising agency.

10/19/50 memo, Ackerman to Stanton. III F

Communism--1950--F.S.

Reports on Radio Executives Club luncheon meeting on "Red Channels" at which Kirkpatrick and R. G. Swing spoke.

Kirkpatrick cited F.B.I. concern over Communist infiltration in radio; reasons for publishing "Red Channels"; accuracy of information in "Red Channels"; good intentions of "Counterattack"; presumed result of "Red Channels" in discouraging lending of names to "front" groups. Stated that "we do not say now and we have not said that those who hire talent should not hire anyone who appears in 'Red Channels'."

Swing maintained Counterattack's concept and method were un-American; charged they were a private operation to make money, that American people did not choose Kirkpatrick. Re categories of danger from Communist infiltration, said: (1) Those having control of broadcast content should be carefully watched, but this can be managed by adequate judgment and does not require a book like "Red Channels"; (2) performing artists are not in a position to cause "very much harm"; (3) no attempt in "Red Channels" to deal with radio executives, agencies and technical personnel.

ECP

"Counterattack", 1/5/51, p. 4.

III B
III F

Communism--Ream file.

Reports on protests from left-wing groups received by CBS over security questionnaire, put in effect 12/20/51. Reports that Daily Worker, Radio Writers Guild, Authors League of America protested adoption of the measure. Comments that most Communists will willingly sign a false statement to protect their position, and that CBS has not announced what action it will take on the questionnaires. "CBS should check its employees' loyalty statements against ["Counterattack and "Red Channels"] and other records", since questionnaire, unaided, has limited utility.

ECP

"COUNTERATTACK"

III A
III B
III F

6/6/52

ACLU filed a petition with the FCC charging four major radio and TV chains, including CBS, with blacklisting performers and other persons on political grounds. The petition charged that the networks and stations named had demonstrated "lack of qualification" to hold licenses because they had blacklisted persons on political grounds. License renewals were withdrawn on Commissioner Hennock's motion to reconsider, and the stations and networks concerned were given only temporary licenses.

JER

Remarks of Hon. George A. Dondero (R., Mich) on 1/15/48.

III G 1

Cong. Rec. App. A207 (return to CBS Reference Dep't).

Criticizes Washington Post for charging Dondero with injustice to civilians who lost their jobs with A.M.G. Refers only to Heinz Norden, whose case demonstrates inexcusable ignorance or negligence or both. Washington Post, "which is becoming more and more identified as the Washington edition of the Daily Worker", published Norden denials. This is not the first time that the Post "has defended persons with Communist records". Comments that Norden was, by his own published admission, approved for counter-intelligence in Germany by General E. L. Sibert (Chief of Intelligence) and General McClure (director of Information Control), and appointed editor-in-chief of an "official magazine". His record was cleared by loyalty board in Germany. Work and record have been approved by Gen. Hester and Gen. Clay. Continues to cite Norden's left-wing record as member of A.L.P., contributor to American League Against War and Fascism, speaker before American Youth Congress, member of Book and Magazine Guild of UOPWA-C.I.O., etc.

ECP

Remarks of Hon. George A. Dondero (R., Mich.) on 1/15/48.

III G 1

Cong. Rec. App. A215 (return to CBS Reference Dep't).

Includes letter from Charles E. Bohlen (Dep't of State) to Dondero. Acknowledges Dondero's letter of 12/19/47 re article in Washington Post on 12/19/47 dealing with Norden. In reply to question whether State Dep't praised Norden, inquiries indicate that Department has not commented on his work. Notes that Norden's contract was not renewed when his old contract expired late in 1947.

ECP

Remarks of Hon. George A. Dondero (R., Mich.) on 3/23/48.

III G 1

Cong. Rec. App. A1848 (return to CBS Reference Dep't).

Criticizes General Clay's administration in Germany as not stressing or directed toward development of the free enterprise system.

ECP

Article "The German Who Should Have Been Dead", by Cedric Belfrage. III G 1

Harper's Magazine, June 1948.
(Return to CBS Reference Dep't)

Pro-Communist argument by Belfrage dealing with Jewish-Communist editor who had been underground leader in Buchenwald.

ECP

Remarks of Hon. ~~John~~ George A. Dondero III G 1
(R. Mich.)--2/28/49

Cong. Rec. Vol. 95, Part 12,
Pp. ~~1123-1125~~ 1123-25

Extending remarks in Record R, includes third instalment of article from magazine "Politics" dealing with military government in Germany. Obvious that personnel were not carefully screened and radicals were employed at taxpayers expense to misrepresent U. S. in Germany. Text of article follows. Deals with appointment of left-wingers and pro-Communists in reconstitution of anti-Nazi press by AMG. Appends record of Cedric Belfrage affiliations with Communist front organizations. No mention of McClure or W.S.P.

Return to CBS Reference Dept

E.C.P.

2

3/21/49

Remarks of Hon. ~~John~~ GEORGE A. Dondero III G 1
(R. Mich.)--~~2/23~~/49

Cong. Rec. Vol. 95, Part 12,
P. ~~[illegible]~~ A-994-

Remarks made 2/21/49, includes letter from Dondero to Forrestal (Sec'y of Defense) dated 1/26/49 and portion of article "AMG in Germany" by Peter Blake, referred to in letter. Letter describes Blake as having been "political intelligence officer" with the Army's European headquarters in Frankfurt. States "Let me point out also that Brig. Gen. Robert McClure, in charge of the activities described in the aforementioned article is now head of the reorientation branch in New York. I am sure the National Military Establishment has his exact position and present title".

Article is critical of Communist infiltration of German AMG, referring specifically to Belfrage. No reference to McClure or W.S.P.

Return to CBS Reference File

2

Remarks of Hon. George A. Dondero (R, Mich.) on 8/22/49. III G 1

Cong. Rec. App. A5466 (return to CBS Reference Dep't).

Sets out letter of 8/16/49 from Col. C. G. Blakeney, G.S.C., to Dondero relating to case of Wahrhaftig. Wahrhaftig was suspended from civil administration of mil. gov't within Germany. Security Review Board conducted hearings resulting in recommendation that he be reinstated by Secretary of the Army.

ECP

Cable, 4/6/54, McClure to Trudeau. III G 1

ERM dead file.

Contains references to sources and material on reconstitution of German press and radio in 1944-45. Communication is confidential.

ECP

Letter, 11/15/47, E. C. Carter to ERM. I B 3
I I 4
ERM dead file. III G 2

Asks for luncheon date at Century Club to discuss two matters. Attached, letter of 12/8/47 enclosing copy of letter sent to Manarey (sic.) suggesting that Paley Foundation contribute to IPR and asking for further luncheon date with Manarey. Letter of 12/8 states "it was grand seeing you, and I hope you got a few minutes with Mr. Paley on this matter over the weekend".

ECP

Information received from Mr. Minary
by ECP, 3/30/54.

In 1951-52, Mr. Paley was appointed by President Truman as Chairman of the President's Materials Policy Commission, the function of which was to draft a policy in connection with this country's program of acquiring, stockpiling and conserving strategic and critical raw materials and organizing facilities for power. Mr. Paley did not receive any compensation for this work and operated on a dollar-a-year basis, receiving a per diem allowance for time spent in travelling.

In connection with this assignment, Mr. Minary states that Mr. Paley had a complete loyalty check by the FBI and received a high form of clearance.

ECP

List of awards to CBS, CBS-Radio and CBS-Television. III H

Salant.

Memorandum of awards received since 1941:

George Foster Peabody Award, March 1941
George Foster Peabody Award, April 1948
George Foster Peabody Award, April 1949
George Foster Peabody Radio Award, April 1952
American Heritage Foundation, 1953
American Legion Award, February 1954
Economic Cooperation Administration Public Service Award, August, 1951
Education Writers Association, May 1949
Encyclopedia Britannica Award of Merit, May 1953
Freedoms Foundation, May 1951
Freedoms Foundation Award, February 1953
Freedoms Foundation Awards, February 1954
Mid-Continental Association of Food and Drug, October, 1953
National Conference of Christians and Jews, February 1947
National Conference of Christians and Jews, February 1949
National Conference of Christians and Jews, February 1950
National Conference of Christians and Jews, February 1951
National Safety Council's Award of Honor for Distinguished Service to Safety, April 1947
National Safety Council's Public Interest Award, 1953
New York Newspaper Guild, March 1948
Patrolmen's Benevolent Association, July 1953
Radio-Newsreel-Television Working Press Association of New York, May 1953
Sylvania Television Award, November 1951
Sylvania Television Award, December 1952
United Nations Network for Peace, November 1949
Veterans of Foreign Wars, November 1950
Veterans of Foreign Wars, May 1953

Awards to CBS News:

George Foster Peabody Radio Award: 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943 (ERM), 1945, 1946.
Radio Executives Club of New York: 1942.
National Headliners Club Radio Awards: 1935, 1938 (ERM), 1940, 1941, 1942, 1944 (ERM), 1945, 1947, 1947 (ERM).
Motion Picture Daily Radio Poll: 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947 (ERM).
Overseas Press Club Award: 1947 (ERM).
DuPont Radio Awards: 1947 (ERM).
Awards to CBS Documentaries: 1947, 1947.

ECP

Accused Red Is Aid To Radio Guild Here

By NELSON FRANK,
Staff Writer.

Betty Todd, identified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a onetime member of a Communist cell, is the secretary of the local section of AFL's Radio and Television Directors Guild, the World-Telegram and Sun learned today. Questioned by the committee, she refused to answer.

In addition, Mrs. Todd is an associate director at Columbia Broadcasting Corp. (CBS). She has been employed there for the last five or six years but has been on a vacation for the last few weeks.

Asked today at her home, 264 W. 12th St., about her refusal to answer committee questions on grounds to do so would incriminate her, Mrs. Todd would only say, "I'd rather not comment upon that." She said she had held her post with the Guild about a year.

She refused to discuss committee charges that meetings of a Communist cell were held in her home in Knoxville, Tenn. in 1937. Two ex-Communists so testified, according to Frank C. Tavenner Jr., counsel to the committee.

The ex-Communists were testifying in connection with the case of William Remington, Commerce Department economist once accused of being a Communist party member and cleared by the department's loyalty board.

The ex-Communists charged that Mervin (Pat) Todd, husband of Mrs. Todd was a member of the same party cell and a former roommate of Mr. Remington. Mr. Todd also refused to answer on the constitutional grounds of self-incrimination, according to the committee's counsel.

Fear Chusan Isle Attack

By the United Press.

HONG KONG, May 6.—Heavy Communist artillery fire was heard today in the Chusan Islands south of Shanghai, indicating that a Communist assault on the Nationalist naval base of Tinghai might be imminent. The Communists hold four islands in the southern section of the archipelago.

The World-Telegram and Sun's

WHERE TO DIN

For information or suggestions, consult our Where to Dine Bureau

AMERICAN

Three Great American Restaurants
LUNCHEONS from 95c. DINNERS from $2.0

Todd, Betty

May 23, 1950

Dear Betty:

I am sorry we won't be working together any more.

For several years while I was abroad, you handled the New York end of my broadcasts in a most competent and courteous fashion.

More recently, I have appreciated your calmness coupled with unfailing good humor here in the studio in New York. Most of the time you actually appeared interested in what I was saying which any broadcaster regards as a compliment.

I have never been quite sure of the combination of qualities required to make an excellent producer, but whatever they are, you have them.

You have been at all times an efficient and agreeable colleague in Studio 9 and I am sure you will perform your duties with equal skill, loyalty and good humor in your next position.

Please feel free to use my name as a reference in any applications you may make.

Sincerely yours,

Miss Betty Todd
264 West 12th Street
New York, New York

EDWARD R. MURROW - PERSONAL AND PROGRAM STAFFS

Personal Staff

Kathryn Campbell	Executive Assistant
Dorothy McDonough	Secretary
Rebecca Holder	Secretary
Florence Crissan (Mrs. Michael)	Secretary

7:45-8:00 PM Radio News Show

John A. Aaron	Writer-researcher (See also PTP)
Jesse Zousmer	Editor-writer (See also PTP)
Raymond Swing	Editorial Assistant (See also TIB)
Bob Dixon	Commercial announcer (See also PTP)

Alias Brooks?

THIS I BELIEVE (TIB)

Raymond Swing	Producer
Mrs. Ruth (Reny) Hill	Editorial Assistant
Donald Merwin	Editorial Assistant
Jean Marchella	Secretary

Note: Above is New York editorial staff located here at 485 Madison. Program's main office is in Philadelphia, c/o Ward Wheelock, Lincoln-Liberty Bldg. Do not know staff there.

PERSON TO PERSON(PTP)

John A. Aaron	Co-producer
Jesse Zousmer	Co-Producer
Nancy Cammarota	Secretary
Charles (Chuck) Hill	Remote Director
Robert Sammon	Remote Director
John Horn	Editorial Associate
David Moore	Editorial Associate
Aaron Ehrlich	Art Consultant (Art Director,CBS-TV News)
Franklin Schaffner	CBS director
Betty Stein	CBS Program Ass't to Schaffner
Joe Dackow	CBS Ass't Director to Schaffner
Bob Dixon	Commercial Announcer

SEE IT NOW (SIN)

Fred Friendly	Co-producer
Palmer Williams	Production Manager
Edmund Scott	Reporter
Joseph Wershba	Reporter
Jack Beck	Reporter (CBS Los Angeles)
Edward Jones	Office Assistant
Natalie Foster	Administrative Assistant
Judith Adler	Secretary
Vera Marsh	Stenotypist
Don Hewitt	CBS Director
Hugh Holder	CBS Announcer
Bill McClure	European director-cameraman
Maurice Reitberger	European soundman

SIN filmcutters and projectionists located at Eastern Sound Studios, 550 Fifth Avenue, N.Y....on MGM-News of the Day payroll:

- Bill Thompson
- Earl Toliver
- Bucky O'Neill
- Milli Lerner
- Joe Fackovec
- Leo Levy

MGM-News of the Day cameramen and soundmen:

Washington:	Charles Mack Robert Huttenlock Andrew Willoner
Chicago:	Martin Burnett Larry Gianneschi
Los Angeles:	Norman Alley Herbert Tice

Continued
SEE IT NOW
MGM-News of the Day cameramen and soundmen:

New York: Leo Rossi
Charles Peden
James McKeon
Theodore Rickman
Rody Green
Ken Jones
Bernard Dresner

MURROW - LONDON - 1937-1945

Including London office staff and European correspondents reporting to him as European Director; some hired by him, some by CBS; nearly all at one time or another worked out of London office with him for both short and long periods of time.

*Kathryn Campbell

Maureen Hall (secretary)

Audrey Dunk (secretary)

Basil Kolk (office boy)

Mary Marvin Breckinridge
(now Mrs. Jefferson Patterson)

*Winston Burdett

*Charles Collingwood

*Larry Lesueur

*Bill Downs

*Charles Shaw

*Edward P. Morgan

*Bill Shadel

*Eric Sevareid

*Richard C. Hottelet

*Howard K. Smith

Paul Manning

William L. Shirer, -s-113 (7 PR)

Thomas B. Grandin

*Alexander Kendrick - ("A.G. Kendrick) - dc 125, 139

Cecil Brown

George Fielding Eliot

Bernard Valery

Glen Stadler

George Moorad (Deceased)

Farnsworth Fowle

Bill Henry

Hans V. Kaltenborn (a - 563K II - 1020, 21.)

Prize Cites for American Story Contest, w/ Eliot Paul, Don Og Stewart, Jean Starr Untermeyer, Clifford Odets - Prize by League of Am Writers & Comm. Friends of Abraham L. Brigade.

(* Still with CBS)

dmcd

EDWARD R. MURROW - PAST STAFF

*George Connery	Washington reporter, 7:45-8:00 show; 9/49-3/50
*Alexander Kendrick {dc 125, 139	" " " " "; 1950; now CBS-Vienna correspondent
Ernest Chappell	CBS announcer, 7:45 show
Joan Platoff	Secretary, personal staff
Joan Hanson	" " "
Jean Peterson	" " "
Beverly Banks	" " "
Eleanor Benedict	" " "
*Mary Anne Summers	" " "
*Edward P. Morgan	Producer, TIB
Gladys Chang	Editorial Ass't, TIB
*Susan Baird	Secretary, TIB
Henry Hanson	Office Ass't, SIN
Judah (Jack) Seigal	Reporter, SIN
John Bockhurst	News of the Day cameraman for SIN (Deceased)
Gene Milford {a 10361-2	News of the Day film cutter for SIN
Sid Katz {dc 156	" " " " " " "
Lucy Savsay	" " "
Jimmy Young {~~James K. - 21282~~ ~~James W. - 2457~~	" " "
Arlette Karpo	" " "
Seldon Levy	" " "
Ronnie Weston	" " ass't camerman
J.G.(Jap)Gude	Agent and business manager for I CAN HEAR IT NOW albums
? *Irving Gitlin {ca 2705 "Irvin" G	Editor, HEAR IT NOW radio program; 12/50-6/51

(* Still with CBS)

Adamic, Louis

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

Gen

May 19, 1947

Dear Mr. Adamic:

I presume upon a brief acquaintance in asking your assistance. Our Washington news analyst, Joe Harsch, with whose broadcasts and writings I presume you are familiar, is going to Europe for us this summer. He is anxious to visit Yugoslavia. The granting of his visa has been somewhat delayed, and I am wondering if you would be willing to drop a note on his behalf to the Yugoslavian Embassy in Washington.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Louis Adamic
RFD #1
Milford, New Jersey

dm

E. R. M.
F. 1135

Ida Low Anderson

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

May 19, 1947

Dear Mr. Sandberg:

I dare not hope that you will forgive me for the delay in sending you the attached. It is both late and inadequate, but it is the best that I could do. Words are indeed puny things.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Robert A. Sandberg
The State College of Washington
Pullman, Washington

dm

COPY

E. R. M.
F. 1155

IDA LOU ANDERSON

Print is a puny thing. Any adequate tribute to Ida Lou Anderson should employ the eloquence of the ancients, and it should be read aloud. I know of no one who can command the language, and even if that were possible, there is not one of her students who could read the words with a steady voice. She "believed nothing and reverenced all". She was a tolerant skeptic with all the tenacity of her Tennessee ancestors. A great teacher and a great student of those she taught. Miss Anderson was not a perfectionist in the academic sense in which that word is usually employed. She was content to cause the student to do just a little better than he thought himself capable of doing. The margin between mediocrity and mastery of the spoken word was measured in terms of her confidence, example, and inspiration. She demanded not excellence so much as integrity. She could recognize not only ability, but humility, and she was inclined to place more value upon the later.

I pled for permission to enter her classes, and for the next four years it was only her tolerance and her desire to teach even those who were often too young or insensitive to appreciate what they were being taught, that permitted me to attend every class that she taught.

Institutional allegiance is not a very permanent condition. During the last fifteen years I have met many people who were in college with me and occasionally someone who shared the rare privilege of studying under Miss Anderson, and in such a person there was always an immediate and abiding sense of privilege of having shared an altogether unique and lasting experience; the knowledge that for a few short hours, in the course of a few classes, we had been in the presence of one who was, in the true sense of the word, greater than anyone we had met or were ever likely to meet.

To everyone who deals with words there comes a time when there are no words to express what is felt, what is remembered, and what is owed. Miss Anderson would understand that.

Edward R. Murrow

THE STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
PULLMAN, WASHINGTON

April 9, 1947

See attached

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Vice President
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Shortly after your visit to the Campus last spring, I sent you a copy of the manuscript which we hoped to publish ~~as a~~ memorial to Ida Lou Anderson. I hoped that you might have been able to write a few lines to be included in the final printed memorial.

Many of us feel that the publication of this memorial has been delayed too long and that we must set an early date for the printing. I should not like to see this done, however, without your contribution. I hope you will be able to send your part at an early date, or if there are reasons for not doing so, please feel free to write to me about it.

Sincerely,

Robert A. Sandberg

Robert A. Sandberg
Executive Assistant
to the President

RAS/cd

July 8, 1946

Mr. Robert A. Sandberg
State College of Washington
Office of the President
Pullman, Washington

Dear Mr. Sandberg:

Thanks very much for sending the material regarding the tribute to Ida Lou Anderson.

I shall hope to send you my small and altogether inadequate contribution by about the middle of August.

As ever yours,

Edward R. Murrow

ERM/mp

THE STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
PULLMAN, WASHINGTON

June 24, 1946

Tony

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
903 - 13th Street
Bellingham, Washington

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Enclosed is a copy of the materials which have been collected for a printed tribute to Ida Lou Anderson. Dr. Holland started work on this soon after Ida Lou's death, and it has remained in file ever since. I think he has corresponded with you in the past when you were in London about contributing a brief tribute for inclusion with the others. I know it is Dr. Holland's feeling, as it is mine, that no such memorial to Ida Lou would be complete without some recognition from you.

I hope you will find time to prepare your part and forward it to me so that I may go ahead with its publication.

Sincerely,

R. Sandberg

Robert A. Sandberg
Director of Information

RAS:jm

Enclosure

HONOLULU • LOS ANGELES • NEW YORK • SAN FRANCISCO • SEATTLE • WASHINGTON, D. C.

Carter, Ed. C.

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, INC.

1 EAST 54TH STREET • NEW YORK 22, N. Y. • ELDORADO 5-1759

Will phone on Friday of this week.

15th November, 1947

Dear Ed,

There are two matters that I would like to discuss with you at your convenience some time this month.

Do you happen to be free for lunch any day next week from Tuesday, the 18th on, or on Monday, the 24th? We could meet at the Century Club, if that is the most convenient place for you, say at 12:45 or 1:00. But if your lunches are all booked up, I would be delighted to call at your office.

Sincerely yours,

Ed

Edward C. Carter

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

I called him. 11/19
He call him when you return
Tom

HONOLULU • LOS ANGELES • NEW YORK • SAN FRANCISCO • SEATTLE • WASHINGTON, D. C.

Carter, Ed. C.

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, INC.

1 EAST 54TH STREET • NEW YORK 22, N. Y. • ELDORADO 5-1759

8th December, 1947

Dear Ed,

Here is a copy of a letter I have sent to Manarey which, I hope, is in line with your recommendation.

It was grand seeing you, and I hope you got a few minutes with Mr. Paley on this matter over the weekend.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

Ned

Edward C. Carter

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

8th December, 1947

Dear Mr. Manarey,

Last Friday Ed Murrow suggested that I write you with reference to the possibility of the Paley Foundation making a contribution to the American Institute of Pacific Relations some time in the future, presumably in 1948. He asked me to write you direct.

Now I am wondering whether you would be free to lunch with me at the Century Club (7 West 43rd Street) at, say, 12:45 or 1:00 o'clock any day next week which might be convenient to you.

I realize that you cannot make any commitment at this stage, but I would greatly appreciate the privilege of telling you a little bit about the work of the Institute and answering your questions.

Very sincerely yours,

Edward C. Carter

Mr. John Manarey
c/o William S. Paley Foundation, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

Laurenre Duggan

Statesman, Leader, Friend

In Tribute

Tributes to Laurence Duggan

Following are brief quotations from some of the many letters written to members of the family concerning the death of Laurence Duggan:

. . . his life was a great contribution to his nation and his world. The cause of international understanding and world peace will miss him profoundly, together with his innumerable personal friends.

* * * *

I . . . esteemed him highly for his outstanding ability, sterling character and clear vision. The loss of such a man at any time is tragic, and all the more so in critical days like these.

* * * *

You have a priceless memory of a beautiful and useful life in Larry's brilliant career which no one can take away. All who knew him had an esteem and affection for him which is inspired only by a noble spirit. I feel a deep sense of personal loss as I had looked to some years of association with him in our respective fields of work which were to have been closely related. I respected and admired him as among the ablest and noblest of characters I have known.

* * * *

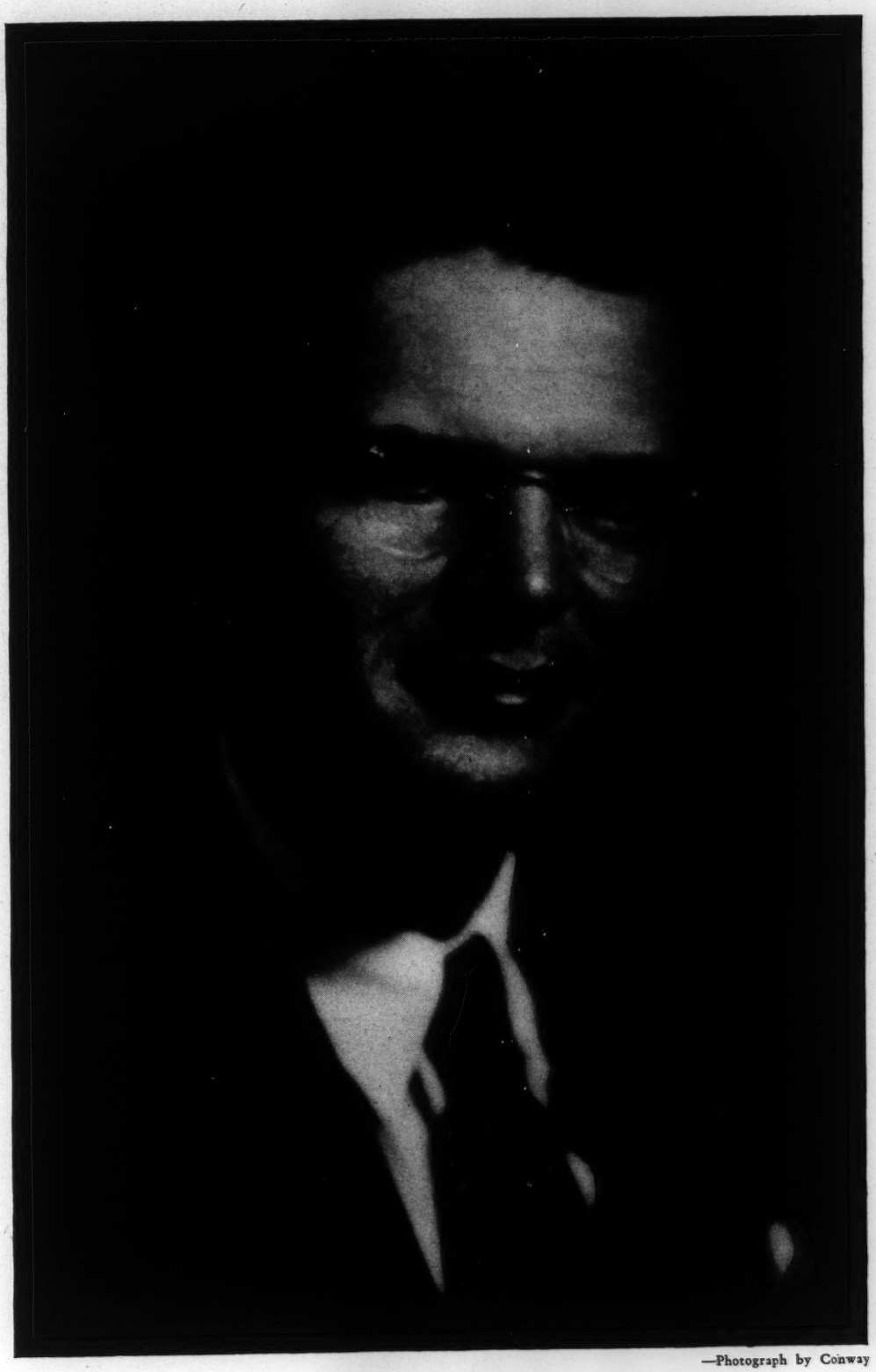
It is tragic that his distinguished and useful services to our country, both in the political sphere and in carrying on your great work in education and international understanding have been terminated so abruptly. Many will miss his calm and measured opinions, his sound judgment and lofty principles.

* * * *

Laurence had made enormous contributions on a wide scale to the good of mankind. Those who knew him well and loved him grieve at the loss of one with whom they held close spiritual bonds, but the thought keeps occurring to me of the hundreds thoughout this hemisphere who had benefited by his honest wisdom and continued to look to his leadership. On behalf of them there stand the words which Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes spoke: "When a great tree falls, we are surprised to see how meager the landscape seems without it. So when a great man dies. We may not have been intimate with him, it was enough that he was within our view; and when he is gone life seems thinner and less interesting."

* * * *

There would seem to be no consolation of any kind to be found in so dire an accident, save the shock into a new and vivid consciousness of Laurence's high qualities of mind and heart, and his devoted service to the great causes of our time.



—Photograph by Conway

LAURENCE DUGGAN

A Statement by the Executive Committee

December 22, 1948

THE following statement was released today by Dr. George N. Shuster, chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Institute:

The Executive Committee of the Institute of International Education feels a sense of deepest sorrow and bereavement at the tragic death of Laurence Duggan. He was a dear friend and a brilliant chief of the enterprise to which he, and his father before him, have contributed so much. In all the years it has known him, the Board has always had the greatest confidence in his integrity, his ability, his diligence, and his patriotism. It has learned of nothing to shake that confidence.

Donald J. Shank, vice-president of the Institute, has been named acting director. The work of the Institute will go on without interruption.

Larry Duggan

IT IS curious how the name by which a man is known comes to be a perfect expression of his personality and of the way those associated with him think and feel about him. Even in the Department of State, where he served so long — fourteen years — so faithfully, and so brilliantly, no one ever spoke of Larry Duggan except by the affectionately shortened form of his name.

His association with the Institute was life-long because his father founded it, and many of those who served with him during the difficult and trying years of his brief period as director and later, president, had known him from youth onward. But they felt no more warmly toward him, to set down the simple truth, than the newest member of his staff, who sensed at once his kindness, his unselfish consideration for others, his devotion to his job, his genuine modesty, and his extraordinary charm.

To those of us who knew at first hand his accomplishments in Latin America, where he had scores of friends and admirers among peoples who recognize sincerity and goodness with unfailing instinct, his work there would of itself alone have guaranteed him a high place in the history of American diplomacy.

But when the call came for help with UNRRA, Larry responded, and his work as diplomatic adviser and as fund-raiser in Latin America was once more notable for its thoroughness and its success. Again, with UNESCO, and especially at the 1947 Mexico City meeting, his work was of exactly the same high quality as everything else he ever turned his hand to. He had an abiding faith in the future of UNESCO, although clearly perceiving its complex problems.

As has been pointed out in the press, he left a profitable private business to become director of the Institute, answering a call of duty at a financial sacrifice. And every minute of his time in his last post, during a good part of which he was struggling with poor health, made more trying by overwork, was marked by exactly the same loyalty, devotion, and consecration that characterized his whole life.

To try to put into words the feeling of his staff for him as a man and as a chief is an impossibility. One can only say that it was a blend of respect and affection, in which the hearts and minds of all of us who knew him played equal parts. And we shall always remember not only what he did and said, his practical accomplishments and his wisdom, but the many jokes we had together, his smile, and his whole-hearted laugh.

He was a baseball fan of the most ardent and partisan variety, who was sure the New York Giants could do no wrong. He counted Moe Berg among his closest friends and enjoyed some of his happiest moments at games he attended with Mr. Berg and others who knew as much about the fine points as he did.

That his going was attended by imputations of disloyalty to the government he served so long and so unselfishly is a frightening example of how utterly cruel and unjust life and people can be, especially when the victim of their thoughtless brutality cannot defend himself. Those of us who wept unashamed at his passing, wept no more with sorrow and a profound sense of personal loss than with anger at our feeling of helplessness in the face of a situation for which we all knew he had no trace of responsibility.

At a time like this, the loss of a valiant captain, experienced and able, touches us all, and deeply, but we know that he would want us to close ranks and get on with the job. It was to this fight for better understanding among the peoples of the world, which must go on, that he devoted his life, withholding from his efforts nothing of strength, courage, nor intelligence.

The most fitting memorial that can be raised to Larry, our friend, our companion, and our partner in an enterprise to which he gave all his faith, as we do, is therefore to continue to work as effectively as we can toward the goal upon which his eyes were so firmly fixed.

HERSCHEL BRICKELL — *for the Staff*

"A Brilliant, Devoted Public Servant"

The following statement was issued by Sumner Welles upon receiving the news of Mr. Duggan's death:—

"Laurence Duggan was for ten years one of my closest associates in the Department of State. As chief of the Division of American Republics, and later as political adviser on inter-American relations, he rendered outstandingly able service to the United States and to the cause of hemispheric solidarity.

"He was one of the most brilliant, most devoted and most patriotic public servants I have ever known. His death comes as a great shock and as a deep personal sorrow to me."

The Black Day

To the Memory of Laurence Duggan

GOD help that country where informers thrive!
Where slander flourishes and lies contrive:—
Kill truth by whispers and keep fraud alive.

God help that country by informers fed
Where fear corrupts and where suspicion's spread,
By lies and libels, even to the dead.

God help that country where th' informer's shame
Outshouts the decent silence to defame
The dead man's honor and defile his name.

God help that country, cankered deep by doubt,
Where honest men, by scandals turned about,
See honor murdered and will not speak out.

God help that country — but for you — for you,
Pure heart, sweet spirit, humble, loyal, true,
Pretend, pretend we know not what we do.

ARCHIBALD MACLEISH

New York Herald Tribune
December 24, 1948

INSTITUTE OF
INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION
INCORPORATED
2 WEST 45TH STREET, NEW YORK 19, N. Y. · MURRAY HILL 7-0630 · CABLE ADDRESS "INTERED"

ry 4

February 4, 1949

To: Members of the Board of Trustees

From: Bess N. Trinks, Executive Assistant
Institute of International Education

As members of the Institute's Board of Trustees, you may be interested in receiving some advance information about The Laurence Duggan Fund which will be presented to the Institute at the next meeting of the Trustees on February 28 at the Hotel Biltmore in New York.

The Fund was organized and put into operation the latter part of January by the close personal friends of Mr. Duggan whose names are listed as the sponsoring committee. Mr. Archibald MacLeish, who is acting as chairman on behalf of the group, is sending out a letter to a wide circle of friends and acquaintances of Mr. Duggan, similar to that attached.* The response to date has been very favorable and numerous letters received with returned pledge cards express the gratitude and pleasure of many individuals in being asked to participate in this undertaking.

The picture of the situation as of February 3 is portrayed as follows:

Letters mailed	
January 21	637
January 31	1132
Contributions received	136
Total amount of contributions	$11,890

Plans for the actual presentation of the memorial fund on the twenty-eighth are being made now. There no doubt will be several members of the Duggan family present as well as representatives of the group sponsoring The Laurence Duggan Fund

- - - -

I take pleasure in enclosing a reprint from our January News Bulletin of the memorial tributes to Mr. Duggan. If you should like to have more copies, they will be available upon request.

(* Not attached since copy was sent you as member of the Committee. Thought you would like to see this report, however.)

Enclosures

Duggan, Stephen

December 29, 1948

Dear Chief:

I have tried a half a dozen times to write this letter. Since you are familiar with the indecipherable character of my scrawl I shall not apologize for typing this, because however inadequate it may be, I should like it to be legible.

This is not a traditional letter of condolence. You will receive many of those couched in more eloquent language than I can command. My sense of personal loss is probably as great as that felt by any one outside your family. My contempt for the instruments for public information--particularly the press, is unlimited. What little I could do to keep the record straight I have done, and I have by no means finished with this effort.

Permit me to say from a purely professional point of view, that the conduct of yourself and your family has set an example for a civilized people to follow; and also, as a professional judgment, I would like to say that the unsuccessful attempt at character assassination that was carried out in connection with Larry's death and the extent to which it was exposed, has had a very considerable effect upon so-called "free enterprising journalism" which is neither free nor enterprising. You will perhaps have observed that the report of Sumner Welles' misadventure, even by the irresponsible press has, on the whole, been restrained and accurate. I have the feeling that the criminally careless conduct of the press in connection with Larry's death and the fact that it was so brilliantly exposed, will act as a real deterrent to prevent a repetition of such behavior.

It is unnecessary, I am sure, for me to tell you that if there should be anything that I might do, you need but command me. I have given some thought to initiating a movement to create a fellowship fund in Larry's memory. Perhaps this is something we might discuss one day you are disposed to take lunch with me.

As ever yours,

Professor Stephen Duggan
Old Long Ridge Road
Stamford, Connecticut

Duggan - Stephen
Prof

December 30, 1948

Dear Chief:

I have read the letter you propose sending to the "Times". It seems to me an admirable statement. I can think of no reason why it should not be published.

As ever yours,

Professor Stephen Duggan
Old Long Ridge Road
Stamford, Connecticut

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Old Long Ridge Road
Stamford, Connecticut

December 29, 1948

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Company
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

Here is a letter which I contemplate sending to the Times for publication. However, I will not do so until I have heard from you, Berle, and Stephen. Will you be good enough to return the letter with such comments as you wish to make?

Sincerely yours,

Stephen P. Duggan

Stephen P. Duggan

Enclosure:
Letter to the Times.

Old Long Ridge Road
Stamford, Connecticut

December 29, 1948

Mr. Arthur Hays Sulzberger, Editor
New York Times
229 West 43rd Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Sulzberger:

My son, Lawrence, is dead and buried. He left a sweet memory to his host of loving friends and a magnificient reputation. But not to Congressman Mundt. Congressman Mundt is acting-chairman of the Un-American Activities Committee in the absence of the chairman, Parnell Thomas, now under federal indictment for fraud.

On the evening of December 20th at 7 p.m. my son's body was found on the sidewalk in front of the office of the Institute of International Education, of which he was President. The police began an exhaustive examination to determine if possible whether he had fallen out, jumped out or had been pushed out. The police investigation disposed absolutely of the last alternative. The police report showed that everything in my son's office was in regular condition, that there was not only no evidence of struggle but no finger prints of a strange hand anywhere in the office. The family and the staff and trustees of the Institute, and the friends who knew him intimately knew of the accuracy of the first alternative, namely, that he fell out. The limitation of space prevents my giving the convincing reasons in detail.

Upon the receipt of the news in Washington of my son's death, Mr. Mundt called a press conference and stated that Isaac Don Levine had informed the Committee at a secret session two weeks previously that Whittaker Chambers, a self confessed Communist, had ten years previously in Levine's presence during an interview with the then Assistant Secretary of State Adolf Berle, stated that six persons in the State Department, of whom my son was one, had given him, Mr. Chambers, an agent of the Soviet Union, secret and confidential documents. Though this information had been in the possession of the Committee for two weeks, my son had not been subpoenaed for investigation and more recent information disclosed that no subpoena from the Committee had been contemplated. At the time of my son's death the New York Grand Jury was investigating the whole field of espionage but my son was not only not subpoenaed but the Grand Jury had no intention of subpoening him.

As already mentioned, the information to the Committee was given by one Isaac Don Levine, another self-confessed former Russian (?) Communist, who since his advent here and subsequent naturalization has apparently made it his objective in life to educate native citizens in the American way of life when he was not devoting his talents to acting as a sleuth upon federal employees to report any divergence from his concept of that way. It is amazing to what an extent former self-confessed Communists have become regarded as heroes by some of our population.

All the doubts concerning my son's death did not prevent immediate decision by Mr. Mundt. He had no doubts. Though no action had been taken by the Committee upon the Levine statement, though not a shred of evidence existed to justify a belief that my son was really concerned in the matter, Mr. Mundt issued the complete Levine report at a press conference which he called. The result was immediate. The press throughout the land proclaimed "Accused spy commits suicide". Mr. Mundt had won his headlines, the objective of the Un-American Activities Committee. Now was that the final degree of Mundt ghoulishness. He informed the press that my son was probably murdered by Communists to prevent his testifying against them. Again all this was pure surmise. There was not a shred of evidence to justify that statement. Mr. Mundt had been too anxious for an additional headline to wait for the report of the New York police which demolished his statement completely. When inquiry was made by newspaper reporters as to the time the Committee would release the other five names, according to the reporters Mr. Mundt answered that "it would do so as they jumped out the window". All these heartless statements were made four days before Christmas, commemorating the appearance of Him who proclaimed good will to all man. But apparently Mr. Mundt scored another triumph in his policy of defamation.

But it was a short-lived triumph. The next day there was a revulsion of public opinion and feeling against the unfair and indecent insinuations against a dead man who could not defend himself. Whittaker Chambers announced that he had never received any documents from Laurence Duggan, did not know him, had never seen him and had no knowledge that he was a Communist, an insinuation sedulously cultivated by Mr. Mundt. But far more harmful to Mr. Mundt were the opinions expressed by the members of his own Sub-Committee. Mr. Rankin referred to the first Mundt press conference as "an atrocious mistake". Mr. Hebert used harsher terms and moreover stated that the press conference had never been authorized by the Sub-Committee.

The radio commentators I heard on national broadcasts, Edward R. Murrow, Elmer Davis and Martin Agronsky were scathing in their denunciations and I was informed by friends that there were a good many commentators who issued similar statements. Of even more denunciatory nature were the editorials in such national newspapers as the New York Herald Tribune, The New York Times, The Christian Science Monitor, and the Washington Post which I read. I have been informed similar editorials appeared in other papers. The Monitor stated "Mr. Mundt's offense rests not upon assuming Mr. Duggan's innocence or guilt but upon publishing the Committee's third-hand, unverified, uninvestigated accusations against a man who can't answer back". The Herald Tribune said "Under the circumstances it seems difficult too strongly to censure Mr. Mundt for his midnight statement precipitately prejudicing a dead man's name. The action was utterly without warrant and was another of those instances of disregard for individual right which have done so much to weaken confidence in the Committee". The Times stated "The inference subsequently drawn from Mr. Mundt's transcript was quite obviously what Mr. Mundt intended, which was to show a connection between the death, under circumstances that still are not clear, of a former State Department official and the Committee's investigation of alleged Communist infiltration of that Department ..... And who was this

man against whom these charges were made? ..... A graduate of Harvard, he was the head of an organization concerned with the exchanges of students among countries in the hope that a better understanding between peoples could thus be achieved. His associates in the State Department including Mr. Cordell Hull, Mr. Berle and Mr. Sayre vouched for his honesty and his loyalty. Mr. Sumner Welles stated to the press that "Lawrence Duggan was for ten years one of my closest associates in the Department of State. As Chief of the Division of the American Republics, he rendered outstandingly able service to the United States and to the cause of hemispheric friendship and solidarity. He was one of the most brilliant, most devoted and most patriotic public servants I have ever known. His death comes as a great shock and a deep personal sorrow to me".

The public indignations following immediately upon the Mundt press conference had a frightening effect upon Mr. Mundt. With a degree of benevolence which defies fathoming he asserted his action had been inspired by a kindly interest in the welfare of Lawrence Duggan's family. This, after having done everything he could to destroy Lawrence Duggan's unblemished character! Mr. Mundt's policy of defaming my son's character by imputation and insinuation received a severe blow on the day following. The Attorney General of the United States issued the following statement "While it is the policy of the Department of Justice not to comment upon the evidence in its files or upon interviews made by its agents, he was deviating from this rule in order to prevent an injustice being done to the family of a former employee of the government. The F.B.I. investigation has produced no evidence of Mr. Duggan's connection with the Communist party or with any other espionage activity. On the contrary, the evidence discloses that Mr. Duggan was a loyal employee of the United States Government".

This release had hardly been made before Mr. Mundt issued a rejoinder full of weasel words and so organized as to convey the impression that he did not make all the indecent statements for which he was quoted, such as releasing the other five names "as they jumped out of the window". "We released the statement with the hope that it would be helpful in clearing up the mystery surrounding this death, in so doing perhaps we warrant some honest criticism". "We made no statement implying the guilt of Mr. Duggan"!

On December 28th Congressman Mundt and Nixon issued a statement to the effect that the Committee on Un-American Activities would report to Congress the need for reform in the Committee's conduct of its investigation with the objective to safeguard the rights of witnesses and the reputation of persons named in testimony. Certainly an expert in defaming character by insinuation and imputation like Mr. Mundt is well qualified to help realize the objective.

On January third Mr. Mundt becomes a Senator of the United States!

Sincerely yours,

Stephen P. Duggan

Laski, Harold J.

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

June 5, 1947

Dear Harold:

I was delighted with the news contained in your note of May 12th. If you understood yourself and the esteem in which you are held by your friends, you would better understand that which you call a miracle. It was the first time that I have derived really deep and personal satisfaction from the fact that I had fifty pounds.

We see Alfred occasionally. He seems to be in fine form and much engaged with the affairs of Sydenham Hospital. Saw Felix a few weeks ago in Washington and he seemed considerably depressed. Our "red scare" continues and will, I think, increase in intensity and irresponsibility.

You ask about the Shirer affair—perhaps the best way to answer your question is to send you a copy of my letter to Archie MacLeish and a copy of the company statement which you will find enclosed. For your own private information, Bill had become lazy. Nearly 20% of his copy consisted of readings from newspapers and magazines. The size of his audience had decreased steadily during the last three years. He spent seven consecutive weeks at Lake Placid last summer and whatever the benefits of Lake Placid might be, it is not considered the ideal place from which to report and interpret world affairs.

I handled certain aspects of the matter without any great skill, but the basic decision I am prepared to defend. Out of the whole unfortunate incident I learned one thing: that is the willingness of so-called liberals such as Freda Kirchway and Archie MacLeish, to rush into print with anguished howls of condemnation without bothering to inform themselves of a single fact. If you meet Joe Barsch as I hope you will when he comes to London in a few months—you will, I think, conclude that Bill was replaced with a man who is neither less able nor less liberal.

E. R. M.
F. 1155

I have agreed to do two American commentaries for the BBC during July. It will be the first time I have sat behind a microphone for more than a year, and I am rather frightened at the prospect.

When are you coming over again? We now have ample room to put up both you and Freda and it would pleasure us greatly to have you come.

As ever yours,

Mr. Harold J. Laski
The London School of Economics and
Political Science
Houghton Street
Aldwych
London, W.C.2

DEVON LODGE,
ADDISON BRIDGE PLACE,
W.14.
FULHAM 2444.

24. 2. 48

Dear Ed.

Your very nice invitation arrived yesterday, & I hasten to let you know our plans, so you can inform your Security Police! It is sweet of you to ask us to stay with you but last week Alfred called he was expecting us to stay with them; so I guess that is all fixed up. But we look forward to mounting the stairs to the Nursery & making or renewing our acquaintance with Casey. We leave on one of the Queens March 20. stay about 10 days - N. York. 2 or 3 - Washington & then about April 12 go to Chicago & settle in at Roosevelt University. Fancy having a car!! We have forgotten what one looks like or at least what Petrol is. You are an angel.

Love to you both affectionately Frida.

Laski, Harold J.

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

Arriving March 20.
In N.Y. March 25 to April 5

February 18, 1948

Dear Harold:

What excellent news this is! Can you possibly come and stay with us. There are stairs to climb, but other than that I think it would be reasonably comfortable. There would be another advantage in staying with us and that is that the FBI, Parnell Thomas, Hoffman and the others could then keep their eyes on you without too much difficulty. I suspect they are currently informed of my own activities and particularly the guests who stop with us.

I have just telephoned Janet to give her the good news, and we both hope you will make our place your headquarters. When your dates are straightened out drop me a note and let me know the people you would like to see while you're in New York and we will arrange things. My car, of course, will be at your disposal if it would be of any use to you.

Our love to you and Frieda.

As ever yours,

Mr. Harold J. Laski
Devon Lodge
Addison Bridge Place
London, W.14

E. R. M.
F. 1155

DEVON LODGE,
ADDISON BRIDGE PLACE,
W.14.
FULHAM 2444.

10. 2. 48.

My dear Ed,

This is to warn you & Janet in advance that Frida & I sail for New York in the 'Queen Elizabeth' on March 20th. I am going to give 5 lectures at Roosevelt College, Chicago between April 6 and May 3, so I expect we shall be in New York, with a glimpse of Washington, and perhaps Boston, from say March 25 - April 6. I hope you both & Carey will be there then. So arrange that we all have the greatest necessary evs.

I presume you that we are not staying in America - We go home on May 7th, on the 'Queen Mary'. First, we thought America would not let us stay anyhow; then we thought it the day on the burning bridge; then I feared I might, anyhow, be interned when my books came out in April & it will not prejudice that I was a traitor; then I knew the B.B.C. could not do without me; and then I thought the Foreign Secretary and the ex-Prime Minister would break their hearts if I did not break our their otherwise happy lives. But you can be sure that I shall only cause temporary embarrassment to Mr Rankin, Mr Parnell Thomas, Mr Clare Hoffman, and that 'great citizen', Mr Edgar J. Hoover - after May 3, they can say to just all that God is with them and all's right with the U.S. except with - business, inflation, excessive profits, Hollywood, and such other matters -

Love from us both to you both,

Affectately,

W -

Thomas, Norman

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

May 28, 1947

Dear Mr. Thomas:

Many thanks for your unconventional letter of May 26th. It raises so many possibilities and problems that I should like an opportunity to sit down and talk with you about them. I wonder if you could find it convenient to lunch with me on Wednesday, June 4th.

Sincerely yours,

COPY

Mr. Norman Thomas
71 Irving Place
New York 3, New York

dm

E. R. M.
F. 1155

Norman Thomas
71 IRVING PLACE
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

May 26 1947

Mr Edward R Murrow, Vice-President
Columbia Broadcasting System Inc
485 Madison Ave
New York City

Dear Mr. Murrow:

This is an unconventional letter, in which I inquire about the possibility of my getting a job on some regular program, bi-weekly or weekly, as a radio interpreter or commentator on the news. As you know, I have done a good deal of radio work, and have long been more or less interested in the possibility of the sort of thing I am now suggesting. What brings my interest to a head is the fact that my wife's health makes it desirable, if not necessary, that I should greatly reduce the travelling I have been doing; and part of that travelling was for the lecture work from which I derive most of my income.

I do not assume that there would be any competition among sponsors for my program. I have no expectation of competing with Winchell or even Fulton Lewis for a Hooper or Crosley rating, but I think I could contribute something to that balance which I understand networks seek; and I have found a pretty widespread interest not only in radio speeches such as I have often given over Columbia, but also in a weekly program which I once provided for the Socialist paper, THE CALL. I made a record which was copied and sent to a very considerable number of small stations throughout the country. It was frankly an educational or propaganda venture, which was not self-supporting and for that reason was ultimately abandoned. If we had had the money we could have sent it to a great many more stations than we actually provided with the record. The program seemed to be well received, even in war years.

I should of course not conceal the fact that I was a Socialist. My comments on Foreign affairs would follow the line of the position of the Post War World Council, but I should not propagandize, of course, either for the Party or the Post War World Council.

I am writing frankly, and should appreciate a frank reply. I ventured to bring the matter up with you first, partly because of my general liking for the Columbia network, and partly because I remember with pleasure our former contacts.

Sincerely yours,

Norman Thomas

Norman Thomas

As you know, I shall not again run for office!

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As Pegler Sees It

About Murrow's Role In Moscow Study Group

By WESTBROOK PEGLER

Copyright, 1954, King Features Syndicate, Inc.

WASHINGTON, March 17.

I HAVE INFORMATION FOR YOU about Edward R. Murrow, the radio and television propagandist and an executive of Columbia Broadcasting System who has been attacking Senator Joe McCarthy, Roy Cohn and others because they attacked Communists.

WESTBROOK PEGLER

It may seem to some fastidious persons that I am unjust in writing that the reason why Murrow attacks these men is the fact that they attacked Communists. If so, let me answer such doubts by asking whether you have ever heard Murrow praise any aggressive anti-Communist as noisily as he baits Red-baiters for baiting Reds. Or indeed, at all.

As another preliminary I should like to emphasize a phenomenon which I consider to be alarming in connection with the clamor raised by this unimportant man. Have his broadcasts any virtue as political thought or English composition? Are they original or even defensible on grounds of intellectual honesty?

In short, is it good for this republic that such a performer, combining the attributes of the carnival pitchman and the irresponsible and utterly regardless political gas-bag, should suddenly command such wide attention for his vapid revelations and wield power over public opinion?

A GREAT THINKER, A WRITER and orator of Churchill's melodious beat and roll is not to be denied, however momentary his persuasions may be. But we have been yielding our reason, our emotions, our franchise, and thereby important portions of our freedom, to coarse adventures, some so vulgar that individuals, like the Biblical dog, go back to them, night after night, explaining "I listen because I like to hate him."

At best the victim suffers a loss of taste and dignity. At worst he is degraded mentally and politically by the stuff that he can't resist because of its horrible fascination. Murrow stands a grade above the most flagrant wantons of this cult, maintaining a supercilious veneer.

Mr. Murrow was denounced by Joe McCarthy as an American adviser to the Summer session of Moscow University. Murrow came back with a reply amounting to a flat denial in its effect on the public mind. He said:

"In 1935 I was assistant director of the Institute of International Education," as charged by McCarthy, and, "in this capacity, I was a member of the advisory committee for a Summer school in Moscow."

At this point, Murrow took evasive action. He said specifically: "In actual fact, the Summer school was cancelled by Russian authorities before it began."

Let us stop the record right there and look at the facts.

A PROGRAM OF THE BUREAU of University Travel, of Newton, Mass., entitled "1933, The First Russian Seminar and Near East Cruise," carries the name of Edward R. Murrow, "assistant director, Institute of International Education, New York," as one of its advisory committee.

So two years before the year which Murrow picked out to use for his denial of McCarthy's expose, he was listed on the "advisory committee" of this pro-Russian project. And the "aims" of this "seminar" to Moscow by American under-grads and pedagogs were stated in these words:

"The inspirational opportunities for study and observation are unlimited. Would you like to have been an observer during the French Revolution? The present opportunity in Russia is of equal significance. The first Russian seminar will take advantage of this opportunity."

Murrow does not deny that he served thus in this connection in 1933. But he did tell the public that "in 1935" he did not serve as adviser for a Moscow Communist Summer school because it was cancelled "before it began." Was that an innocent error or not?

Murrow surely had not forgotten that he was listed on the roster in 1933 and 1934 when the seminars certainly were held. The 1933 seminar was described in a Soviet pamphlet circulated in American educational circles as "an experiment conducted by a group of American educators."

The pamphlet said 25 students attended the 1933 project. In 1934 the attendance was 212, "including undergraduates, principals, professors, psychologists, and social workers," for 1935, 1,000 were expected to make the pilgrimage, but the Hearst papers exposed the plot and Murrow tells us that the Russian authorities called it off.

WHO WERE MURROW'S COLLEAGUES in this roster? They included George S. Counts of Columbia University, Robert M. Hutchins, then president of the University of Chicago; Hallie F. Flanagan, the protege of Eleanor Roosevelt in the audacious fling to create a subsidized national theatre in an atmosphere of revolution, and Stephen Duggan, "director of the Institute of International Education."

This Duggan was the father of that Lawrence Duggan, of the Latin American Department of the State Department, who was accused of giving secret American documents to Russian spies and went out a window in New York to his death.

Whittaker Chambers and Elizabeth Bentley said Larry Duggan had been a member of the Alger Hiss spy ring. And Edward R. Murrow of CBS had said that the investigation of Larry Duggan was "character assassination."

Bear in mind that the "Institute" of which Stephen Duggan was "director" at this time was the thing which made the arrangements for these American pilgrimages to scenes of mass slaughter and genocidal starvation.

Murrow finally rose to the pinnacle, becoming president of the Institute of International Education in some year which, like the year of his birth, is bashfully left to conjecture in "Who's Who."

HIS PEDIGREE IS LOADED with the conventional biographical trash including three honorary, or Chinese, LL.D.'s and empty presidencies of something called National Student Federation and the Association of American Correspondents in London.

So this is the great educator Columbia Broadcasting System offers its capitalist clients with millions of the shareholders' dollars to spend on advertising.

His sole legitimate qualification as an educated man seems to be his rather blank statement that he "graduated" from Washington State, but with what degree he seems too coy to tell, although there are rumors that he did expose himself to the standard hypodermic of mother countryism at Oxford.

April 7,1949

Mr. Murrow:

Mr. Nicely thought you would be interested in the attached.

E. M. O'Hara
Secretary to J.M.Nicely

ARCHI

COPY

HIBALD MACLEISH UPHILL FARM CONWAY, MASSACHUSETTS

IV-5-49

Dear Mr. Nicely:

Yours of the 25th February was waiting for me when I got back from a long lecture trip.

I have no doubt that Larry's death was accidental. And it is for that reason that the events of the following twenty-four hours seem to me to constitute a charge on the consciences of all of us. When this republic sinks so low in doubt and fear and senseless suspicion that the death of of one of the noblest of public servants can be regarded, without evidence and on the mere slanderous say-so of an ambitious politician, as proof that he must have been a spy or at the very least disloyal then every decent American citizen must hang his head in shame. To me the twenty-four hours following Larry's death were the blackest in the lifetime of our American generation. The one redeeming feature is that the respectable newspapers - and there still are a few - faced the facts and made such restitution as they could: and that, in consequence, a great many Americans suddenly realized to what depths their reliance upon informers and political police and all the rest of the disgusting apparatus had brought them.

I think, if you will reread my letter, you will agree that it states what you too, evidently, feel.

Again with my thanks.

(signed) Archie MacLeish

April 7, 1949

Mr. Archibald MacLeish
Uphill Farm
Conway, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. MacLeish:

Many thanks for your kind letter of April 5. I have been very much helped by receiving it and as requested re-read your earlier letter. I can readily see how the difference in viewpoint between us arose. When you were appealing to our consciences in your earlier letter you were focusing on the events that followed Larry's death, whereas I was focusing on what many people supposed to be the events which preceded it, i.e. the persecution into suicide theory. No doubt I was over influenced by the remark I had heard which I had mentioned in my letter of February 25. Perhaps I did not read your letter carefully enough the first time.

As I re-read it I have to suggest, in defense of myself, that the emphasis on the events that followed the tragedy is not very sharp.

It is a pleasure to correspond with you and I thank you for your letter.

Sincerely yours,

James M. Nicely

March 9, 1949

Dear Jim:

Thanks for the copy of your letter to Archie MacLeish. I imagine it must have given him furiously to think.

As ever yours,

Mr. James H. Nicely
First National Bank
2 Wall Street
New York, New York

JAMES M. NICELY

VICE PRESIDENT
THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK
OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Copy

February 25, 1949

Mr. Archibald MacLeish
The Laurence Duggan Fund
Room 410
53 Broadway
New York 4, N.Y.

Dear Mr. MacLeish:

I am sorry to have been slow in replying to the Laurence Duggan appeal and also regret that my contribution has to be so modest. It is enclosed herewith. Unfortunately it takes all that I can earn to carry my family obligations and that is that.

May I raise a question as to the second paragraph in your letter where you speak of our obligations to set our consciences straight, etc. This is a matter that still troubles me very much because it seems to me that it points definitely to the suicide - Alger Hiss persecution theory - as to which, so far as I know, there is not the slightest shred of evidence. I was reminded of this again last evening when a young man of leftish enthusiasm and great zeal, who never saw Larry in his life, referred to the "Duggan tragedy" in a company of a dozen or so people and the remark was obviously made so that everybody would infer that Larry had been persecuted to death by reactionaries. Maybe this is the truth but I do not believe it and I do not believe it is any compliment to Larry's fortituted and courage for anyone to support that theme unless he has some real evidence to back him up. I am therefore very unhappy when I hear enthusiastic leftists exploit this tragedy when I believe it was an accident. Am I unfair when I suggest that your appeal to our consiciences lies a little too much in that same territory?

I would love to talk this over with you some time at the Century Club or wherever else we might meet.

Sincerely yours,

James M. Nicely

February 18, 1949

Dear Miss Daggett:

Thank you for your letter of February 10th.

I am grateful to you for sending me the resolution regarding Laurence Duggan which was adopted by the Board of Directors of the Foreign Policy Association. It will be called to the attention of the Board of Trustees of the Institute at the first opportunity.

Sincerely yours,

Miss Helen Daggett
Foreign Policy Association
22 East 38th Street
New York 16, New York

cc: President George N. Shuster
Hunter College
695 Park Avenue
New York, New York

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION
Incorporated
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 22 EAST 38 STREET, NEW YORK 16
Telephone: MUrray Hill 5-5740 *Cable Address: Forpolas*

BROOKS EMENY
President

February 10, 1949

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
The Institute of International Education
2 West 45th Street
New York 19, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

As chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Institute of International Education, may I tell you that the following resolution was adopted with a rising vote by the members of the Board of Directors of the Foreign Policy Association at its meeting on January 27, 1949:

> "Resolved, that we record our dismay and distress at the untimely death of Laurence Duggan, who as a public servant worked indefatigably and wisely for many years on behalf of friendly, harmonious, and just relations between the United States and the Latin American republics, and who after his return to private life, as director of the Institute of International Education, was a valued, respected and helpful member of this Board."

There were also many personal expressions of appreciation for the constructive help and advice which Mr. Laurence Duggan had rendered this association.

Sincerely yours,

Helen M. Daggett
Helen M. Daggett
Secretary

km

Mrs — Thank her + send copy to Schmeder

THE LAURENCE DUGGAN FUND
ROOM 410, 53 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 4, N. Y.

Date: February 12, 1949

Received of Mr. Edward R. Murrow

The sum of one hundred dollars

dollars ($100.00) for the Institute of International Education.

Bess N. Grinks
Secretary

Contributions are tax-exempt.

THE LAURENCE DUGGAN FUND · Room 410, 53 Broadway · New York 4, N. Y. · WHitehall 3-4196

February 12, 1949

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

We wish to acknowledge with gratitude your gift of one hundred dollars ($100.00) in memory of Laurence Duggan, and to express our deep appreciation of this tribute to him.

The Laurence Duggan Fund will be presented on February 28 to the Board of Trustees of the Institute of International Education to be used in carrying out the work of international peace and understanding which was his constant aim.

Sincerely yours,

Archibald MacLeish

Archibald MacLeish
On behalf of those whose names appear
at the bottom of this letter

Enclosure

Phinney Baxter, 3rd
Berg
to Lleras Camargo
uis Childs
Dawson
John Dickey
Harold Willis Dodds
Richard Flood
Lewis Gordon
Gardner Jackson
David Lilienthal
John Mott
Edward R. Murrow
Marguerite Owen
Drew Pearson
Clarence Pickett
William G. Saltonstall
Eduardo Santos
Robert K. Straus
L. Corrin Strong
Walter N. Tobriner
Sumner Welles
Helen C. White
Mrs. Quincy Wright
Charles E. Wyzanski, Jr.

Bess N. Trinks, *Secretary*

THE LAURENCE DUGGAN FUND · Room 410, 53 Broadway · New York 4, N. Y. · WHitehall 3-4196

January 21, 1949

$ 170 to
paid 2/2/49

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Friend:

It is with deep appreciation that I acknowledge receipt of your communication, giving permission to include your name as one of the group of friends sponsoring The Laurence Duggan Fund. We are going ahead with all arrangements to carry out the project.

A copy of the letter which will be sent out to the wider circle of friends and acquaintances is attached. The first mailing will be in the hands of some of the people the early part of next week. We will continue to send out the letter during the coming week, as additional names and lists are received from the members of the sponsoring committee. I think we should plan to close the mailing on Friday, January 28. This will leave just one month until the date of the presentation of the Fund to the Board of Trustees of the Institute at their stated meeting on February 28. Could you plan to have your list in our hands on Monday or Tuesday?

A personal word from you to any of the recipients of the letter will no doubt be of great value in achieving the results for which each one of us is working.

Miss Bess N. Trinks, who was Larry's assistant at the Institute, will be serving the Fund as secretary. She will be glad to be of help in any way to this group and can be reached at either this address or at the Institute, 2 West 45 Street, New York 19 (MUrray Hill 7-0630). Please do not hesitate to call upon her if you have suggestions or advice toward the successful execution of this project, which is important to all of us.

With warm thanks for your gracious association in this tribute to Larry Duggan, I am

Sincerely yours,

Archibald MacLeish

Archibald MacLeish

Enclosures

JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, 3RD
MOE BERG
ALBERTO LLERAS CAMARGO
MARQUIS CHILDS
ALLAN DAWSON
JOHN DICKEY
HAROLD WILLIS DODDS
RICHARD FLOOD
LEWIS GORDON
GARDNER JACKSON
DAVID LILIENTHAL
JOHN MOTT
EDWARD R. MURROW
MARGUERITE OWEN
DREW PEARSON
CLARENCE PICKETT
WILLIAM G. SALTONSTALL
EDUARDO SANTOS
ROBERT K. STRAUS
L. CORRIN STRONG
WALTER N. TOBRINER
SUMNER WELLES
HELEN C. WHITE
MRS. QUINCY WRIGHT
CHARLES E. WYZANSKI, JR.

BESS N. TRINKS, *Secretary*

THE LAURENCE DUGGAN FUND · Room 410, 53 Broadway · New York 4, N. Y. · WHitehall 3-4196

The tragedy of Laurence Duggan's death, and of the events which followed it, demanded of all Americans a searching of conscience and a reaffirmation of the great enduring values for which, in the past, this Republic has always stood -- the values from which Larry himself never turned aside.

To Larry's personal friends, the obligation was even heavier. His friends remember what he was -- a servant of his country, both in its government and out, whose labor for the common cause of freedom and democracy and peace was as devoted as it was intelligent, as warm-hearted as it was courageous, as humble as it was human and wise and true. They felt therefore a necessity, not only to set their own consciences straight in the face of events for which no American citizen could wholly escape responsibility, but also to express in some form, or by some action, their admiration for Larry's life and their sorrow for his death.

An opportunity for such an expression is offered by the fact that Larry was engaged at the time of his death in an effort to raise money for the Institute of International Education of which he was president. It was not in Larry's nature as you know to leave a job unfinished.

What we propose, therefore, is that his friends should raise among themselves, and should present in his name to the Institute, a fund to be used for the work in which Larry was himself most deeply interested. Such a fund will enable all of us acting together to achieve for him some at least of the tasks he would have accomplished had he lived.

Except to report the outcome there will be no follow up letters nor will we urge the project upon you in any way. We hope you will feel as we do about it and that you will do what you can. Whether your gift is large or small it will mean a great deal to the things in which we all believe -- the things for which Larry lived his life.

Faithfully yours,

Archibald MacLeish

Archibald MacLeish
On behalf of those whose names appear
at the bottom of this letter

James Phinney Baxter, 3rd
Moe Berg
Alberto Lleras Camargo
Marquis Childs
Allan Dawson
John Dickey
Harold Willis Dodds
Richard Flood
Lewis Gordon
Gardner Jackson
David Lilienthal
John Mott
Edward R. Murrow
Marguerite Owen
Drew Pearson
Clarence Pickett
William G. Saltonstall
Eduardo Santos
Robert K. Straus
L. Corrin Strong
Walter N. Tobriner
Sumner Welles
Helen C. White
Mrs. Quincy Wright
Charles E. Wyzanski, Jr.

Bess N. Trinks, *Secretary*

LIST FOR DUGGAN FUND LETTERS

James Warburg
70 East 45th Street
New York, New York

Kenneth Holland
UNESCO
19, Avenue Kleber
Paris, France

Fred M. Stein
270 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dr. Alfred E. Cohn
300 Central Park West
New York, New York

Mr. Samuel A. Lewisohn
61 Broadway
New York, New York

Mr. Elmer Davis
American Broadcasting Company
1661 Crescent Place, N. W.
Washington 9, D.C.

Edward R. Murrow
2/8/49

COPY

The Laurence Duggan Fund
Room 410, 53 Broadway
New York 4, N. Y.
Whitehall 3-4196

January 21, 1949

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
130 East 75th Street
New York City

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Because of your great interest in the Laurence Duggan Fund and your sponsorship of it, we want to share with you advance copies of our News Release which will go out for Sunday (January 23rd) release, together with a copy of Archibald MacLeish's letter. This release will be sent to about 60 newspaper, periodical, and radio editors. In addition, we hope you will make whatever press or radio use of it you feel is suitable.

Mr. MacLeish's letter itself, in Mecveized form under his signature, will be sent, beginning this week end and continuing through the week, to approximately 1,000 of Laurence Duggan's friends and acquaintances.

You will note that not all the members of the sponsoring group have been identified in our News Release. The entire group were close personal friends of Laurence Duggan. Further identification of some of them is given on an attached sheet.

We appreciate more than we can say your interest and continuing support.

Sincerely yours,

BNT.

Dean H. Trinks, for
Archibald MacLeish

Enclosures

Copy to Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

James Phinney Baxter, 3rd	- President of Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts. He was Mr. Duggan's tutor at Harvard.
Alberto Lleras Camargo	- Director General of the Pan American Union.
Allen Dawson	- A member of the State Department.
Richard Flint	- One of Mr. Duggan's roommates at Harvard.
Lewis Gordon	- Also a roommate at Harvard.
John Nott	- Director of International House, New York.
Marguerite Owen	- Chief Administrative Assistant to the Tennessee Valley Authority Chairman and Board.
William G. Saltonstall	- Principal, Phillips Exeter Academy.
Robert K. Strunk	- A classmate of Mr. Duggan's at Harvard.
L. Gerwin Strunk	- Trustee of Rollins College.
Walter H. Whitmer	- Attorney in Washington.
Helen C. White	- Professor of English, University of Wisconsin.
Mrs. Quincy Wright	- Director, Chicago Council on Foreign Relations.
Charles E. Wyzanski, Jr.	- Judge of the U. S. District Court, Boston.

THE LAURENCE DUGGAN FUND · Room 410, 53 Broadway · New York 4, N. Y. · WHitehall 3-4196

For further information on Saturday
up to 1 P. M., call MUrray Hill 7-0630

NEWS RELEASE
For release January 23, 1949

"The tragedy of Laurence Duggan's death, and of the events which followed it, demanded of all Americans a searching of conscience and a reaffirmation of the great enduring values for which, in the past, this Republic has always stood -- the values from which Larry himself never turned aside."

With this tribute to his friend Laurence Duggan, Archibald MacLeish, distinguished poet and former Librarian of Congress, announced today, on behalf of a sponsoring group, the formation of The Laurence Duggan Fund. The idea for the Fund grew out of the desire of a number of Mr. Duggan's friends to express in concrete form their faith in him and in the

(more)

James Phinney Baxter, 3rd
Moe Berg
Alberto Lleras Camargo
Marquis Childs
Allan Dawson
John Dickey
Harold Willis Dodds
Richard Flood
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Walter N. Tobriner
Sumner Welles
Helen C. White
Mrs. Quincy Wright
Charles E. Wyzanski, Jr.

Bess N. Trinks, *Secretary*

work of international education and understanding to which he had devoted his life and on which he was working at the time of his death.

The sponsoring group includes college presidents Harold Dodds of Princeton and John Dickey of Dartmouth; radio commentators Drew Pearson, Marquis Childs, and Edward R. Murrow; Clarence Pickett, Executive Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee; and Washington friends of Mr. Duggan such as Sumner Welles, Eduardo Santos, former President of the Republic of Colombia, Gardner Jackson, and David Lilienthal.

"It was not in Larry's nature, as you know, to leave a job unfinished." Mr. MacLeish's letter continues. "What we propose, therefore, is that his friends should raise among themselves, and should present in his name to the Institute of International Education (of which he was president) a fund to be used for the work in which Larry himself was most deeply interested. Such a fund will enable all of us acting together to achieve for him some at least of the tasks he would have accomplished had he lived."

Fund headquarters are at 53 Broadway, New York City. It is hoped that there will be broad participation in this fund by the general public.

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THE LAURENCE DUGGAN FUND · Room 410, 53 Broadway · New York 4, N. Y. · WHitehall 3-4196

January 21, 1949

The tragedy of Laurence Duggan's death, and of the events which followed it, demanded of all Americans a searching of conscience and a reaffirmation of the great enduring values for which, in the past, this Republic has always stood -- the values from which Larry himself never turned aside.

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Except to report the outcome there will be no follow up letters nor will we urge the project upon you in any way. We hope you will feel as we do about it and that you will do what you can. Whether your gift is large or small it will mean a great deal to the things in which we all believe -- the things for which Larry lived his life.

Faithfully yours,

Archibald MacLeish
On behalf of those whose names appear
at the bottom of this letter

James Phinney Baxter, 3rd
Moe Berg
Alberto Lleras Camargo
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L. Corrin Strong
Walter N. Tobriner
Sumner Welles
Helen C. White
Mrs. Quincy Wright
Charles E. Wyzanski, Jr.

Bess N. Trinks, *Secretary*

January 12, 1949

ARCHIBALD MACLEISH
C/O LAURENCE DUGGAN FUND
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
53 BROADWAY
NEW YORK, N. Y.

I WOULD OF COURSE BE DELIGHTED TO SERVE IN ANY WAY I CAN. YOU MAY COUNT ME AS SPONSOR OF THE PROJECT. AS I'M WORKING OUT OF WASHINGTON THIS MONTH, THE LIST OF NAMES AND ADDRESSES WILL HAVE TO WAIT UNTIL MY RETURN. I WOULD BE GLAD TO HEAR IN MORE DETAIL REGARDING SPECIAL DUGGAN FUND. REGARDS.

EDWARD R. MURROW
CBS, NEW YORK

WESTERN UNION

WU005 NL PD NEWYORK NY JAN 11

EDWARD R MURROW

CBS

RECEIVED
1949 JAN 12 AM 9:12
C.B.S. TRAFFIC DEPT. N.Y.

A GROUP OF LAURENCE DUGGAN'S FRIENDS WHO SHARE THE DEEP DESIRE WE ALL HAVE TO FIND SOME EXPRESSION FOR OUR FEELING ABOUT HIS LIFE AND DEATH HAVE MADE WHAT SEEMS TO MANY OF US A MOST APPROPRIATE SUGGESTION. THEY HAVE PROPOSED THAT HIS FRIENDS SHOULD RAISE AMONG THEMSELVES AND PRESENT IN HIS NAME TO THE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION A FUND TO BE USED FOR THOSE PURPOSES OF THE INSTITUTE IN WHICH HE AS PRESIDENT WAS MOST DEEPLY INTERESTED. THEPARTICULAR APPROPRIATENESS OF THIS SUGGESTION LIES IN THE FACT THAT LARRY WAS ENGAGED AT THE TIME OF HIS DEATH IN RAISING MONEY FOR THE INSTITUTE'S WORK. IT WAS NOT IN LARRY'S NATURE AS YOU KNOW TO LEAVE A JOB UNFINISHED. IF YOU WOULD CARE TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS UNDERTAKING AND TO JOIN A FEW OF LARRY'S FRIENDS IN SPONSORING A LETTER WHICH I WILL WRITE TO A LARGER GROUP OF THOSE WHO KNEW HIM, WILL YOU DOTWO THINGS? FIRST, TELEGRAPH YOUR CONSENT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO ME, CARE OF LAURENCE DUGGAN FUND, AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, 53 BROADWAY, NEW YORK; SECONDLY PREPARE A LIST OF NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF THOSE YOU THINK WOULD WISH TO KNOW OF THE LAURENCE DUGGAN FUND AND SEND THIS TO ME AT THE SAME ADDRESS AS SOON AS CONVENIENT. I AM PERMITTED TO SAY THAT THIS PROPOSAL HAS THE APPROVAL OF LARRY'S FAMILY AND THAT THE INSTITUTE WOULD ACCEPT SUCH A FUND WITH DEEP APPRECIATION

ARCHIBALD MACLEISH.

330A..

LAURENCE DUGGAN

Born - May 28, 1905, New York, New York.

Education - Elementary and secondary school, White Plains, New York.
Phillips Exeter Academy, 1922-1923, cum laude.
Harvard College, 1923-1927. A.B. degree, cum laude.
Postgraduate courses in history, government, and economics, Columbia University (New York) and George Washington University (Washington, D.C.)

Married - Helen B. Boyd, 1932.

Children -

Stephanie	1937
Laurence	1942
Robert	1943
Christopher	1945

Positions - 1927-1928 - Harper & Bros., publishers, 49 East 33rd Street, New York.

1929-1930 - Institute of International Education, 2 West 45th Street, New York.

1930-1944 - Department of State, Washington, D.C.

1935-1941 - Chief, Division of American Republics. Responsible under Secretary or Under Secretary of State for general conduct of relations with all twenty Latin American countries.

1941-1944 - Adviser on Political Relations for Latin America.

1944 (January to July) Director, Office of American Republic Affairs.

1944 (September) to 1945 (October) Assistant Diplomatic Adviser, United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

1945 (November) to present. Consultant on Latin America.

Travel - Have resided in or visited all countries of Latin America; also visited Great Britain, France, Germany, and Switzerland.

Languages - Read, write and speak Spanish; read French and Portuguese.

LAURENCE DUGGAN

Born - May 28, 1905, New York, New York.

Education - Elementary and secondary school, White Plains, New York.
Phillips Exeter Academy, 1922-1923, cum laude.
Harvard College, 1923-1927. A.B. degree, cum laude.
Postgraduate courses in history, government, and economics, Columbia University (New York) and George Washington University (Washington, D.C.)

Married - Helen B. Boyd, 1932.

Children -

Stephanie	1937
Laurence	1942
Robert	1943
Christopher	1945

Positions - 1927-1928 - Harper & Bros., publishers, 49 East 33rd Street, New York.

1929-1930 - Institute of International Education, 2 West 45th Street, New York.

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EDWARD R. MURROW WITH THE NEWS

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

NEWS PORTION

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1948
7:45 - 8:00 PM

COMMERCIAL

THIS IS THE NEWS:

A man named Laurence Duggan didd here in New York last night. Today, Representative Mundt, Whittaker Chambers, Sumner Welles and Alger Hiss, the police and the FBI, all had something to say about his death. I'd like to review the facts, as distinguished from the conjecture, in just a minute.

The war in Indonesia goes on...a Dutch spokesman there even called it "war" today instead of the term "police action" used by his superiors. At the United Nations, the United States is pespared to make a determined argument in the Security Council tomorrow. We want the Council to call for a halt in the fighting...release of the captured leaders of the Indonesian Republic...a return to the lines held by both sides before the attack. A Dutch foreign office spokesman says: "It cannot be expected we will comply with those demands." A number of nations appear to support the American view: the Arab League, Australia and Burma are on record to halt the battle. The Dutch acknowledge they expect to spend six months ending resistance. But the free leaders of the Indonesian Republic are calling on their people to use scourched earth tactics "to the utmost". The Indonesians say they have recaptured their captial city. The Dutch say that's not tsus. In this country, representatives of both sides are arguing over just where Marshall Plan funds fit int the picture. The Indonesians say Dutch budget deficits, created by the fighting in Indonesia, are being covered by Marshall Plan money. A Dutch spokesman says that's not true, that Marshall Plan money is being devoted to Dutch rehabilitation, not to armaments.

The United States has decided to stop all reconstruction projects in China...70-million dollars worth. Marshall Plan Administrator Hoffman, who made this announcement after conferring with the President, says its because of the mixed up situation in China. No decision on future aid will be made until things clear up. So, 21 days after Madame Chiang arrived in this country to appeal for help, she has been informed that her country will be deprived of reconstruction funds. In China, where the government armies continue to give ground, the United Press reports what may happen next...quoting what's called "an unimpeachable source." This person says: Premier Sun Fo's government is going to build up its armies a little, then seek peace with the Communists. Chiang

Kai-Shek...(says this source)...will resign when the peace negotiations begin. It's also suggested that either Russia alone, or Russian and the United States together, will be asked to help settle the war. The government's Legislative body...750 members...met in Nanking today. About one hundred members showed up.

In Europe today, two governments went through another phase. President O'Kelly of Eire signed a bill taking his country out of the British Commonwealth...cutting its last constitutional tie with Great Britain. Eire becomes a free and independent state officially when certain things have been worked out with London...citizenship, trade, privileges and the like.

In Berlin, the three western powers set up their own military government...held the door open for the Russians. This means that the American, British and French sectors will be run as one unit.

E.R.MURROW - XX 12/21/48 -Sp-2-2-2-2-2-2-2-2-2

The State Department today took official notice of the recent revolts in Western Hemisphere countries: three governments overthrown, eight others threatened, in the last few months. We are asking twenty governmets in this hemisphere to suggest a way of ending what we call this "deplorable danger." The State Department says: our concern over this is growing...the use of arms to overthrow governments is a danger...it's inconsistent with the ideals of the American Republics. We want suggestions on what should be done to "strengthen democratic and constitutional frameworks" of government's in this hemisphere.

Attorney General Clark today asked the Supreme Court to give the Federal government the same "paramount rights" to tidelands off Texas and Louisiana as it has granted to the rich oil areas off California. Both states promise to fight against this.

That Congressional committee investigating business profits ended its work today. Chairman Flanders of Vermont said: "Business leaders made a better case for their profits than I expected." But he warned these same leaders: "There cannot be an irresistable growth of the big efficient corporations...(no matter how they are justified...) without changing the social and economic system."

In Chicago, leaders of one million non-operating railroad workers say they will use a recent government proposal as the basis of further negotiations with the railroads. A Presidential board suggested a seven cents an hour increase with a 40-hour week instead of 48 hours.

And in Washington, a federal judge turned down Representative J. Parnell Thomas' motion for a dismissal of charges that he collected kickbacks from some of his office workers...and listed others, who did no work.

N.B.

PLEASE RETURN TO
CBS REFERENCE DEPARTMENT
CBS REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

EDWARD R. MURROW WITH THE NEWS
COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1948
7:45 - 8:00 PM

EXCERPT

General Information Division
Reference Department

And now it is my inclination and my duty to report at some length upon the death of Laurence Duggan, President of the Institute of International Education, an important official of the State Department from 1930 to 1944. Last night Mr. Duggan fell, or jumped from his sixteenth floor office here in New York. There were no witnesses; he left no note; there was no sign of struggle in the office. The police believe he either jumped or fell. Some hours after Mr. Duggan's death, Representative Mundt of the House Un-American Activities Committee, released secret testimony, given before the Committee by Isaac Don Levine, editor of an obscure magazine, on December 8th. Mr. Levine testified that he accompanied Whittaker Chambers on a visit to Adolf Berle in 1939, and that Chambers named Duggan as one of six State Department officials from whom he had received papers and confidential information. In releasing this testimony, Representative Mundt said the testimony should speak for itself. Today Whittaker Chambers says, to his knowledge, he never met Mr. Duggan. Asked if he ever named Mr. Duggan as having passed papers over to him, Chambers replied: "I did not name Duggan as having passed papers over to me." To my knowledge he was not a Communist." But he did remember telling Mr. Berle that in his opinion Laurence Duggan was a member of what he called a "pro-Soviet bloc" in the State Department.
The Federal Bureau of Investigation said today that its agents had questioned Mr. Duggan once, four days before his death. It was in connection with the Grand Jury investigation. An F.B.I. spokesman explained: "We would have been derilect in our duty if we had not questioned anyone whose name had been mentioned." (A "great number" of persons have been interviewed.)

Representative Mundt said the Committee had not called Mr. Duggan to

testify because he believed the Federal Grand Jury in New York might call him. Mr. Duggan had not been subpoenaed by the Grand Jury.

Alger Hiss said he was shocked at the death of one of his very good friends, and that Laurence Duggan was a "victim of persecution." Mr. Hiss did not elaborate this statement and, as we shall see in a moment, Mr. Duggan gave no sign to family or friends that he was being "persecuted".

Mr. Francis B. Sayre, former Assistant Secretary of State, said that Laurence Duggan was respected throughout all South America; had rendered a great service to his country while in the State Department. Sumner Welles, who was Duggan's chief during most of his time in the Department, said, "Laurence Duggan was one of the most brilliant, most devoted and most patriotic public servants I have ever known." And when he dictated that sentence over the phone, he put the emphasis on "patriotic".

You will see from what I have just reported--and in spite of the headlines --that the only evidence linking Laurence Duggan to espionage activities is to be found in the unsupported statement of one, Isaac Don Levine--a statement subsequently denied by Whittaker Chambers who, according to Mr. Levine, made the original charge. Mr. Duggan had not been called to testify by either the Grand Jury or the House Un-American Activities Committee. Mr. Levine cannot be reached. His office says he'll be out of town for two weeks.

It is on the basis of such evidence - or rather, lack of it - that a dead man's character is being destroyed in some of the public prints. Some of the headlines that I have seen might as well have read: "Spy Takes Life"; and the police have no evidence to show that he jumped rather than fell.

As late as yesterday, Duggan had planned to go to Washington early this morning for a meeting with Army officials regarding fellowships for students in occupied territory. Late yesterday afternoon he signed letters making social and business commitments for the future. He left no suicide note; and he had not evidenced to anyone any sign of apprehension, nervousness or concern about the

espionage investigations.

I had known Laurence Duggan for about eighteen years. I was Chairman of the Board of the Institute of International Education when he was selected as Director of that institution - an organization dealing primarily with the exchange of students and Professors between American and foreign colleges and universities. He was selected after the trustees had spent several months considering various candidates, and investigating their qualifications.

Laurence Duggan did not seek the post, but was rather persuaded to give up a lucrative career as consultant to large corporations, on Latin-American affairs - an area where he was an expert. The trustees felt that his ability as an administrator, the high esteem in which he was held by leaders in business, government and the academic community, plus his experience in international affairs at the State Department, equipped him admirably to direct the affairs of the Institute of International Education.

And tonight the headlines are shouting: "Duggan Named in Spy Case". Who named him? Isaac Don Levine, who said he was quoting Whittaker Chambers. And who denies it? Whittaker Chambers. Tonight Representative Mundt says: "The Duggan affair is a closed book so far as the House Committee is concerned." The Representative from South Dakota also says he is thinking of making some recommendations for changing the procedure at Committee hearings, maybe even giving the accused persons the right to be heard before the Committee issues a report.

The members of the Committee who have done this thing upon such slight and wholly discredited testimony may now consult their actions and their consciences.

****

Well, the truth is hard to come by under the present system of Congressional investigation. And certainly, in the espionage case, what we want most are the facts - the truth. But perhaps there's some comfort in this thought by Lincoln Steffens, who once said: "Men do not seek the truth. It is truth that pursues men who run away and will not look around." Good Night and Good Luck!

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

November 19, 1947

Dear Mr. Herring:

Since your letter of November 11th arrived just as he was leaving the office, Mr. Murrow asked me to acknowledge it and tell you that he will be glad to see Mr. Gareson as soon as he returns to the office. He is now in London, and is expected to return about the first week in December.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy McDonough
Secretary

Mr. Pendleton Herring
Carnegie Corporation of New York
522 Fifth Avenue
New York 18, New York

COPY

E. R. M.
F. 1155

CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK
522 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 18, N.Y.

PENDLETON HERRING
EXECUTIVE ASSOCIATE

November 11, 19

Mr. Edward Murrow
Institute of International Education
2 West 45th Street
New York 19, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow

Before his departure for Mexico City, I talked with Larry Duggan about Oliver Garceau as a possible candidate for the post of associate director of the IIE. Larry suggested that I get in touch with you about Garceau in the event that you might want to talk with him while Larry is in Mexico. Enclosed with this letter is a statement concerning Garceau's previous training and experience.

I have known Garceau for about ten years and I have a very high opinion of his ability. He is intelligent, able, and energetic; he is a stimulating associate and a thoughtful and imaginative person. His administrative ability has been demonstrated particularly during the War. He was Commander of the Naval Base at Bar Harbor and handled a variety of problems there quite successfully. As you can see from his record, his academic background is excellent, and I know that he takes a very deep interest in students.

Just now he is working on the Public Library Inquiry under Robert Leigh. He is very much interested in this work and, according to Leigh, is doing an excellent job. Under his present schedule, he will complete a report for the Inquiry by the end of June, 1948. Rather than return to teaching, he would prefer work of an administrative character that relates to educational matters. I am sure that he would arrange to come to New York and talk with you and Arthur Packard if you would like to see him.

Alger Hiss has written a letter to Larry Duggan concerning Richard Winslow. He expected that this letter would be brought to your attention during Larry's absence from New York. If the letter has been forwarded to Mexico City, I can supply you with a carbon copy. I know Winslow and can add my endorsement to that of Hiss.

Sincerely

Pendleton Herring

PHmr
Encl.

Mon - Tuesday on
Monday - I am
in London -
Glad to see
her Jan when
I get back

Oliver Garceau

Born 1911, Boston, Massachusetts.
Education:
Country Day School, Newton, Mass., 1921-29.
Harvard College, 1929-33. Phi Beta Kappa, 1932.
A. B., (Magna Cum Laude in Political Science) 1933.
New College, Oxford, England, 1933.
Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, 1934-35.
Harvard Business Review Board, 1934.
M. B. A., with High Distinction, 1935.
Harvard Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, 1937-39.
M. A. 1939.
Ph. D. 1940.
Toppan Prize for dissertation in Political Science.
University of Chicago, Area Studies, Far East, 1944.
Fellow, Social Science Research Council, 1945-46, for research in administrative behavior and case method teaching public administration.
Publications:
The Political Life of the American Medical Association, Harvard University Press, 1941.
Contributor to Harvard Business Review and Public Opinion Quarterly.
Revised, W. D. Munro, Governments of Europe, 3rd Edition, 1937, sections on Great Britain and British Commonwealth.
Teaching:
Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration
Research Assistant in Industry and Government, 1935-36.
Harvard University Faculty of Arts and Sciences
Instructor in Government and Tutor in History, Government, and Economics, 1936-41; 1945-46.
Assistant Professor of Government, 1946.
University of Maine
Associate Professor of Government, 1946-47, teaching Introduction to Government, Political Parties, Public Administration, Government Controls of Industry, and Political Theory.
Naval Service:
Lieutenant (j.G.) 1941-42.
Lieutenant, 1942-44.
Lieutenant Commander, 1944-45.

Principal Assignments:
Navigator and Executive Officer, U. S. S. Eagle #27
Commanding Officer, Naval Section Base, Bar Harbor,
Acting Commander, Bar Harbor Section, Naval Local Defense Forces.
Area Planning Staff, Occupied Areas Section, Office of Chief of Naval Operations.
Naval Liaison Officer, Civil Affairs Training Sch Harvard University with additional duties: Officer in charge of developing program and training Naval Military Government Officers port operations; Instructor in Military Gov
District Historical Officer.

The attached is in confirmation of

my telephone message today to your secretary.

Mr. Duggan's address: Hotel Regis, Mexico City.

B. Trinks

11-7-47

B. Trinks
Secretary to Mr. Duggan

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

(52)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

35

RECEIVED NOV 7 AM 8 55

N4 35 NL=MEXICOCITY VIA MEXTEL NOV 6

MURROW INTERED (THE INSTITUTE OF INTL EDUCATION)=
NYK (2 WEST 45 ST)=

BENTON ENSENHOWER WANT ME REPLACE LATTER EXECUTIVE BOARD UNESCO WOULD REQUIRE ABSENCE ANNUALLY ABOUT TEN WEEKS ATTENDING PARIS MEETING BECAUSE INSTITUTE PLANS AHEAD HAVE DECLINED BUT BEING PRESSED HARD PLEASE CABLE IMMEDIATELY PACKARD YOUR ADVICE=
DUJJAN.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION
Two West Forty-Fifth Street
New York 19, N. Y.

October 27, 1947

Mr. Charles B. Fahs
Assistant Director
The Rockefeller Foundation
49 West 49th Street
New York 20, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Fahs:

Your letter of October 9 arrived when our senior personnel was in Washington for a meeting with the Department of State and the U.S. Office of Education, and the intervening weekend and holiday further delayed it in reaching my desk.

I am not surprised that the New York Times article of October 9 has raised questions in your mind. It raised questions in our mind, too, and we informally explored the situation in Washington on October 16. Mr. Hollond said that he had not been correctly quoted but he did not have time to specify in what particulars the article had deviated from his understanding of the interview. It does appear, however, that some of the statistics came from the Department of State, although they probably were hedged with reservations which did not appear in the article.

It is probably well to indicate at the outset that the Institute has no figures to justify the statement in the Times article that there were 18,000 foreign students in the United States in the 1946-47 academic year. I believe the true figure is 3,000 and perhaps 4,000 under that. The American Council on Education recently made a survey of foreign students here in 1946-47 in conjunction with the proposed revision of its American Universities and Colleges. The total reported - and the survey was quite complete - was 17,115 and some of these could be eliminated as not being bona fide foreign students (Puerto Ricans, Hawaiians, Canal Zone and Virgin Island residents). A safe estimate, therefore, would seem to be 14,000 for the 1946-47 academic year.

I do not know how the State Department arrived at its figure of 5,000 foreign students for the current academic year, if that is the figure it actually gave to Mr. Fine. I do know that the Department receives copies of 4(f) - student - visa cards filled out by aliens on their arrival in the United States, but I also know that (a) the Department does not receive all such cards from the Immigration Service, and (b) a number of students receive temporary visitor, official, diplomatic and even immigration visas and are, therefore, not recorded as such. The Government has yet to devise a method of counting foreign students accurately as they enter the country.

There is, as a matter of fact, no evidence at this time that the total number of foreign students now here has declined at all over last year. There is only one way of knowing the exact picture and that is through the results of the Foreign Student Table, but only by [illegible] the final statistics will probably not be ready before next February because the larger institutions are among the last to report.

In order to make a spot check of trends, the Institute requested from 16 foreign student advisers and 2 bi-national organizations information on the number of their foreign students as compared with the 1946-47 academic year. The replies indicate that, with respect to these institutions and organizations at least, the number has increased rather than decreased. I am attaching a table showing the results of this survey.

Another index, thought not as accurate, is the number of students under the auspices of the Institute. These figures are as follows:

1946-47 - 816
1947-48 - 802 (not including 35 Iraqi Government students who received varying degrees of assistance but are not under Institute's auspices)

Your second question asked what evidence there was for the suggestion in the Fleming Report that the number of foreign students might climb to 30,000 or 50,000. I have reread the pertinent section of the report and find that the reference was to 40,000 persons of all categories going in both directions by 1952. The foreign student figure was given as follows:

"By 1952, there may be 25,000 such students in this country."

This figure was based on the estimated foreign student population at the time the report was written (about 15,000) and calculated an annual increase of 2,000 over the previous year until 1952 on the basis of the following suppositions:

1. That no new obstacles of any importance to student exchanges would develop.

2. That the movement to the United States had only a small chance to begin in 1946-47 because of the war, and that when the flood-gates were opened larger and larger numbers would attempt to come.

3. That the U.S. Government, through the Fulbright Act and Mundt Bill, would soon be assisting much larger numbers of students to come.

4. That foreign governments would send increasing numbers of their students to the United States.

5. That the factors mentioned in (3) and (4) would have a stimulative effect on the number of non-scholarship students.

6. That the activities of UNESCO and other international agencies would send more foreign students this way.

7. That our colleges and universities would increase their facilities for foreign students as they passed the enrollment peak estimated for 1949-50.

8. That improving educational facilities abroad would increase the number of qualified candidates for study in the United States. (Some of the institutions tell me that they have never had so many inquiries from abroad as they have today).

9. That improving the Institute's information, screening, and placement processes would make it easier for more qualified students to apply for admission.

10. That a peaceful world would be a more prosperous world and that more money would be available generally for student exchanges.

Two principal obstacles have arisen to the immediate realization of the above factors:

1. The international economic situation has deteriorated rather than improved.

2. The U.S. Government program has been delayed in getting under way and foreign governments have had to cut down their plans as they ran short of dollars.

With regard to the number of students going to the U.S.S.R., the Institute has little specific information. It recently learned that there were 20 Czech and 20 Polish students there in 1946-47 and that there were plans to increase the number by 20 each year over the next four years. How many bona fide students there are from Finland, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Albania, Rumania and the Soviet-dominated Far Eastern territories is, frankly, an unknown factor. The figure of one thousand Yugoslavs given in the Times article seems quite out of proportion to the Czech and Polish figures. The Soviet Union is continually excusing itself from participation in student exchanges because of the lack of facilities, a fact which seems to admit no controversy. I know of no students going to the U.S.S.R. except those from the so-called "satellite" countries, where the U.S.S.R. is obviously making every effort to consolidate itself politically, economically, and culturally. The implication of the article that the U.S.S.R. is attracting students from non-satellite countries is, in my opinion, not in accord with the facts.

Your last question is answered in part in my reply to your second question. I have no doubt but that the number of foreign students in the United States is much more sensitive to the international foreign exchange situation than it is to the availability of scholarships.

In the first place, not more than 8% of foreign students are estimated to receive scholarship help from private and government sources in the United States, with perhaps 5% more receiving aid from their own governments. The remaining 87% are here at their own expense, so that clearly any drying up of the sources of their funds immediately brings a downward movement in the total number unless U.S. assistance for travel and maintenance is commensurately increased.

In the second place, the total number of tuition scholarships and fellowships for foreign students is usually more than the number actually filled.

This is because such opportunities do not include travel or maintenance and there are relatively few sources of such support at this time, although the number is slowly growing and any new U.S.Government program would give it a boost. Furthermore, many of the unfilled scholarships are offered by smaller and less well known institutions at the undergraduate level and are thus much more difficult to fill.

To summarize briefly, I would say that the current international economic crisis is undoubtedly affecting the foreign student movement adversely, but that there is as yet no decline in the total number but rather that there may even have been an increase; that the U.S.S.R. is apparently interested for the moment only in students from satellite countries, many of whom would surely jump at the chance to study in the United States; and that were it not for the economic situation of the world and the failure of Congress to pass and implement the Mundt Bill, much larger numbers of students would be coming here.

I apologize for writing at such length but believe you should have as full an answer to your questions as is possible at this time.

Sincerely yours,

Laurence Duggan
Director

Enclosure:
Table

HHP:cmd

COMPARISON OF FOREIGN STUDENT ENROLLMENT FOR 1946-47 AND 1947-48

Institutions	1946-47	1947-48
Brown	55	72
California	607	793
Chicago	193	probably higher
Columbia	(1)	(1)
Cornell	245	262
Harvard	539	700
Illinois	214	300
Indiana	90	116
Louisiana	195	255
M.I.T.	268	347
Michigan	382	670
Minnesota	311	362
Mount Holyoke	25	28
New York University	(2)	(2)
Rensselaer	138	190
Texas	218	218 (est.)
Organizations		
American-Scandinavian Foundation	188	390 (est.)
China Institute in America	2000 (est.)	2000 (est.)

Notes:

(1) Columbia does not have totals ready, but reports 400 new admissions this year as against 250 new admissions in 1946-47. Foreign student adviser says: "We have never had so much mail and inquiries."

(2) New York University reports totals not ready, but adviser is sure there are more foreign students than last year. Has talked to more foreign students or applicants in last 6 months than in any previous 6-month period.

(3) Director of China Institute reports with assurance 500 new arrivals from China in recent weeks.

To Prof. Duggan
Please return

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

September 16, 1946

Dear Ed:

I congratulate you on the progress you are making with your Institute of International Education. I am sending copies of your letter, with its attached list of the Board of Trustees, throughout the Department and to the members of the Executive Committee of the Interdepartmental Committee.

I only met Mr. Lawrence Duggan once, very casually, but he is highly regarded here in the Department and I have heard him enthusiastically commended on many counts over a long period of years. You are to be congratulated on acquiring him for the Institute, and a fellow who spent as many years as I did at a privately endowed university can hardly fail but congratulate you further on your $300,000 grant from the Carnegie Corporation.

I'm looking forward to seeing you next week.

Very sincerely yours,

Bill

William Benton

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Vice President,
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York, New York.

FILE EMPTY WHEN RECEIVED

Personal

MEMO

December 22, 1948

Ward Wheelock telephoned to say that the Campbell Soup Company, specifically, Mr. McGowan, President of same, objected to my piece of last night re Laurence Duggan. There is to be a meeting between the client and the agency on Tuesday of next week to discuss the matter. The client, according to Wheelock, feels that I was "carrying a torch" and engaging in "personal defence and editoralizing". I informed Wheelock that the conditions for this broadcast were spelled out in the contract...that I did not propose to discuss with him or with the client my news judgment... that Columbia had raised no objection to the piece...that the general response, so far as I was aware, had been favorable and that he, Wheelock, would have to deal with the client in this matter...that if the client were sufficiently dissatisfied he could, I assume, fail to pick up the option.

E.R.M.

IC?

WARD WHEELOCK COMPANY

ADVERTISING

WARD WHEELOCK
PRESIDENT

21 April 1948

PHILADELPHIA

Dear Ed

I don't get a chance to read many of your fan mail. Nor do you, I assume.

But here are a few I picked out of one bunch that I read, because Campbell had received some violent protests at certain views - accusing you of being a Communist.

I spent a delightful Sunday morning with such a protestant - a Mrs. Carroll who was so inflamed she called the President of Campbells right after the broadcast of Friday April 16th.

Attached is another letter to Campbells - and their reply.

The reason I read one batch of mail was because I was afraid we're getting into pros and cons of your views as expressed on the air - and the interpretation that presenting both sides is leaving toward liberalism or left, or Wallace, or Communism.

There is a definite undercurrent that way that, it seems to me, requires clear cut dispelling - not as a defense of an accusation, but as a thread through broadcasts. Perhaps once stepping out of character, and stating it - giving personal views on Communism vs U. S. - on war possibilities and "my attitude toward it".

This would be a platform - and I think it might well be the thing to do.

I think I'd vote against the Isaacson item today - because it didn't require handling by importance - because it was interpreted by many as defense of a Communist. I think the viewpoint was well taken and is sound. But I think it was not good business for us.

I think we need an Americana background to the program that must be clearcut and unmistakeable and unargueable - against which you pitch your individual stories.

LINCOLN-LIBERTY BUILDING, PHILADELPHIA 7 · 444 MADISON AVE., NEW YORK 22 · GUARANTY BUILDING, HOLLYWOOD 28

21 April 1948

There are comments - not all from the nuts (who are always with us) - that you are pink.

And I think there are enough to rate careful thought as to what to do about it.

Yours truly

WW.

Let talk it over after you get strangled out.

to
Mr Edward R Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Company
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

WW:g
enc

24 Nov 53

Dear Mr. Murrow,

I thought this might be of interest to you.

Last Tuesday, 17 Nov, we were covering the Brownell-White testimony. Near Brownell's finish I rushed out the caucus room to get another sound man. I was stopped by Don Surine, with whom I've had a pleasant, casual acquaintance for over two years. Don is one of Sen. McCarthy's closest assistants...

In a rather vigorous way, he asked me what the hell I wasrunning around for killing myself turning out junk like that Radulovitch story. I was in a hurry to get my sound man, but I asked him what he meant. Don may have sensed I was in a rush because his next statement kept me there.

He said: What would you say if I could prove to you right now that Murrow was on the Soviet payroll in '35?

This I had never heard before. I wasinterested. I asked him to show me. Brother Surine took mearound to an office and told me to wait in the hall. I presume it was Sen. McCarthy'sroom--Sen. Wiley's officewas acrossthe hall--but I didn't exactly notice. I was somewhat upset.

Surine came out with two photostats of a Pittsburgh Hearst paper for 1935, which you now have. It had to do with a story on Americans studying in Moscow in 1935. Intourist had something to do with it, because Surine said: Look, here's Murrow's name with these other guys, Intourist is paying part of their expenses. From this--I gathered--came the original charge that Murrow was on the Soviet payroll in '35...if Intourist was paying something towards his trip.

Mr. Surine went down the list of names on the Anglo-American seminar in Moscow. He identified various people as communist-fronters, pro-communists, relatives of suspected communists. Then he said: Mind you, Joe, I'm not

accusing Murrow of being a commie, but why did he do that Radulovitch piece? Surine talked to me about twenty minutes and as I best recall, his approach was this: Murrow'shandling of the Radulovitch story played right into the communists' hands...it was Daily Worker-line stuff....It held up the American government's loyalty investigation procedure to ridicule....Murrow was falling into the danger of becoming an anti-anti-communist....Why didn't Murrow ever do a story on how the loyalty board procedure worked in a case where a rat was caught...(He mentioned Remington in this connection...I said if he could suggest a good story along these lines, we would be interested.) Surine was bitter about "liberal" commentators who defended people like Hiss, Remington, White and others. He demanded to know why it was they always seemed to follow a certain pattern of derogating government efforts to disclose communist espionage. Surine talked in this vein for about twenty minutes, and every once in a while spoke very feelingly that he wasnt accusing Murrow of being a communist, but for God's sake why couldn't Murrowunderstand what was at stake here. Mr. Surine said he was telling me all this because he had known me for two years, liked me, and wanted me to understand the issues. I thanked him, asked him if I could use the photstats he had given me, and then went back to covering Brownell as soon as I had called my sound man.

wesbba

washboard

As Pegler Sees It

Murrow-McCarthy Feud And Moscow University

By WESTBROOK PEGLER

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WASHINGTON, March 19.

THE ALUMINUM COMPANY OF AMERICA IS AN OLD conservative monument to Andrew Mellon, a Republican typical of the Coolidge-Hoover Administration. The aluminum company is the financial "angel" or sponsor of the broadcasts of Edward R. Murrow, official and household political pundit of the Columbia Broadcasting System. Currently Murrow has been in a fight with Sen. Joe McCarthy on issues of veracity.

WESTBROOK PEGLER

There is a blind reference to Murrow in a Congressional publication, entitled "Hearings Before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act."

Pat McCarran, of Nevada, Democrat and Red-baiter, was chairman of the Judiciary Committee and of the subcommittee which held these hearings.

One entry in this volume is a letter written in March, 1938, by Frederick Vanderbilt Field, whose political notoriety in the investigations of communism need not be recanvassed here.

One paragraph said: "I feel very self-conscious about (Prof. James T.) Shotwell because of having gone to some considerable trouble to organize a stop-Shotwell movement among the younger people in New York six or seven years ago. The movement was so successful that I have often wondered whether we were justified in taking such an unfriendly attitude toward him in our IPR work."

"IPR" refers to the Institute of Pacific Relations, which became a hotbed of Communist conspiracy.

"AT HIS REQUEST," THE LETTER CONTINUED, "Barnes and I got together a group of about 18 or 20 people who met at Shotwell's house and ate his food one evening a week for about four months in order to engage in an open discussion of the original motivations of international relations."

The Barnes mentioned here is Joe Barnes, for a long time "foreign editor" of the New York Herald Tribune. He was a close associate, professionally and socially, of Mrs. Helen Reid, the actual publisher of this quondam Republican paper. Mrs. Reid is a girl from the other side of the tracks who became secretary to the rich New York and London society queen who was surviving head of the Reid family.

Helen married Mrs. Reid's son, Ogden, the heir to the hoorah. Ogden was a friendly fellow with a habit of slumming with the editorial staff. He had more ability than most of his rapscallion speakeasy friends gave him credit for.

When he died, the H-T lost more than just an amiable go-between of a rich management with a supercilious

the tracks who became secretary to the rich New York and London society queen who was surviving head of the Reid family.

Helen married Mrs. Reid's son, Ogden, the heir to the hoorah. Ogden was a friendly fellow with a habit of slumming with the editorial staff. He had more ability than most of his rapscallion speakeasy friends gave him credit for.

When he died, the H-T lost more than just an amiable go-between of a rich management with a supercilious Anglican mother-country editorial tradition and the tosspot mock-intellectuals of the Newspaper Guild in the speakeasy across the street. The H-T lost a good deal of its brain-power, too.

BARNES HAS BEEN "NAMED" BY NUMEROUS WITNESSES under oath as a Communist but has denied all such charges. He spent a good deal of time in Soviet Russia and handled Wendell Willkie's affairs on his fantastic pilgrimage to Stalin's stronghold after Willkie had served as a Trojan Horse nominee of the Republican Party in 1940.

Barnes and Field were intimate friends for years and Barnes married his pal's wife after the Fields were divorced.

Continuing, Field's letter said: "Barnes and I carefully stacked the cards so that out of a meeting of 20 there were 19 Marxists or pseudo-Marxists and one violent anti-Marxist, Shotwell, himself. Each meeting was more embarrassing than the last for, all being young, we were rather unmerciful in tearing to pieces every clause issued by this renowned scholar."

Advised that Edward R. Murrow had been one of this group, I telephoned Prof. Shotwell at his home in New York. He said yes, that Murrow had been a member of the circle but that Murrow was strongly anti-Marxist. Further than that he refused to be quoted except that devotion to communism and Marxism, as of then and as of now, was not the same.

In those days it was not plain that the Soviet State was the mortal enemy of the United States, although the very purpose of these ideological jam-sessions was to examine the inward meanings.

Shotwell himself claims that he demolished the Reds on all counts. He emphasized the point that all these ideologians were "young"—to excuse any Marxists of whatever degree. I replied in effect that I, too, had been young but never had thought of giving aid and comfort to an enemy of my country.

DR. J. B. MATTHEWS, THE VETERAN RED-BAITER and former fellow-traveler, told me had known Murrow, about the time referred to by Field. He also knew Field and Barnes.

Dr. Matthews never calls a man or woman a Communist who was merely a fellow-traveler. He never calls a Socialist a Communist, although some theoreticians argue that the one is but the egg from which the other hatches. Dr. Matthews said he did not regard Murrow as a Communist but did regard him as a Socialist at that time.

Murrow has stated that McCarthy was wrong in charging that he was a member of the "National Advisory Council" of a seminar of American study-boys and professors to Soviet Russia under the auspices of the University of Moscow in 1935. Murrow said this seminar was called off.

However, he was named on the American "Advisory Committee" of the "First Russian Seminar" in 1933, and his answer to McCarthy did not claim that that "seminar" was called off.

THE "SEMINAR AIMS" FOR 1933, set forth in a pamphlet obtained by Sen. McCarthy, who sent it to me, include the following language, taken out of context but without distortion or misrepresentation.

"Leaders, chosen for the most part from the advisory committee will accompany the seminar and supplement the general sightseeing program with special lectures, talks and informal discussions.

"Interviews with and talks by leaders of Soviet culture and officialdom will form a prominent part of the seminar program." The last sentence says **"propaganda pro and con, of all kinds, will be avoided as inimical to the interests of the seminar and repugnant to the intelligent traveler."**

Dr. Matthews impressed on me the fact that the University of Moscow is an official agency of the Soviet Government. And he has always insisted that all Communists and all their agencies are always making propaganda, however repugnant it may be to whomsoever.

f.o. Return to Frank Jealian

MIAMI DAILY NEWS

4-B Sunday, March 14, 1954

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The thoughts of the diligent tend only to plenteousness.—Proverbs 21:5

A Smear Of America's Leadership Should Close Book On McCarthy

Exchange of scientific and other information between countries, including visits by students, has been a part of international relations for many years.

The facts now come out about the Institute of International Education of New York City to which Sen. McCarthy referred on the radio Friday night. In 1935 the assistant director of this organization was Edward R. Murrow, now a highly respected radio and television news commentator. Eighteen years later, McCarthy sought to convict Murrow of "guilt by association."

Just exactly what McCarthy meant to convey by his innuendo against Murrow is not known. He implied Murrow's criticisms of McCarthyism were due to the fact he was appointed by the institute to an advisory committee of a summer session of Moscow University — a session which was called off. McCarthy failed to mention this. He failed to mention a lot of things.

Just what of this "guilt by association?"

Murrow was and is associated on the 35-member board of trustees of the Institute of International Education with these men:

Eric Johnston, Juan Trippe, Dr. Arthur S. Adams, president of the American Council of Education; Gordon Gray, president of the University of North Carolina, as well as various bankers, lawyers and labor leaders. The chairman of the board is Arthur A. Houghton Jr., president of Steuben Glass Co.

Murrow was associated in 1935 on the advisory council which the institute organized for the Moscow summer school with:

John Dewey, professor emeritus of philosophy of Columbia University; Robert M. Hutchins, president of the University of Chicago; Harry Woodburn Chase, chancellor of New York University; Frank P. Graham, president of University of North Carolina (later U. S. senator) and so on.

Guilt by association? This association reads like a directory of American business and culture. But immune to a smear by [illegible] and who is after all?

Good News Miami

Letter to the Leader

(Here is the most effective answer I have seen to the ridiculous charges made by Hearst's New York American against members of the advisory council of the Anglo-American section of the Institute of International Education. It is an editorial that appeared in the Philadelphia Public Record of February 20, 1935. You are at liberty to use it in any way you may see fit—RWM)

Copy of Editorial

A Bigger and Better Bolshevik Plot

Hearst's New York American has made a perfectly horrendous discovery. Most of America's outstanding educators and college presidents are Bolsheviks.

Included are John Dewey; Chancellor Chase, of New York University; President Graham, of North Carolina; President Hutchins, of Chicago; President Neilson, of Smith; President Wilkins, of Oberlin; Dean Russell, of Teachers College, Columbia; Professor Counts, of the same school; Dean Withers, of the School of Education at N.Y.U., and Robert L. Kelly, secretary of the Association of American Colleges.

Now every reader of the Hearst press knows that Bolseviks have beards, and carry bombs in their left hands. How have these gentlemen managed so long to keep their true character hidden while teaching Communism to American youth?

Watch closely. In Moscow, the Hearst press has discovered, there is a State University. The State University has a summer session. The summer session has an Anglo-American Section. The Anglo-American Section has an American Advisory Organization. The American Advisory Organization is the Institute of International Education. The Institute of International Education has a National Advisory Council.

AND THESE NEFARIOUS GENTLEMEN ARE ON THAT ADVISORY COUNCIL.

Could anything be clearer?

Secretly, advertising only in the magazines, and circulating their travel literature through such obscure travel agencies as Cook's, these educators have been enticing American students to Moscow—

"Obviously," says the New York American in a front-page editorial, "for the purpose of making adept COMMUNIST PROPAGANDISTS out of them."

As People Who Think, we mop our brows, staggered.

Nevertheless, one good plot deserves another, and now we'll tell one.

Wicked though they are, these educators merely serve on a council for an organization which advises the Anglo-American section of the summer session of a State University in Moscow.

The gentlemen we wish to expose are worse, WORSE. They have accepted money from the Soviet Government to give it advice on how to build up the Soviet Union.

One of them was adviser to the Soviet Auto Trust in building the automobile factory at Gorki. He is a Detroiter whose name is Henry Ford.

Another is Percy H. Johnston, governor of the Bankers Club and chairman of the board of the Chemical Bank and Trust Company. He is a director of the Electric Auto-Lite, of Toledo, also a paid adviser of the Soviet Auto Trust.

Then there is the chap who, like so many of these dangerous foreigners, hails from Pittsburgh. His Koppers Construction Company has taught the Soviets how to build coke ovens. His name is Andrew Mellon.

A family known as the duPonts helped the Soviet Fertilizer Trust build its fertilizer plants. The RCA accepted a contract to advise on radio matters. Among its directors are Cornelius N. Bliss and Major General James G. Harbord. Both these Bolshheviks are on the boards of Bankers Trust and New York Life.

Likewise among the conspirators is Mr. Owen D. Young, whose International General Electric accepted money to advise the Soviet Electro-Technical Trust.

And, lest we forget, one of the concerns which has been doing business with the Nationalizers of Women at Moscow is the American Metal Company.

One of the directors on American Metal is Edward H. Clark, representing the interests of one William Randolph Hearst.

We offer this Bigger and Better Bolshevik Plot, free of charge, to the Hearst press.....[redacted].

******

No return to
A. Cochran

COPY

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION, INC
Two West Forty-fifth Street, New York City

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November 29, 1933

President Frank P. Graham
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

My dear Mr. Graham:

The recognition of Russia by the United States Government removes the last barrier to complete cultural cooperation between Russia and the United States. There has already been founded the Anglo-American Institute of the First Moscow University to develop cultural relations not only with the United States but also with Great Britain. The Institute of International Education is the representative of the Anglo-American Institute in the United States. It is intended to foster the same fellowship exchange and professorial visits as we have with the other countries of Europe. Moreover, the Anglo-American Institute will next year have a summer session at the First Moscow University at which courses will be given in English, primarily for teachers and students, on education, psychology, criminology, the drama, art, and music, with the purpose of informing Americans and British of the Russian attitude towards those fields of culture. It is hoped that the activities mentioned above will be only the first in a more complete cooperation.

My object in writing to you now is to inform you that I am organizing an Advisory Council to assist the Institute of International Education in guiding the activities in the United States of the Anglo-American Institute. I am hoping that you are in sympathy with the purposes of the activity and, if that be so, that you will be willing to serve on the Advisory Council. Appended is a list of the persons I have asked.

Sincerely yours
Stephen Duggan (Signed)
Director

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(Copy - Translation)

"U C H I T E L S K A Y A G A Z E T A"
("Teacher's Gazette")

No. 5, 30th January, 1948.

THE "HIGH AIMS" OF MR. DUGGAN
(Full Summary of 2-1/2 column article)
by Prof. M. Bernstein.

The magazine "America" published for Russian readers by the US Information Bureau, kindly lent the pages of its twelfth number to Professor Stephen Duggan and his son, Directors of the Institute of International Education, in New York, on the question of "international exchange of students and scholars". The article is richly illustrated with idyllic pictures of students from Hungary, Mexico, India, Iceland, Greece, and Palestine, relaxing, eating, reading and working in laboratories. The authors are discursively eloquent on the "need for a mutual understanding which would pass the barriers of race, nation and creed" on "the strengthening of good will and community of aims between the democratic countries". They try to convince Soviet readers that their Institute of International Education (IIE) has from its very inception concerned itself only with the attainment of these high aims.

Duggan is trying to extend the activity of the IIE to the USSR. He has made similar attemps not a few times before, but without success, for it is well known in the Soviet Union what Mr. Duggan and the Institute, which he heads, represent.

The IIE came into being literally on the day following the end of the first World War when the most aggressive section of American monopoly capital had placed on the agenda the question of the world hegemony of the USA. The new foreign political tasks of American imperialism called to life new organizational forms of political, economic and ideological expansion. A distinct and important role in the general scheme for the ideological offensive was assigned to the "educational" cadres of American imperialism.

The Institute of International Education was organized under the stamp of the well-known philanthropic Carnegie fund. But this was merely a mask and not a particularly clever one. From the very first days of its existence, the IIE had been the centre of international propaganda for American reaction, the nursery of a special detachment of American residents in all parts of the globe. As from 1926 when the Institute had given practical evidence of its ability to perform the tasks laid upon it, a special conference of representatives of the Morgan and Rockefeller philanthropic organizations financing the Institute and of representatives of the American Education Council which was the ideological and political inspiration behind it, turned the IIE into a monopoly American institution for international pedagogic relations, for training legal "pedagogic" spies and informers and for establishing an "American column" in every country.

Moreover, from 1939 onwards the IIE in practice controlled the entire work of consultation, information and orientation as well as of supervision connected with all foreign students studying in American higher education establishments even of those who do not enjoy the material support of the Institute and who have no need whatsoever of its guardianship. In other words, since the beginning of the '40s, the IIE has held in its hands all the threads of American foreign pedagogic relations.

The annual reports published by the Institute and the writings of Duggan himself, give an idea of the proportions, forms and methods of the work of this outpost of US "pedagogic" aggression and reveal the immense danger which its many-sided activity presents to the independence of peoples, to real democratic peace and cultural progress.

As to the political colour of the Institute, it will suffice to say that one member of its management is the notorious John Foster Dulles - one of the most violent of the warmongers, publicly branded by A. Ya. Vyshinski; others are Thomas Lamont - big banker and director of a number of industrial and transport corporations; E. Morrow - reactionary radio commentator; Paul Monroe, Virginia Gildersleeve, [illegible] whole pleiad of such educationalists with long experience in planting American "educational" institutions in colonial and semi-colonial countries.

The chief activity of the IIE is the organisation of international student exchanges. In the 25 years of its existence it has sent about 2.5 thousand American students abroad, and placed more than 3000 students from Europe, Asia and South America in American colleges.

The American students have to pass through a two-fold political filter - they are selected by special selection committees attached to the establishments and colleges which have made the agreement with Mr. Duggan in the transaction concerned. The recommendation of their own colleges alone, however, is not enough; candidates must pass before a selection committee in the Institute of International Education itself.

Every student sent abroad must present two reports to the Institute - one during his stay, the other on his return home. These reports are secret and may be used only for the information of other students who are subsequently sent to the same country.

Two important criterions in the selection of candidates are: positive references from "politically reliable" persons and a capacity for getting on with other people. Students sent abroad by the IIE are advised not to confine themselves to their academic pursuits, but to "study the cultural, political and social life of the country to which they are sent, make friends with the local students and visit their homes, and establish friendly relations with the population".

The information which comes in through the Institute, as Duggan proudly declares, is more correct and reliable than that procured by the State Department through its Intelligence agents.

The real nature of the training which the IIE gives to American students staying abroad was "brilliantly" demonstrated during the recent war: in the words of its director the Institute became a reserve from which the American War Department and other state organs could draw trained cadres of occupation experts and colonisers. And one cannot but agree with Mr. Duggan that in this respect "the IIE justified the hopes of its real patrons and friends".

Since its inception the IIE has placed over 3000 foreign students in specially selected US colleges. They, unlike their American opposites, have to pass through a three-fold filter. Besides the selection made in Institutes in their own countries they must also come before a selection board organized in their countries and obliged to include two American residents there who enjoy the confidence of Duggan & Co. The final say

belongs to a selection committee in the IIE itself.

When he has finally passed through all these filters and won a scholarship from the Institute, the foreign student comes under its total guardianship and the tireless supervision of its agents in American colleges. In practice he is told which college he must enter. There he is directed by a specially chosen "professor" who "advises" him in all questions, even in the choice of newspapers and magazines to read, meetings to attend, and in the organization of his private relationships. All this is done in order that the student shall form "real enthusiasm for the American way of life and American civilization".

In the words of Duggan, only very few foreign students fail to yield to this "ideological" suasion. This is very likely, for the "fortunates" honoured with Duggan's "bounty" are naturally the offspring of the families of the ruling cliques in foreign states who are, according to Duggan, "candidates for leading public service" in their own country. Such selection, is, of course, no mere chance. In its work with foreign students the IIE sets itself far-reaching goals; it plans to establish an American core among the ruling classes of the corresponding countries. As the Second World War again showed, in its respect too its calculations have justified themselves to a considerable extent. Duggan maintains that "the majority of foreign students who have passed through the IIE have proved loyal friends of the USA". It is among them that the Americans now seek and find "convinced" supporters of the "Truman doctrine", who fawn to Uncle Sam and are prepared to sell and betray the national sovereignty and the national dignity of their country for a dollar sop.

The second extensive branch of the IIE's activity is its "academic exchanges", i.e., the organization of lectures by foreign scholars in American colleges and by American scholars in foreign colleges. The selection of scholars invited to America, like the selection of American professors sent abroad, has a specific character. Both, as a rule, belong to the openly reactionary camp. In any case they must all be absolutely "reliable" from the point of view of capitalist ideology and "loyal" to American policy.

The IIE has spared no energies to organize "lecture tours" for such venerable "scholars" as ... the former President of the German Reichsbank, Schacht, and the Italian diplomat, Carlo Sforza, as well as a visit of the notorious airman Lindberg to the Latin-American and Far Eastern countries "to study schools, universities and the education systems as a whole".

The Nuremberg trial of the main German War criminals proved beyond doubt the "academic" nature of Schacht's visit to the USA. Evidently Duggan did not foresee such an end for his fascist protege when in 1943 he tried to deceive American and world public opinion by asserting that "Schacht did not receive a cent of credit from America".

Nor could Duggan, evidently, foresee that the secret of the sudden "pedagogic" transformation of Lindberg would be given away by his friend and companion-in-arms, John Barrett, who told representatives of the press that the visit of the "American prince", Colonel Lindberg, to Latin America, had been planned in order to weaken the impression made by the visit of the then Prince of Wales.

On the other hand, Duggan not only foresaw but awaited with impatience proofs of the beneficial influence of the IIE on his friend, Sforza. When, with the aid of his American protectors, the latter attained to the office of Italian Foreign Minister, he instructed his newspaper to declare that "any power which has signed the peace treaty may make any armed landing it please on any part of the Italian coast ...".

After this, how could Duggan not boast of his successes in organising "academic exchanges" and in "strengthening mutual understanding between democratic peoples"...

What is the real attitude of Duggan and his Institute to the Soviet Union? In his last article in "America" he writes that "ignorance and prejudice are the primary factors which give birth to ill-will and conflict between peoples". These words apply perfectly to Duggan himself. All his activity and writings have proved not only his prejudice and ignorance in questions concerning the USSR, but also his complete inability to learn the appropriate lessons from his personal "experience" in this sphere.

The Socialist Revolution aroused in Duggan alarm and terror almost bestial. With the solemn mien of the venerable "scholar" he took to producing vile fictions about the "Bolshevist terror which has deprived Russia of her intellectual forces", the Bolsheviks as disturbers of peace throughout the world", and so on.

With the generous means put at his disposal by Morgan and Rockefeller he has made repeated attempts to prepare an American core for the USSR - through his "Russian Student Fund" mobilising White Russian emigrés and by personal visits to the Soviet Union in 1925 and again in 1934.

He has met, however, with repeated failure. The frontiers of the USSR have proved firmly barred to his agents. Nothing has been left but to return to his old weapon against the Soviet people - slander. And in this respect, in his last, autobiographical book, - "A Professor in the Wildest Sense of the World" - he has excelled himself.

Such is Mr. Duggan, who conceals beneath the gown of "Professor of International Pedagogy" a poisoned weapon of Intelligence and espionage; such is the Institute under his direction.

"Teacher's Gazette", No. 5, 1948.

EDWARD R. MURROW - AWARDS

1938 - NATIONAL HEADLINERS' CLUB AWARD -- "To Mr. Murrow and Mr. Shirer for their series of broadcasts from Vienna during the Hitler putsch."

1940 - OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB -- "First price for best foreign radio news reporting."

1941 - 12TH INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATION BY RADIO "FIRST" -- "Best news broadcasts of the year -- 'London after Dark.'"

KAPPA SIGMA (College fraternity) -- election "Man of the Year."

1943 - GEORGE FOSTER PEABODY AWARD -- "For outstanding news reporting."

1944 - NATIONAL HEADLINERS' CLUB AWARD -- "For his report on the flying mission to Berlin, 'Orchestrated Hell.'"

BILLBOARD'S RADIO EDITORS POLL -- one of two most outstanding broadcasts of 1943.

1945 - CITATION BY WRITERS' WAR BOARD -- "Consistently expresses the democratic philosophy in cogent, forceful terms. Without weaseling or criticism, he fosters international understanding."

ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN CORRESPONDENTS IN LONDON -- Murrow elected president, the first time a radio broadcaster had been so honored.

1947 - MOTION PICTURE DAILY'S RADIO POLL "FIRST" -- "Best News Commentator and Analyst," with his newscasts voted "Best News Job by Radio."

RADIO LIFE -- "Distinguished Achievement Award as the Most Listenable Commentator."

1948 - HEADLINERS CLUB AWARD (3rd time) -- "The best foreign on-the-spot-radio reporting for his coverage of the wedding of Princess Elizabeth."

DuPONT AWARD - "In recognition of distinguished and meritorious ... public service through the medium of radio."

OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB AWARD -- "In recognition of the best interpretation of foreign affairs."

MOTION PICTURE DAILY'S RADIO POLL "FIRST" - "Best News Commentator and Analyst."

1949 - GEORGE FOSTER PEABODY AWARD -- "For outstanding reporting and interpretation of the news."

NATIONAL HEADLINERS' CLUB MEDAL -- "For the CRI Album, 'I Can Hear It Now' -- something new and different in the recording of modern history and its famous figures."

NEWSPAPER GUILD PAGE ONE AWARD -- "For the CRI Album, 'I Can Hear It Now' -- for its stirring presentation of contemporary history."

MOTION PICTURE DAILY'S RADIO POLL -- "Best news commentator."

(More)

1950 - BILLBOARD'S ANNUAL RADIO EDITORS POLL -- "Favorite news commentator."

OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB AWARD -- "Best radio interpretation of foreign news."

INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATION BY RADIO -- First award to "Edward R. Murrow and the News."

ONE WORLD AWARD FOR RADIO -- "In recognition of the outstanding quality and impartiality of his work as a radio commentator in clarifying international issues and interpreting them to the American public."

x SPEECH ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA -- one of seven men selected as "Nation's Outstanding Orators."

CLEVELAND PLAIN DEALER'S RADIO POLL -- Second place for "Best Network News Program."

1951 - SATURDAY REVIEW OF LITERATURE POLL OF SUBSCRIBERS -- "Favorite news analyst."

RADIO AND TV MIRROR ANNUAL POLL -- "Favorite news commentator."

OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB AWARD (4th time) -- "Best radio and television interpretation of foreign news."

LOUIS S. WEISS MEMORIAL AWARD IN ADULT EDUCATION -- Presented by the New School for Social Research, for the program "HEAR IT NOW."

GEORGE FOSTER PEABODY CITATION (3rd time) -- to "HEAR IT NOW" program, for "reporting of the news."

1952 - RADIO DAILY POLL -- "Favorite radio commentator."

MOTION PICTURE DAILY'S POLL OF RADIO EDITORS -- "Best news commentator." Also: "THIS I BELIEVE" program voted "Best Public Service Program."

TV GUIDE GOLD MEDAL AWARD -- to "SEE IT NOW" TV program, "New Idea of the Year."

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR BETTER RADIO AND TELEVISION POLL -- "SEE IT NOW" named "Program of the Year."

VARIETY SHOWMANSHIP AWARD -- To "SEE IT NOW"..."the most original, informative and entertaining type of journalism now riding the video airwaves."

OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB AWARD (5th time) -- "For distinguished journalism and for the best consistent television presentation of foreign affairs."

GEORGE FOSTER PEABODY AWARD (4th time) -- Television News and Interpretation award to "SEE IT NOW"..."for its simple, lucid, intelligent analysis of top news stories of the week."

MICHAEL AWARD of the Academy of Radio and Television Arts and Sciences -- "Best radio news program" and "Top TV news program."

(More)

AMERICAN WEEKLY TV AWARD -- to "SEE IT NOW," special award.

GEORGE POLK MEMORIAL AWARD -- To "SEE IT NOW," special award.

GENERAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS -- Best Network Radio Program for Adults.

FREEDOMS FOUNDATION -- "Certificate of recognition for outstanding achievement in bringing about a better understanding of the American way of life during 1951."

ALFRED I. DuPONT FOUNDATION citation award for "outstanding and meritorious service to the American people."

1952 - SIGMA DELTA CHI -- (Professional Journalistic Fraternity) -- "Elected to the grade of FELLOW by members of fraternity at National Convention".

MINNESOTA RADIO & TELEVISION COUNCIL -- Certificate of recognition "for contributing to understanding of world events".

THE AMERICAN NATIONAL RED CROSS -- Certificate of H onor - "for distinguished achievement in the 1952 Red Cross Fund".

AIR FORCE ASSOCIATION - The Arts and Letters Award - "for doing the most during past year, in the field of arts & letters, to further public interest in and understanding of airpower as an element of our national defense".

SYLVANIA TELEVISION AWARD - to SEE IT NOW - "Outstanding current history program of the year".

LOOK AWARD - to SEE IT NOW - "Best news program".

PHI ALPHA TAU (National Speech Fraternity) - Joseph E. Connor Speech Award - "for outstanding contribution to speech and education".

AMERICAN CANCER SOCIETY - to SEE IT NOW - Distinguished Service Citation.

1953 - RADIO & TV DAILY ANNUAL POLL - "Radio Commentator of the year".

MOTION PICTURE DAILY ANNUAL POLL - "Top News Commentator in radio and television".

LA SALLE COLLEGIAN AWARD - "For Public Service in Journalism".

ACADEMY OF TELEVISION ARTS AND SCIENCES - National Award to SEE IT NOW - "For best public affairs program of 1952".

GEORGE POLK MEMORIAL AWARD - to SEE IT NOW - special award.

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR BETTER RADIO AND TELEVISION - "outstanding news program for 1952".

(More)

LORD & TAYLOR AWARD - "For the creative contribution made to the field of radio and television".

VARIETY - Special citation for SEE IT NOW.

HONORARY

HONORARY OFFICER OF THE MOST EXCELLENT ORDER OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE, appointed by King George VI in 1947.

HONORARY DEGREES

Doctor of Laws (LL.D.) - Washington State College

Doctor of Laws (LL.D.) - University of North Carolina

Doctor of Laws (LL.D.) - Muhlenberg College

Doctor of H umanities - Rollins College

Doctor of Journalism - Temple University.

* * *

September 23, 1953

1953 - SYLVANIA TELEVISION AWARDS FOR 1953 - to PERSON TO PERSON - "most outstanding new television series of 1953."

LOOK 1953 TV AWARD - to SEE IT NOW - Best News Program and Best Public Affairs Program

1954 - AMUSEMENT DIVISION OF FEDERATION OF JEWISH PHILANTHROPIES - Special award for splendid achievement in Radio and TV during 1953

1953 EMMY AWARD (Academy of Television Arts and Sciences)

RUSSWURM AWARD - "outstanding achievement in making possible a richer conception of democratic principles and in tribute for upholding those highest traditions considered as the ideals of the American Way of Life."

TO BE CONFERRED

NATIONAL AWARD OF THE PHILADELPHIA FELLOWSHIP COMMISSION - "outstanding and enduring contributions to the promotion of human dignity, security and freedom"

DOCTOR OF HUMANE LETTERS from HAMILTON COLLEGE - "the intelligence honesty and clarity with which he has been broadcasting the news since 1938 and for the programs with which he has made history a living and personal thing."

Oscar Pres.
Hellman

March 19, 1954

Materials for CBS Statement on ERM

1. Public service broadcasts and films made, during 1950-1954, for the following organizations or programs of action:

SHAPE (film dealing with Western Democracies' cooperative answer to threat of Communism);

Civil Defense (four official films narrated for Federal Civil Defense Administration);

Crusade for Freedom (narrated program celebrating Crusade's first anniversary);

American Red Cross (introduction to TV program launching 1953 Fund drive; spot announcements made during earlier years in support of drive);

Voice of America (participation in Commentators' Round Table on the presidential elections broadcast. Kaltenborn also on program);

CARE (participation in program announcing formation of CARE);

National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis (participation in recorded interview program with Foundation medical director);

Army and Air Force Recruitment Service (Armed Forces Day salute program featuring excerpts from "I Can Hear It Now");

Marine Corps Recruitment (spot announcements, 1950, 1951 and 1952);

Herald Tribune Fresh Air Fund (spot announcement for 1953 campaign).

2. Public appearances:

April, 1953: Chairman of dinner honoring Ordway Tead--conducted interview-discussion with four City college presidents.

Council of State Governments: December 1952, addressed Eleventh General Assembly of States, group of State section of state. Addressed Governors' conference in 1949.

Armed Forces Information School: June 1951, addressed students at Fort Slocum.

3. Organizations with which connected:

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (Trustee since 1951. Other Trustees include John W. Davis, John Foster Dulles, David Rockefeller, T. J. Watson, Dwight D. Eisenhower).

Woodrow Wilson Foundation (former director. Other directors at time included Frank Altschul, Allen Dulles, John Dickey, Cleveland Dodge, T. K. Finletter, Grayson Kirk, Herbert Lehman, Francis B. Sayre, Sumner Welles, Alger Hiss, Henry Wallace).

Committee on Present Danger (member. Organization now defunct? Others on Committee includes James B. Conant, Frank Altschul, James P. Baxter, Vanevar Bush, Charles Dodds, William J. Donovan, Robert P. Patterson, and a large number of others).

Anti-Communist Record: January 5, 1954 SIN program on Communist China (dramatization of "Human Wreckage" seeping out of Red China into the free port of Hong Kong to escape Chinese Communism).

1952 series of programs for Committee on Present Danger (series of appearances on interview programs), in support of building strength of Western European alliance as a defense against the Soviet menace, including appearances by Conant, Bush and others.

March 2, 1954 news broadcast (comments re Caracas conference stressing problem to united Western Hemisphere front against Communist infiltration created by Latin-American attitude toward U.S. intervention in internal affairs; statement that danger of Communism in Latin-America doesn't look dangerous: "Latin America is a natural breeding ground for social and political extremism. . . . a happy hunting ground for Soviet intrigue." Solidarity against Communism can be built up by our greater concern for Latin-America's economic and social problems. Horace: "'Your own property is at stake when your neighbor's house is on fire.'"

1945 London broadcasts (strong anti-Communist treatment of Polish and Austrian problems during closing days of war in Europe; specific treatment of incident involving arrest of 16 Polish leaders; Warsaw uprising).

4. Awards received:

George Foster Peabody Awards for reporting of news in 1943, 1949, 1951 and 1952. 4

George Polk Memorial Awards in 1952 and 1953 (for SIN; for 1953 Christmas telecast from Korea). 2

Overseas Press Club Awards in 1940 (foreign radio news reporting); 1948 (best interpretation of foreign affairs); 1950 (best radio and TV interpretation of foreign news); 1951 (best radio interpretation of foreign news); 1953 (best television interpretation of foreign affairs); and 1954 (best consistent television presentation of foreign affairs). 6.

National Headliners Club Award in 1938 (Vienna Broadcasts during Hitler putsch); 1944 (report on flying mission to Berlin); 1948 (best foreign on-the-spot radio reporting for coverage of Princess Elizabeth wedding). 3

Billboard's Radio Editors Poll for 1944 (one of two most outstanding broadcasts of 1943). 1

Elected President of Association of American Correspondents in London, 1945.

Cited by Writers' War Board in 1945 ("Consistently expresses the Democratic philosophy in cogent, forceful terms . . . fosters international understanding.").

Motion Picture Daily's radio poll "First" in 1947 (best news commentator and analyst; best news job by radio).

DuPont Award for 1948 ("Distinguished and meritorious . . . public service through the medium of radio").

Alfred I. du Pont Foundation Award in 1952 ("Outstanding and meritorious service to the American People").

Award from One World Committee for 1950 ("In recognition of the outstanding quality and impartiality of his work as a radio commentator").

Institute for Education by Radio, Ohio State University Award for 1950.

Sylvania Television Award in 1952 (for SIN); 1953 (PTP).

American Cancer Society Citation for 1952 (April 27 SIN telecast).

Variety Showmanagement Award in 1952 (for SIN); 1953 (PTP).

Lord & Taylor Award in 1953 ("Intellectual adventurer" who, in SIN series, "translated journalism into a visual medium").

National Award of the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission in 1954 ("Outstanding and enduring contributions

for the promotion of human dignity, security and freedom").

Russwurm Award in 1954 ("Outstanding achievement in making possible a richer conception of Democratic principles and in tribute for upholding those highest traditions considered as the ideals of the American way of life"). 1

1953 Emmy Award (Academy of Television Arts and Sciences). 1

Look 1953 TV Award (for SIN). 1

Amusement Division of Federation of Jewish Philanthropies Special Award for splendid achievement in radio and TV during 1953. 1

31

5. Honorary degrees, etc.:

LL.D.: Washington State College, University of North Carolina, Muhlenberg College.

Dr. of Humanities: Rollins College.

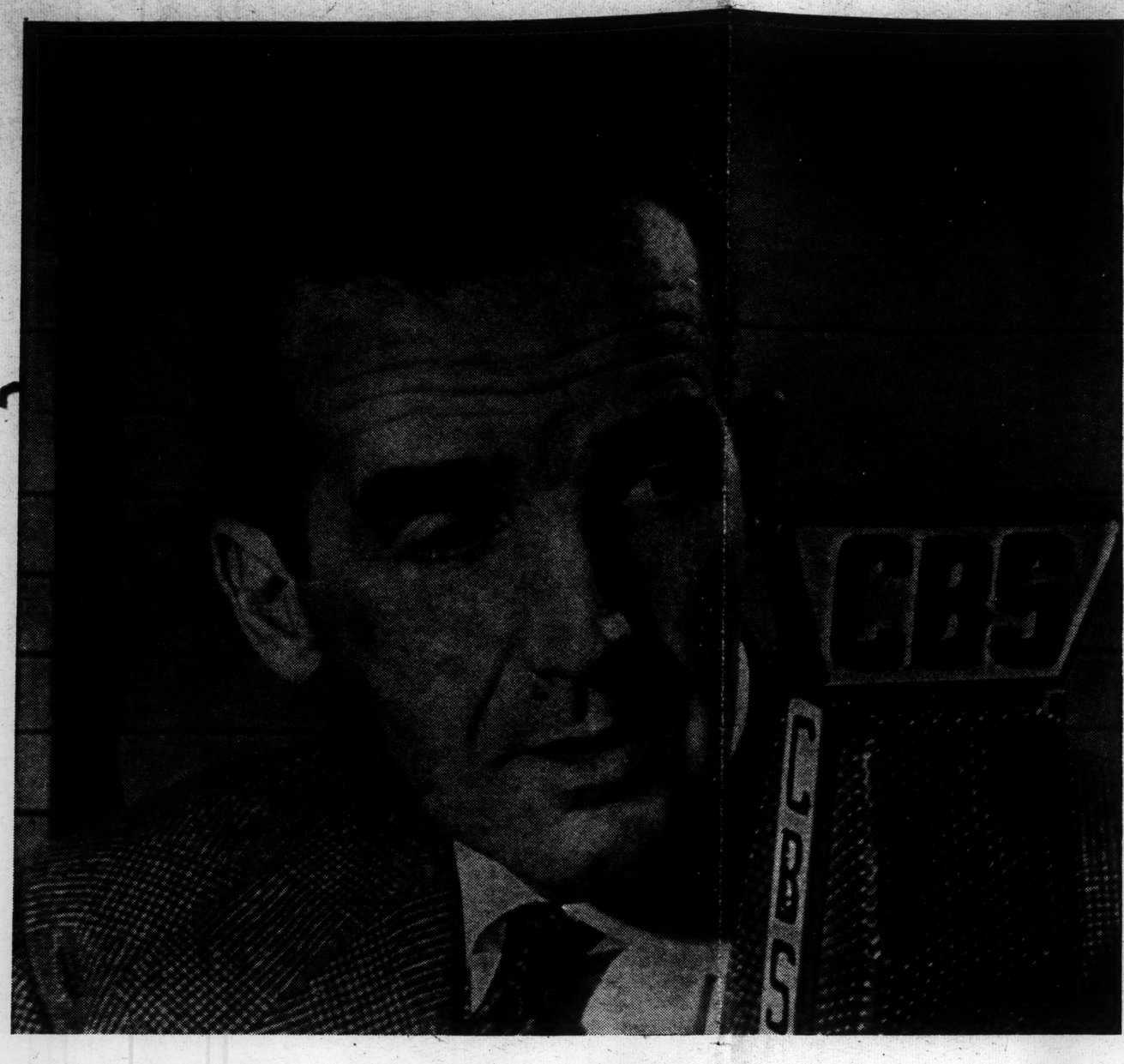
Dr. of Journalism: Temple University.

To receive Dr. of Humane Letters of Hamilton College in 1954.

Appointed Honorary Officer of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire by King George VI in 1947.

CBS REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

Radio's Bio. Murrow



An informed, responsible voice...

EDWARD R. MURROW, famed news analyst, reports and interprets the news. More homes listen to him than any other radio reporter... 22,000,000 families have heard him in most recent 4-week period.

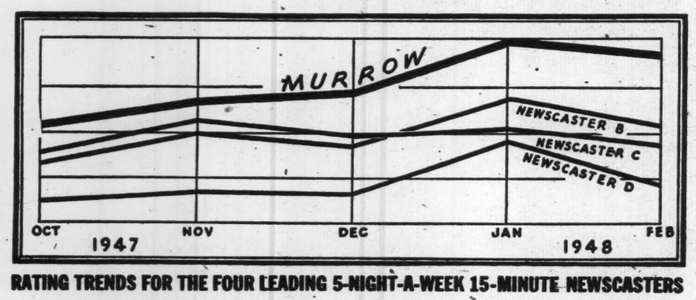
"Radio's most laureated reporter" is what Time Magazine calls Edward R. Murrow. March 8, the DuPont Award; March 16, the Overseas Press Club Award; June 18, the Headliners' Club Award. Total: 12 awards in 10 years.

His audience: 22,000,000 homes

Not only the "most laureated", Edward R. Murrow is today the "most listened to" of all newscasters. No fewer than a total of 22,000,000 homes tuned in "Edward R. Murrow with the News", over the most recent four-week period.*

Murrow began his series of newscasts on September 29, 1947. His present position of top influence with the listening public has been achieved in the brief period of six months' broadcasting. And it is worthy of note that Murrow has won this popularity without sensationalism either in the selection or handling of the news but with complete reporting, clear analysis and interpretation.

Based on Independent Radio Research Studies



RATING TRENDS FOR THE FOUR LEADING 5-NIGHT-A-WEEK 15-MINUTE NEWSCASTERS

His newscast is no "One-Man-Show"

It is Murrow's purpose to take his listeners as near to the sources of news as possible, and also to do all that is possible to draw a clear line between fact and rumor. To this end his newscast uses all leading news services, as well as direct coverage by representatives in 20 world capitals and a competent research organization in New York. By cable or telephone direct from the source, Murrow secures supplementary news information. One day last week, for example, it took three telephone calls to Berlin to locate a freight train. It takes the teamwork of many people in many places to put together the informed, responsible broadcast that begins each evening with "This... is the news..."

MURROW FLIES TO ROME TOMORROW TO COVER MOMENTOUS ITALIAN ELECTION

Murrow will fly to Italy to make his own on-the-spot analysis of the Italian elections and to broadcast the fateful returns from Rome. Through the voice of Edward R. Murrow millions of Americans will hear direct of the events leading up to the election—the election itself—and the events that follow.

PLANS TO BRING PRESIDENTIAL ASPIRANTS TO HIS MICROPHONE

During the last week in May and the first in June, Murrow will present on his newscasts the candidates for the presidential nominations. Each will be asked what he would do about specific issues in the day's news. Among those who have already accepted Murrow's invitation to appear on his broadcasts are Senator Robert Taft, Harold E. Stassen, Henry Wallace, and Governor Earl Warren. The complete list of candidates and dates of their interviews will be announced on Murrow's broadcasts.

MURROW'S SCORE: 12 AWARDS IN THE PAST 10 YEARS

1948—**Headliners' Club Award (3rd time)**—~~To be awarded June 18~~ for "the best foreign on-the-spot radio reporting for his coverage of the wedding of Princess Elizabeth."

DuPont Award—"In recognition of distinguished and meritorious . . . public service through the medium of radio."

Overseas Press Club Award—"In recognition of the best interpretation of foreign affairs."

1947—**Motion Picture Daily's Radio Poll "First"**—"Best News Commentator and Analyst", with his newscasts voted "Best News Job by Radio."

1945—**Citation by Writers' War Board**—"Consistently expresses the democratic philosophy in cogent, forceful terms. Without weaseling or criticism, he fosters international understanding."

Association of American Correspondents in London—Murrow elected president, the first time a radio broadcaster had been so honored.

1944—**National Headliners' Club Award**—"For his report on the flying mission to Berlin, 'Orchestrated Hell'."

Billboard's Radio Editors Poll—One of two most outstanding broadcasts of 1943.

1943—**George Foster Peabody Award**—"For outstanding news reporting."

1941—**12th Institute for Education by Radio "First"**—"Best news broadcasts of the year—'London after Dark'."

1940—**Overseas Press Club**—"First prize for best foreign radio news reporting."

1938—**National Headliners' Club Award**—"To Mr. Murrow and Mr. Shirer for their series of broadcasts from Vienna during the Hitler putsch."

EDWARD R. MURROW

Edward R. Murrow was born in Greensboro, North Carolina, in 1908. Following his graduation from Washington State College in 1930, he was named president of the National Student Federation in 1931, and as such visited over 300 colleges and universities in America and abroad. He became European Director of CBS in 1937, and his "This is London" reports from London during World War II are a matter of common memory. Before and during the war he covered all kinds of historical events from a bombing run over Berlin to the rise and fall of political giants. He has talked with most world figures—from Winston Churchill to the late Huey Long. In the past two years he has received three honorary LL.D. degrees—from the University of North Carolina, Washington State College, and Muhlenberg College. Commenting on his war work, The London Telegraph referred to him as "America's unofficial ambassador."

EDWARD R. MURROW

HEARD ON CBS COAST-TO-COAST NETWORK OF 150 STATIONS

CBS

TUNE HIM IN WEEKDAY EVENINGS
MONDAY THRU FRIDAY
WCBS 7:45 TO 8

PRESENTED BY CAMPBELL SOUP COMPANY for CAMPBELL'S PORK AND BEANS, FRANCO-AMERICAN SPAGHETTI, AND FRANCO-AMERICAN MACARONI

CBS NEWS FROM 485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

General Information Division
Reference Department

April 8, 1948

Radio Bio. Edward R. Murrow
PLEASE RETURN TO
CBS REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

EDWARD R. MURROW TO SPEAK AT GOVERNORS' CONFERENCE DINNER

Edward R. Murrow, CBS reporter-analyst, has accepted an invitation to speak at the Annual State Dinner of the Governors' Conference in Portsmouth, New Hampshire on Monday, June 14. In attendance will be the Governors of the 48 States and the U.S. Territories.

Also speaking at the dinner will be Miss Dorothy Thompson, journalist and commentator.

The Governors' Conferences are devoted almost entirely to round-table discussions of State and Federal governmental problems. Dinner speakers discuss more general important subjects.

Last year Secretary of State Marshall was speaker, and in other years General Eisenhower and Admiral Nimitz made addresses.

Mr. Murrow broadcasts nightly over the Columbia network on "Edward R. Murrow With The News" (CBS, Mon.-thru-Fri., 7:45-8:00 PM, EST. Reb. 12:45 AM).

Beginning Monday, April 12, Mr. Murrow will be heard from Italy where he will cover the Italian general elections (April 18). The trip is his second overseas trip on a news assignment within a year. He went to England last November to cover the wedding of Princess Elizabeth and the opening of the Foreign Ministers Conference. He broadcast from London for two weeks.

* * *

N.Y.H.Trib.- 3/29/54

MATTER OF FACT

By JOSEPH and STEWART ALSOP

McCarthy on the Run

WASHINGTON.

There is no longer any doubt about it. Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy is in very bad trouble indeed. Moreover, he knows it. McCarthy and his partisans are now making desperate efforts to negotiate some sort of deal in order to head off the forthcoming hearings on McCarthy's battle with the Army.

Last week, for example, Richard Berlin, a powerful executive in the Hearst newspaper chain, came to Washington on a special mission. Berlin is one of the original McCarthy backers, and he sponsored Roy Cohn as counsel of the McCarthy Committee. At a carefully pre-arranged dinner party, Berlin and McCarthy were brought together with Brig. Gen. A. J. Drexel Biddle, who is personally close to both Gen. Matthew Ridgway and Secretary of the Army Robert Stevens.

The pitch was made over the brandy and cigars. Surely, Berlin said, some reasonable way out of the mess could be found. Perhaps both Cohn and Army Counsel John Adams could be fired, and the matter then dropped. Or perhaps an arbitrator of national stature could be found, to adjudicate the whole matter privately. McCarthy said that this would be "O. K. with him." But Biddle, apparently, did not rise to the fly.

* * *

Other attempts to work out a deal have also failed so far but they still go on. Since the Berlin visit, there have been hints that Cohn might be fired, and that McCarthy would not even insist that the Army fire Adams in exchange, if only the whole affair could be buried. There have also been not very veiled threats to the effect that there is plenty of material in the McCarthy files to ruin certain highly placed Defense Department officials, if the Administration "really wants to play rough."

At the same time, an attempt to divorce McCarthy completely from the whole affair is also going forward. McCarthy himself always refers to the "Cohn-Adams hassle," and airily implies that he has nothing to do with this minor mixup. He says that he has "nothing against Bob Stevens or any one else in the Administration," the whole business is just trouble-making by "left-wingers." This line is being dutifully parroted by all those who still find it the better part of wisdom to sing whatever tune McCarthy calls.

Yet it is difficult to believe that any one will be fooled. McCarthy has in effect called Stevens a) a liar, b) a blackmailer, and c) so contemptible a poltroon as to offer to supply "dirt" on the other services in order to buy immunity for himself. Stevens, a naive but honorable man, is not so naive as to believe that all this is in the spirit of good clean fun. "This time," he has told friends, "I'm in it to the end."

* * *

This time, moreover, the whole Administration has its guard up. The most careful preparation has been made for the forthcoming contest. Complete substantiation has been found for everything in the Army report on the McCarthy-Cohn matter. For example, according to the report, McCarthy told Adams and Stevens that David Schine was a "pest" and a "nuisance," and then hastily asked them not to repeat these views to Cohn. At least two other individuals, who have precisely the same experience with McCarthy ("but for God's sakes don't tell Roy Cohn") have been found, and are available to testify.

The Administration forces thus believe that McCarthy cannot seriously shake the Army's story. They also believe that the McCarthy story can be shaken and shaken hard — there are even serious internal contradictions in the memoranda so hastily released by McCarthy. Moreover, the Administration has weapons in reserve.

As previously reported here, some very damning material was not included in the Army report. What is more, the Army has compiled another report, described as "devastating," on the effects on morale at Ft. Dix of the special favors for Schine demanded by Cohn and McCarthy.

* * *

All in all, it is not surprising that McCarthy and company are eager to come to terms. It is not impossible, of course, that the still numerous McCarthy appeasers in the Administration will agree to make a deal with McCarthy, "in the interests of party harmony." But, at least, the opportunity does now clearly exist to restore sanity to the country by defeating once and for all McCarthy's bid to seize control of the Republican party.

The final outcome, of course, depends on one man, as it always has. Here it may be worth recounting an incident which occurred during a recent correspondents' dinner in Washington. Television broadcaster Ed Murrow suddenly felt a strong hand on his back. He turned to recognize a familiar grin.

"Hello, Ed," said the President, "I was just feeling your back to see if there were any knives sticking in it." The reference was obviously to Murrow's brilliant broadcast on McCarthy. Both men laughed, and then Murrow said, "From here on out, it's up to you, Mr. President." No truer word was ever spoken. With McCarthy on the run, the President has a golden opportunity to show once and for all who is the real leader of the Republican party, and of the United States.

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Press Information
485 Madison Ave., New York 22, N.Y.

General Information Division
Reference Department

Radio Biog
Murrow

August 26, 1952

GEN. DOOLITTLE TO PRESENT TO EDWARD R. MURROW
ANNUAL AWARD OF AIR FORCE ASSOCIATION

General James H. Doolittle will present to Edward R. Murrow, noted CBS Television and CBS Radio news broadcaster, the Annual Arts and Letters Award of the Air Force Association at the organization's annual banquet in Detroit's Masonic Temple, Saturday, Aug. 30.

During the Air Force Association convention in the Motor City, Aug. 28-31, there will be a showing to members of the CBS-TV "See It Now" film of the recent experiment by the Air Force in which Mr. Murrow rode in a B-29 bomber crossing the Atlantic from Europe to demonstrate the possibility of enemy bombings.

The award cites Murrow as "the man who has done the most during the past year in the field of arts and letters to further public interest in and understanding of Air Power as an element of our National Defense."

* * *

Don Rice

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles (left) with J. Clifford Stark, president of the Overseas Press Club of America, and Dr. Karl Gruber, Austrian Ambassador, at last night's fifteenth annual awards dinner of the club at the Waldorf-Astoria.

A.F.L., C.I.O. Split On N.J. Job Board

TRENTON, March 29 (AP).—Representatives of the New Jersey C. I. O. and A. F. L. groups disagreed today at a public hearing on the merits of legislation to create an employment security commission.

Louis P. Marciante, president of the New Jersey Federation of Labor (A. F. L.), urged passage of bills creating such a commission to replace the existing Employment Security Council in administering unemployment compensation laws. Sol Kapelsohn, state C. I. O. legislative counsel, opposed the bills.

The differences of opinion were aired during a public hearing held by the New Jersey Senate Labor and Industrial Relations Committee on several bills before it.

Mr. Marciante said the present council lacks authority to administer the unemployment benefits laws, and held that the proposed five-member commission would be able to do a better job. Mr. Kapelsohn argued that the present set-up should be retained.

Alsops and Lippmann Win Top Overseas Press Awards

Writers for the New York Herald Tribune won the Overseas Press Club awards for the best consistent reporting and the best press interpretation of foreign news in 1953, it was announced last night. The first went to Joseph and Stewart Alsop and the second to Walter Lippmann. It was the third time the Alsop brothers had won this award.

The awards were announced at the fifteenth annual awards dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria by John Barkham, managing editor of "Coronet" magazine and chairman of the awards committee.

Radio & TV Awards

Other winners were:

Howard K. Smith, of the Columbia Broadcasting System, for the best consistent radio reporting from abroad.

Edward R. Murrow, of CBS, for the best consistent television presentation of foreign affairs.

Elmer Davis, of the American Broadcasting Co., for the best radio interpretation of foreign news.

Michael Rougier, of "Life" magazine, for the best photographic reporting from abroad.

No Polk Memorial Prize

There was no George Polk Memorial Award this year, because of a "lack of suitable candidates," Mr. Barkham explained. This $500 cash award is given only in recognition of courage, integrity and enterprise above and beyond the call of duty.

Last night's winners received a bronze plaque and a gold watch. Mr. Murrow also received a gold membership card for his work in heading the campaign for the Memorial Press Club, scheduled to open in August at 35 E. 39th St.

Mr. Murrow received an ovation each time he arose to accept his honors, and especially after Mr. Barkham referred to him as "a man who recently added a whole new dimension to television, a man who boldy stepped in where everone else feared to tread." This was an obvious reference to Mr. Murrow's recent analytic television studies of the career of Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy.

Charity Racketeers' Take Put at 100 Million Yearly

WASHINGTON, March 29 (AP).—A professional fund raiser estimated today the American public is cheated out of $100-

which he said were milked by fund raisers. One was the National Kids Foundation, which he said collected over $3,000,000

Designer's Dr

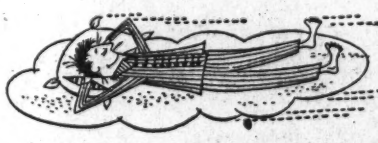
no

Consumers' Session

The National Consumers League will hold its annual meeting at 4 p. m. today in the Hotel Barbizon-Plaza, 106 Central Park South. Speakers will be Dr. Richard A. Lester, professor of economics at Princeton University; Dr. Eleanor Hadley, of the American Association of Social Workers, and Elizabeth S. Magee, general secretary of the Consumers League.

Sleep your way to EUROPE

ON THE TRANS-ATLANTIC Super-Swiss



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. . . *perfection for regular use*

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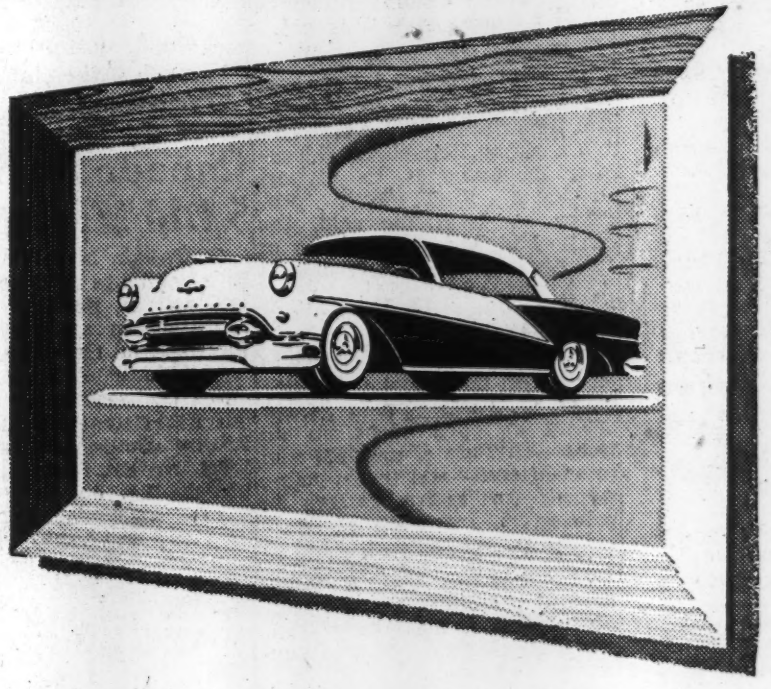


ow a *Dazzling Reality!*

The attached message, published by the Campbell Soup Company, pays generous tribute to EDWARD R. MURROW's *"informed, responsible voice"*—which is now reaching, under the sponsorship of this Company, the largest audience of any news reporter on the air.

It is a reassuring note in these times that so many millions of Americans choose to listen to a man who speaks to them so consistently *"without sensationalism either in the selection or handling of the news."*

We are very pleased to send this to you because it illustrates the basic philosophy of all CBS news broadcasts, to which Mr. Murrow has made so many contributions and with which he has been exclusively identified from the beginning of his Radio career.

FRANK STANTON,
President,
Columbia Broadcasting System

FYI...a new award.

MARCH 21, 1954

COPY

EDWARD R. MURROW, COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM
485 MADISON AVE. NEW YORK

IT IS A PLEASURE TO ANNOUNCE THAT YOU ARE ONE OF FIVE PERSONS SELECTED AS SPEAKERS-OF-THE-YEAR FOR 1953. CITATIONS MADE BY TAU KAPPA ALPHA, NATIONAL COLLEGE HONOR SOCIETY IN SPEECH. AWARDS IN FIVE AREAS AS FOLLOWS: PRESIDENT EISENHOWER IN NATIONAL AFFAIRS; HENRY FORD 11 IN BUSINESS AND COMMERCE; GEORGE MEANY IN LABOR; BISHOP G. BROMLEY OXNAM IN RELIGION; AND EDWARD R. MURROW IN EDUCATIONAL-SCIENTIFIC-CULTURAL ACTIVITIES. REQUEST NO PUBLICITY BEFORE OFFICIAL PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT TO BE MADE THURSDAY NOON, MARCH 25, FROM NATIONAL CONFERENCE, MEETING AT WESTERN MICHIGAN COLLEGE OF EDUCATION, KALAMAZOO. CITATION NOW IN ITS FIFTH YEAR RECOGNIZES PERSONS IN PUBLIC LIFE FOR THEIR SUPERIOR SPEAKING ABILITY. SPECIFICALLY, THOSE WHO ARE DISTINGUISHED FOR EFFECTIVE, INTELLIGENT, AND RESPONSIBLE SPEECH; THOSE WHO BY THEIR ORAL COMMUNICATION HAVE ENLIGHTENED THE UNDERSTANDING AND QUICKENED THE CONSCIENCE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE; THOSE WHOSE SPEECH SKILLS HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THE STRENGTHENING OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY. MORE DETAILS WILL FOLLOW BY LETTER IN A FEW DAYS.

A

A

W. CHARLES REDDING CHAIRMAN NATIONAL BOARD OF AWARD TAU KAPPA ALPHA SOCIETY ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF SPEECH UNIVERSITY SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

PLEASE RETURN TO
CBS REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

Miss Dowell

INDUSTRY ACTIVITIES:

His numerous awards include the following:

1953 Sylvania Television Award to Edward R. Murrow, producer and moderator of "Person to Person" for the most outstanding new television series.

George Polk Memorial Award to Edward R. Murrow for his program "See It Now" and in particular "for his memorable Christmas Day telecast from Korea, the sensitivity with which he transmitted to Americans the feelings of United Nations soldiers stationed in the freezing far reaches of the Korean mountains, which was one of the highlights of this or any other year in reporting."

See Columbia Rec 5/13/53 - p3

Lord & Taylor Award to Edward R. Murrow as an "intellectual adventurer." Mr. Murrow "built the first world wide corps of radio newsmen which established radio's unequalled power to report history, in the making and in his CBS-TV 'See It Now' series translated journalism into a visual medium."

Overseas Press Club Award to Edward R. Murrow for "best television interpretation of foreign affairs."

1952 George Polk Memorial Award - A gold plaque to Edward R. Murrow for his program "See It Now." Cited for "contributing distinctive new techniques in visual journalism."

Variety Showmanagement Award to "See It Now." Citation reads in part: "There can be no question about the most original, informative and entertaining type of journalism now riding the video airwaves -- that award goes hands down to Edward R. Murrow's "See It Now" on CBS-TV. At a time when not only viewers but most industry toppers had started to believe that video had exhausted all possible facets of programming, Murrow and his co-producer, Fred W. Friendly, jolted them into discarding that cliche with this entirely new approach to news reporting -- an approach which uncovered a power in TV's ability to report the news which most of them had never even suspected."

George Foster Peabody Radio and TV Award for TV News and Interpretation - Edward R. Murrow and "See It Now" -- "for its simple, lucid and intelligent analysis of top news stories of the week on television. Edward R. Murrow and Fred W. Friendly have devised a strikingly effective format for presenting news and the personalities involved in the news with humor, sometimes with indignation, always with careful thought."

Alfred I. DuPont Foundation Award to Edward R. Murrow for "outstanding and meritorious service to the American people."

American Cancer Society cited "See It Now" with a plaque - "Of all the outstanding programs of last April, none was so deeply moving, so emotionally convincing as that presented by 'See It Now' in its April 27th telecast. Symbolic of the number of Americans saved from cancer last year, Cedar Rapids, with a population of 70,000 was featured in the special telecast during the cancer drive month. The Program highlighted the community Cancer Thanksgiving Celebration in Cedar Rapids."

Sylvania Television Award to "See It Now" - outstanding program dealing with news for bringing "a completely new and ambitious plan" of news reporting that, through the use of remote hook-up and films, enables viewers to get visual records of happenings in the far-flung corners of the earth.

1951 George Foster Peabody Radio Award to "Hear It Now," narrated by Edward R. Murrow, for "brilliant application of tape recording to the purposes of news summary by which the listener is privileged to hear the news from the very individual who made it."

Overseas Press Club - "best radio interpretation of foreign news."

Degree of Doctor of Journalism from Temple University.

1950 Overseas Press Club - "best radio and television interpretation of foreign news."

Institute for Education by Radio, Ohio State University - first award to "Edward Murrow and the News."

Award from One World Committee "in recognition of the outstanding quality and impartiality of his work as a radio commentator in clarifying international issues and interpreting them to the American public."

1949 George Foster Peabody Radio Award for "outstanding reporting and interpretation of the news."

Honorary Degree of Doctor of Humanities from Rollins College.

1948 Headliners' Club Award (3rd time). For the best foreign on-the-spot radio reporting for his coverage of the wedding of Princess Elizabeth.

DuPont Award - "In recognition of distinguished and meritorious...public service through the medium of radio."

Overseas Press Club Award - "In recognition of the best interpretation of foreign affairs."

9048

1947 Motion Picture Daily's Radio Poll "First" -- "Best News Commentator and Analyst," with his newscasts voted "Best News Job by Radio."

1945 Citation by Writers' War Board - "Consistently expresses the democratic philosophy in cogent, forceful terms. Without weaseling or criticism, he fosters international understanding."

Association of American Correspondents in London - Elected president, the first time a radio broadcaster had been so honored.

1944 National Headliners' Club Award - "For his report on the flying mission to Berlin, 'Orchestrated Hell.'"

Billboard's Radio Editors Poll - One of two most outstanding broadcasts of 1943.

1943 George Foster Peabody Award - "For outstanding news reporting."

1941 - 12th Institute for Education by Radio "First" - "Best news broadcasts of the year -- 'London after Dark.'"

1940 Overseas Press Club - "First prize for best foreign radio news reporting."

1938 National Headliners' Club Award - "To Mr. Murrow and Mr. Shirer for their series of broadcasts from Vienna during the Hitler putsch."

Trade NEWS FROM 485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK

April 20, 1951

FOR RELEASE THURSDAY, APRIL 26
AT 1:30 PM, EST

GEORGE FOSTER PEABODY AWARDS TO "HEAR IT NOW"
AND COLUMBIA'S CHICAGO STATION WBBM

George Foster Peabody Awards to CBS' "Hear It Now," for "reporting of the news," and to WBBM, CBS station in Chicago, for "public service by a regional station," were announced today (Thursday, April 26) at a luncheon of the Radio Executives Club of New York at the Hotel Waldorf-Astoria.

The citation to "Hear It Now," narrated by Edward R. Murrow, reads:

"A citation for reporting of the news goes to 'Hear It Now' of CBS. Here was a brilliant application of tape recording to the purposes of news summary by which the listener is privileged to hear the news from the very individual who made it. The accolade in this case goes to the many network stations, to CBS staff members, and the skilled tape engineers who together have edited and made possible the vivid 'Hear It Now.'"

The full-hour "Hear It Now" (CBS, Fridays, 9:00-10:00 PM, EST) made its debut on Friday, Dec. 15, 1950. A document for the ear based on the week's news, it presents as far as possible the news in the actual voices and words of the men who make the news. The program is produced and written by Edward R. Murrow and Fred W. Friendly, who

(More)

collaborated on the presentation of the three volumes of modern American history in album form, "I Can Hear It Now."

Mr. Murrow has won two previous George Foster Peabody Awards -- in 1943 and 1949 -- for "outstanding reporting and interpretation of the news."

The award to station WBBM -- its second Peabody Award in three years -- was made for its presentation of "The Quiet Answer," a seven-week series of dramatic essays on race relations in Chicago. The 1947 Award to WBBM was for "Report Uncensored," a series on juvenile delinquency.

The 1950 award to station WBBM reads:

"Selecting a critical local problem as an opportunity for public service, station WBBM sought the cooperation of 16 major agencies and a panel of outstanding authorities in gathering the facts about tension and conflict in race relations in Chicago. Using tape recorded interviews as a basis, drama and music were skillfully blended in a seven-week series of hard-hitting dramatic essays titled, 'The Quiet Answer,' which revealed to Chicagoans what they were saying, feeling and doing. Scheduled at a season usually characterized by racial violence, the program achieved high audience acceptance and directly stimulated improved local legislation. The careful preparation, the intensive publicity, the skilled presentation, and the follow-through may well serve as a model for local public service."

The George Foster Peabody Awards are administered by the Henry W. Grady School of Journalism of the University of Georgia.

* * *

NEWS

Philadelphia Fellowship Commission

Max Franzen, Press, Radio and TV Director
Fellowship Commission Building
260 South 15th Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

Kingsley 5-8430 (Night—Kingsley 5-8439)
—EVergreen 2-0881)

NATIONAL FELLOWSHIP COMMISSION AWARD TO MURROW

Edward R. Murrow, CBS radio and television commentator, shown March 24, 1954 as he received the 1954 national award of the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission. He was honored for outstanding contributions to human dignity, freedom and security at a "Press for Freedom" dinner given by Fellowship Commission and Fellowship House at the final dinner of their joint membership enrollment.

Philo. Inquirer
3-25-54

Murrow Feted Here, Sees Long 'Cold War'

Illustrated on Page 3

The so-called "cold war," or something resembling it, may continue throughout the lifetime of present generations, Edward R. Murrow, noted radio and television commentator, warned here last night.

The most important event of postwar history, he declared, was the Russian All-Party Congress in Moscow in October, 1952, at which the Soviets "spelled out the blueprint by which they proposed to encompass our destruction." In the Russian scheme, he explained, that may involve a long-range, grinding process covering decades.

RECEIVES AWARD

Murrow was the principal speaker at a dinner in the Bellevue-Stratford, marking the climax of the annual membership enrollment campaign of the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission and Fellowship House. An audience of 1100, including many of the city's civic and professional leaders, gave the guest of honor a standing ovation as he accepted the commission's 1954 National Fellowship Award at the hands of Mayor Joseph S. Clark, Jr.

The Mayor, who in turn was introduced by Clarence E. Pickett, president of the commission, told the gathering that Murrow "upholds America's tradition of full and impartial investigation, fair play and innocence until proved guilty."

Although Murrow excited national interest recently by his criticism of Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy, he made only passing reference to their exchange in his address last night, and Pickett did so only indirectly when he jibed at those who joined the capacity turnout apparently in hopes of hearing a new "blast."

The outcome of the recent Foreign Ministers' conference in Berlin, said Murrow, indicated little more than the existence of a "power stalemate" between East and West, and nothing in the situation offers a guarantee that there will be any solution at all.

'CAN'T BUY ALLIES'

American impatience in expecting and demanding a solution, he also warned, has had an unsettling effect on our allies, as has our "casual" talk of "another war."

He urged his listeners to remember "that we are not universally loved; that we cannot buy our allies, and that no nation bases its policy on gratitude." In trying to win other nations to our side, he added, "our example here at home is quite as important as the dollars we expend abroad."

OTHERS HONORED

Other citations made by the Fellowship Commission last night, and presented to their recipients by Tanner G. Duckrey, its vice president, went to Yaroslav J. Chyz, Scranton publisher and director of the foreign language press division of the Common Council on American Unity; John Cogley, executive editor of Commonweal magazine; James L. Hicks, of New York, feature writer of the Afro-American Newspapers, and Morton Wishengrad, writer of the "Eternal Light" and "Frontiers of Faith" programs on radio and television respectively.

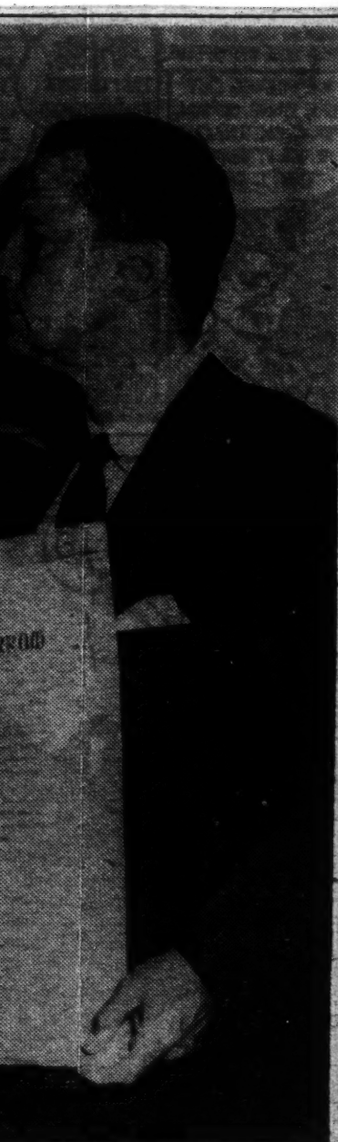
Joseph A. Daroff, general chairman of the joint membership enrollment of the Fellowship Commission and Fellowship House, reported that the organziations had received pledges or paid memberships in the sum of $71,149, and membership renewals of $32,851, for a total of $104,000, toward a goal of $150,000. But he pointed out that the enrollment would continue on a year-round basis until the goal was reached.

Mrs. Bernard G. Waring, chairman of the board of Fellowship House, also reported briefly on the activities of that organization.

HONORED Edward R. Murrow (left), radio and television commentator, receives Philadelphia Fellowship Commission award from Mayor Joseph S. Clark, Jr. In center is Clarence E. Pickett, commission president. Story on Page 4.

RECIPIENT OF 1954 National Fellowship Award at Bellevue-Stratford dinne
lowship Commission was radio and television commentator, Edward R. Murro
who here accepts honor from Clarence E. Pickett, president of commission (
Mayor Joseph S. Clark, Jr. (right). Joseph A. Daroff, dinner chairman, loo

Philo. Daily News 3-25-54



ner of Philadelphia Fel-
rrow (second from left),
(third from left), and
looks on at left.—(Staff

Murrow says dissent must be tolerated

Radio and television commentator Edward R. Murrow last night warned that Americans must not confuse dissent with disloyalty in fighting the internal ravages of Communism.

Murrow addressed 1100 persons at the "Press for Freedom Dinner" climaxing the annual Fellowship Commission - Fellowship House membership drive in the Bellevue-Stratford.

The commentator has clashed with Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy over the latter's methods in exposing Communism, said that rather we must defend the right to dissent and even to be wrong at times in our freedom and democratic way of life. Murrow was the principal speaker at the dinner at which he received the 1954 National Fellowship Award for upholding American traditions of fair play, full and impartial investigation and innocence until proved guilty.

LONG-RANGE STRUGGLE

Couching his talk in the commentator's form of "guesses" as to what lies in store for the free world, Murrow reckoned that the Russian plan for world domination is a "long-range, grinding one that may go on as long as we live." At the same time, he warned against forcing, by our actions, Red China farther into the Russian orbit.

Murrow declared that we in America must desist from the belief that our faith and our doctrines have to be kept "uncontaminated" by contact with other faiths and other doctrines. Fear of a comparison of our ideology with those of other lands, he said, would be a tacit admission that "ours is inferior."

The award, one of five citations made to nationally known journalists and writers, was presented to Murrow by Mayor Joseph S. Clark, Jr., honorary dinner chairman. Clarence E. Pickett, president of the Fellowship Commission, presided at the banquet.

The four other citations were presented by Dr. Tanner G. Duckrey, vice president of the commission.

OTHER RECIPIENTS

They were received by Yaroslav J. Chyz, director of the foreign language press division of the Common Council on American Unity; John Cogley, executive editor of The Commonweal magazine; James L. Hicks, columnist and feature writer of the Afro American newspapers, and Morton Wishengrad, writer of NBC radio and TV programs.

Joseph A. Daroff, chairman of the 1954 joint membership enrollment of Fellowship Commission and Fellowship House, reported that the drive to date had reached about $105,000, roughly 20 percent over last year's achievements.

Mrs. Bernard G. Waring, chairman of the board of Fellowship House, spoke on the work of that organization in combating prejudice and discrimination in Philadelphia. The benediction was given by Dr. Mortimer J. Cohen, rabbi of Beth Sholom Congregation in Logan.

Sportsman

Philo - Evening Bulletin
THURSDAY, MARCH 25, 1954 THE EVENIN

CBS Commentator Wins Fellowship Commission Award

National award of the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission is presented to Edward R. Murrow (second from left), Columbia Broadcasting System radio and television newscaster, by Mayor Joseph S. Clark, Jr. (right). Others at the ceremony, during a dinner in the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel, are Joseph A. Daroff (left), chairman of the commission's enrollment program, and Clarence E. Pickett, president of the Fellowship Commission.

Murrow Predicts Extended Power Struggle With Russia

Edward R. Murrow, CBS radio and television commentator, said here last night that the power struggle with Russia may last longer than the life span of any living Americans.

Murrow received the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission's national award at a dinner at the Bellevue-Stratford.

In a wide-ranging speech, Murrow said the harsh fact Americans must accept is that this country is involved in a power stalemate with Russia. "The two sides are chest to chest," he said.

He said that Russia's program for future expansion was outlined in October, 1952, at the All-Party Congress in Moscow. This program is more specific than the program Hitler outlined in his book, "Mein Kampf," Murrow commented.

Battle of Trade, Nerves

It calls for a "battle of trade, a battle of nerves." It's a program he said that may last for decades.

"We are in a position where there is no easy solution.," Murrow said. "And maybe there is no solution at all."

And then he turned generally to the subject which has put him in headlines in recent weeks; his now-famous television program about Senator McCarthy (R-Wis).

Although he failed to mention McCarthy by name, he said this:

"Millions of persons all over the world are looking to us for a new faith. They regard us as a sort of test tube. And they regard us with some apprehension."

that is to admit that our faith is inferior to that of the enemy.

"We have the power. And if we don't depart from the habits of our heritage, there will be some glory, too."

Mayor Clark presented the award to Murrow. In a short speech, the mayor said, "We meet tonight in an unhappy national climate to honor a distinguished American."

Speaking of Murrow, Clark said, "It takes social courage of a high order for a reporter on the air today to tell the truth to the American people about intolerance and McCarthy."

The Fellowship Commission presented citations to four other men. They went to:

Yaroslav J. Chyz, director of the foreign language press division and associate director of the Common Council for American Unity, New York.

John Cogley, executive editor of the Commonweal Magazine, a Catholic publication.

James L. Hicks, New York correspondent and feature writer of the Afro-American newspapers.

Morton Wishengard, writer of radio's "Eternal Light" programs and television's "Frontiers of Faith."

The dinner was attended by 1,136 persons—the largest turnout since the Fellowship Commission was founded 12 years ago.

Joseph A. Daroff, membership enrollment chairman, reported this year's drive is running 20 per cent ahead of last year's. He said anticipated receipts are $125,000.

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Although he failed to mention McCarthy by name, he said this:

"Millions of persons all over the world are looking to us for a new faith. They regard us as a sort of test tube. And they regard us with some apprehension."

This apprehension is based, Murrow said, on the confusion by Americans of the difference between the external threat and the internal threat of Communism.

Must Not Be Confused

"We must not confuse the business of dissent with disloyalty. We must protect the right of the individual to dissent, his right even to be wrong.

"Many nations have lost their freedom in their attempts to defend it."

Murrow's celebrated dispute with Senator McCarthy is based on Murrow's belief that the Wisconsin senator, through his investigatory methods, is causing disunion within the United States, and threatening traditional American freedoms.

McCarthy will appear on Murrow's program on WCAU-TV April 6 to answer the commentator's charges.

Diplomatic Recognition

"We must also get our thinking straight," Murrow said, "on the subject of diplomatic recognition." He quoted Sir Winston Churchill's statement that recognition is not the same as conferring a compliment.

"We must not force China more firmly into Russia's orbit," he said, implying that Red China should receive diplomatic recognition. The Eisenhower Administration is opposed to recognition at this time.

Murow noted that this country's role in world affairs has changed in the past 10 years.

"Responsibility never was thrust upon a nation with so little warning," said Murrow. "We came into our full inheritance at a tender age."

And how have we done as the world's most powerful nation? he asked.

Cites Accomplishments

"We saved Greece and Turkey from Communism. We probably saved Western Europe from Communism. We originated and led the first armed coalition fighting for all free nations in Korea. We sustained our economy.

"In the last few years, we lived a life—and not an apology."

He asked, "Who could choose a better time to live? We in the United States are the pivot upon which history will turn. Many nations have lived and died without the opportunity to be decisive. The time for the culmination of our history, our doctrine, our dogma, is now.

"Let us not say that our ideals will not emerge triumphant, for that is to admit that our faith is inferior to that of the enemy.

"We have the power. And if we don't depart from the habits of our heritage, there will be some glory, too."

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Hicks, Murrow meet again, receive honors for reporting

By WILLIAM H. GRAY, JR.

Two men who were on the firing lines together in Korea were together again last night in Philadelphia, this time to be honored by the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission.

They were Edward R. Murrow, the famous CBS commentator whose controversy with Senator McCarthy has gained national attention, and James L. Hicks, columnist of the Afro-American newspapers who has blasted segregation in the armed forces and discrimination in employment and housing.

James L. Hicks

Both received national citations at the 1954 joint membership enrollment dinner of the Commission and Fellowship House at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel before more than 1100 Fellowship members and workers.

LAUDED BY MURROW

Hicks recalled how he and Murrow had shared experiences in Korea and how Murrow had sponsored him for his membership in the previously "all-white" Overseas Press Club. Murrow called Hicks "one of the finest reporters I know."

Mayor Clark, who presented the national award to Murrow, said the commentator's "penetrating and objective reports on the universal human quest for security with dignity and freedom inspire countless people to work for social justice, with a quickened hope of achieving it in our time."

Hicks received his national citation from Dr. Tanner G. Duckrey, vice president of the Fellowship Commission, who said his "courageous exposes of discrimination and segregation have materially advanced social justice.

HITS SEGREGATION

Hicks, in responding, attacked the hiring policies of the United States Steel Corp. and charged segregated housing practices by William Levitt and Sons in the Delaware Valley industrial area. He lauded the people who helped him compile evidence for his articles attacking discrimination and segregation.

Other press, radio and television personalities to whom Dr. Duckrey presented national Fellowship Commission citations were Yaroslav J. Chyz, director of the foreign language press division of the Common Council for American Unity; John Cogley, executive editor of The Commonwealth magazine; and Morton Wishengrad, writer of the NBC "Eternal Light" and "Frontiers of Faith" radio and television programs.

Clarence E. Pickett, president of the Fellowship Commission, presided at the "Press for Freedom" dinner.

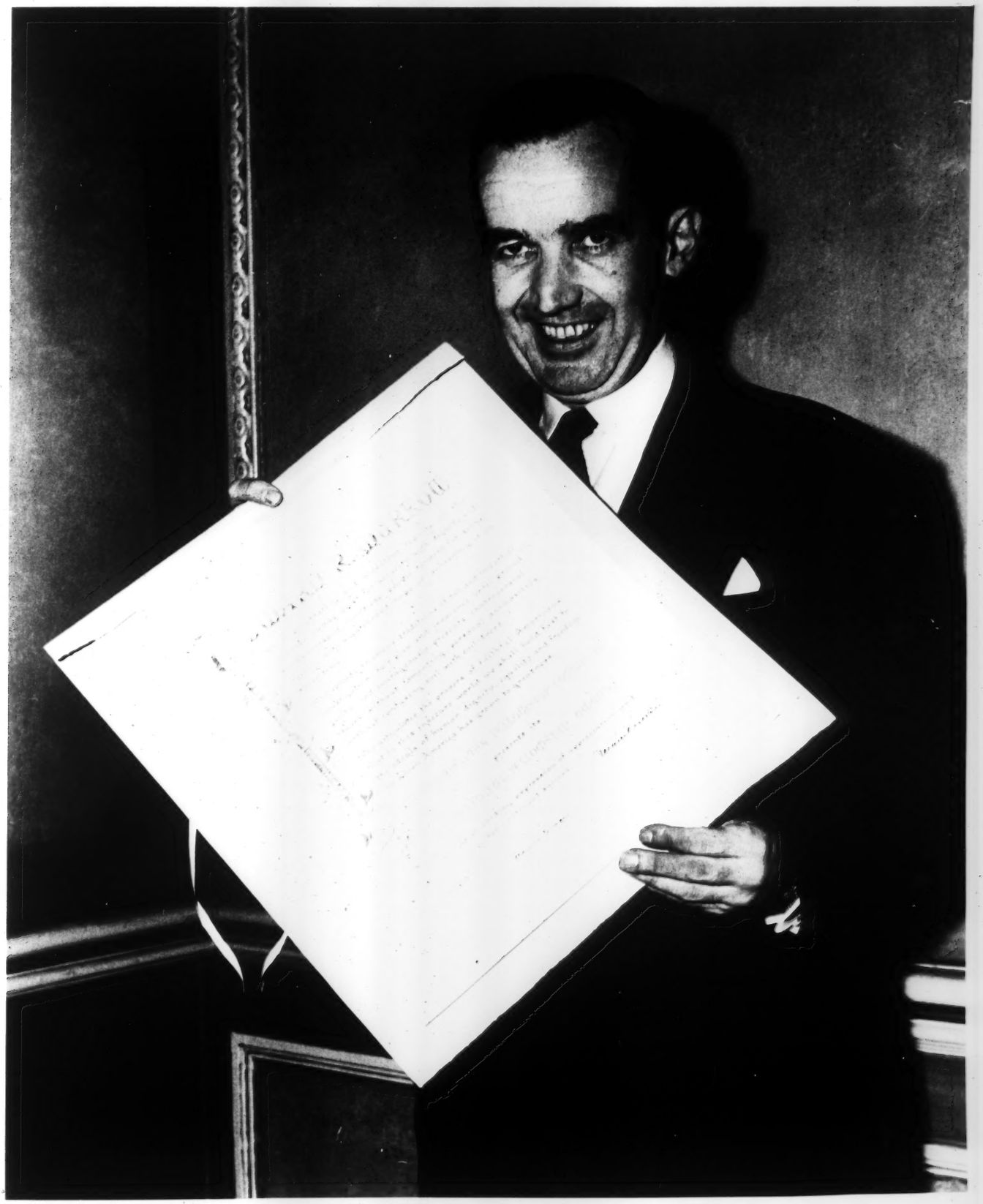
$1,854,765 paid by Blue Cross in February

Blue Cross paid hospitals $1,854,765 for the care of 20,245 subscribers in February, Associated Hospital Service of Philadelphia announced.

Highest payment of the month went to University of Pennsylvania Hospital—$93,534 for the care and treatment of 971 cases.

The AHS said 64.5 percent of the population of Philadelphia is now protected by Blue Cross.

Phila Daily News 3-25-54

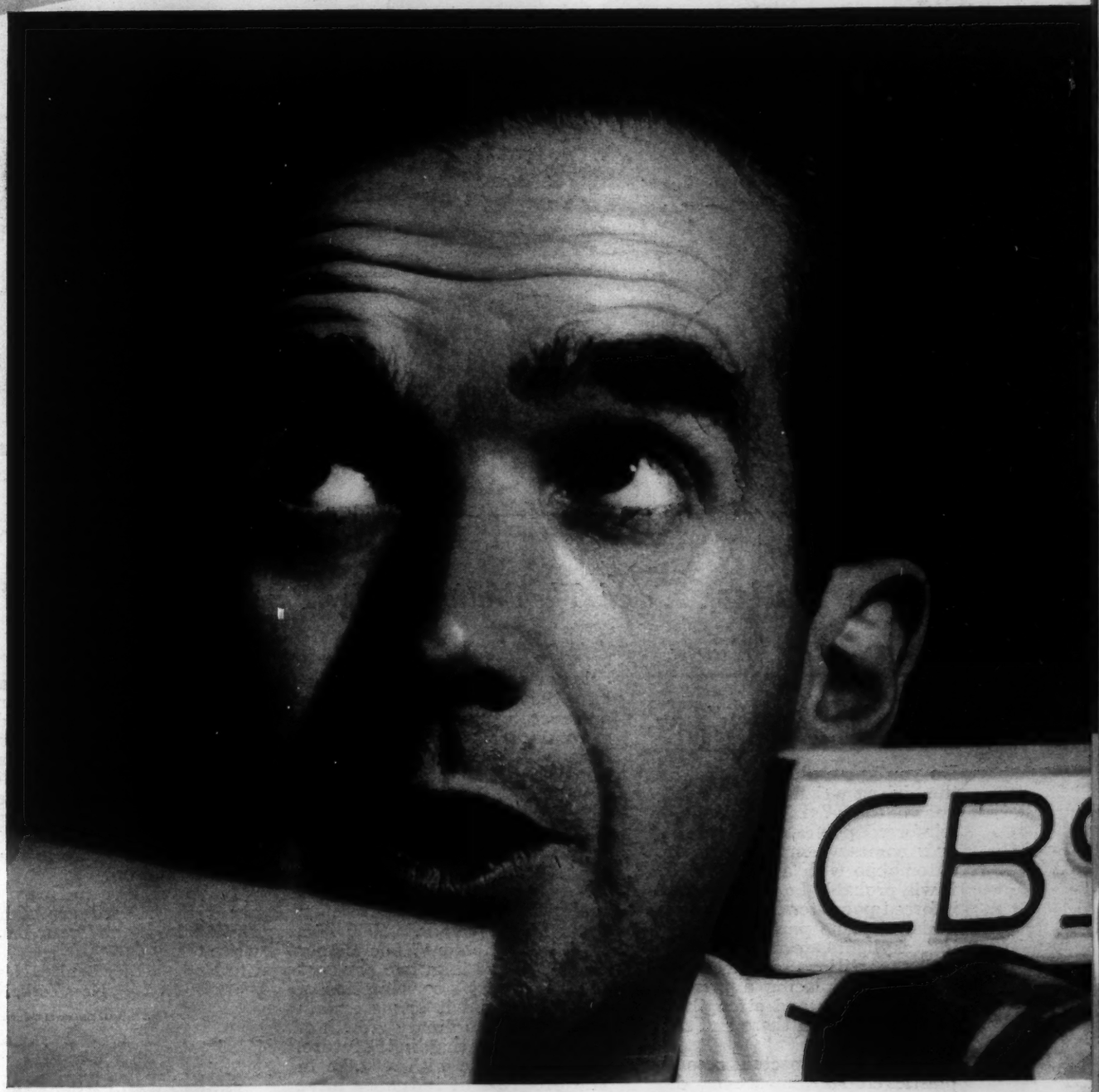


Newsweek

Should Television Take Sides?

(See Radio-TV)

MARCH 29, 1954 20c



Edward R. Murrow: Pictures Speak Louder

VOL. XLIII NO. 13 MARCH 29, 1954

Newsweek

Registered U. S. Patent Office

THE MAGAZINE OF NEWS SIGNIFICANCE

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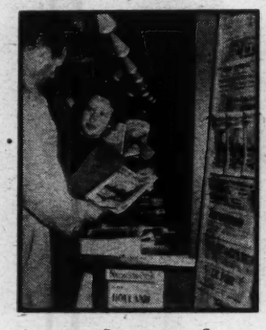
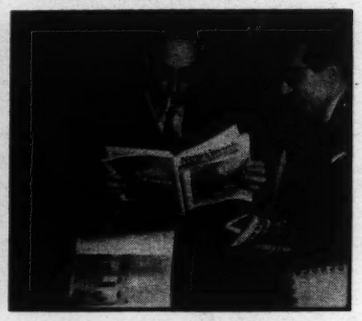
SPECIAL REPORT: One of NEWSWEEK's most popular features is the special report. Over the years our editors have developed a skillful technique for bringing together in one comprehensive story a complete, factually pinpointed picture of broad inclusive topics. This perceptive reporting technique has been used to scrutinize subjects





Amsterdam readers quickly bought up NEWSWEEK from newsstands (left), while the story stirred sharp interest among Dutch businessmen (right)

ranging from taxes to American jazz, from air conditioning to cancer. And it has also been employed to bring you an understanding of the development of American cities such as Atlanta; Los Angeles; Portland, Ore.; and Seattle. The response to all these stories was so enthusiastic that we have been expanding our use of the special-report technique across the seas to bring you more and more of these reports from foreign countries. The story on the Netherlands' economic recovery (March 8 issue) is a recent example, and it proved to be a thumping success.

It was particularly interesting to me to learn of the strong impact this story had on people in Holland. For example, Deputy Information Director Francot, of the Royal Dutch Ministry of Economics, commenting on the story said: "We ourselves didn't realize how far we'd come. But now, thanks to NEWSWEEK, we see ourselves in the American mirror and understand that we have come quite far, indeed." And Foreign Affairs Minister J.M.A.H. Luns of Holland cabled: "Your acknowledgment of the tremendous effort made by our people for the rehabilitation of the country is a valuable contribution to the mutual understanding and friendship between our nations."

It is becoming more and more important for us in the United States to understand significant developments in other parts of the world. And to help you do so, Harry Kern, editor in chief of our international editions, plans to follow up the story on the Netherlands' industrial recovery with many other special foreign reports, both from the European area and from the Far East.

THE COVER: Edward R. Murrow's sensational See It Now TV programs about Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy represented a startling development in the use of television in political conflict. The programs also dramatically raised again the controversial question of how far radio and TV should go in editorialized comment, and what the rules should be. To learn the opinions of Murrow himself, industry leaders, and the Federal Communications Commission, turn to page 50.

Theodore F. Mueller
Publisher

Television in Controversy: The Debate and Defense

"Ideally, in the case of controversial issues, the audience should be left with no impression as to which side the analyst himself actually favors."
Paul White, executive editor of San Diego's station KFMB, speaking in 1943 when he was head of the Columbia Broadcasting System news.

"They'll have to rewrite the definition of journalism now. No greater feat of journalistic enterprise has occurred in modern times than that performed by Ed Murrow last Tuesday."
Broadcasting and Telecasting magazine, March 15, 1954.

These two statements suggest the distance that the radio-television industry has traveled as a conveyor of political thought in scarcely more than a decade. Within a matter of hours after Edward R. Murrow (see cover) had finished his now-famous CBS See It Now show on Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy, it was clear to a great many people that the editorial velocity of radio-TV had been suddenly accelerated, that a conspicuous milestone along a somewhat wandering route had been reached.

A Higher Perch: Murrow, once a vice president and still a director of CBS, spoke from a higher perch than run-of-mine radio-TV commentators. He is also a policymaker for a major network, and was presumed by many to be speaking for others as well as himself. There are those who believe that anyone less than a director would never be permitted so much freedom.

The public response left no doubt as to

Berryman—Washington Star

the political opinions of those who made their views known, but they left one big question unanswered:

Is it right in principle for television to take a clear stand on one side of a great issue?

Radio-TV, despite all regulations, certainly is not free of any taint of bias. There have been many programs arguing one side or the other, and many commentators have made a good thing out of propaganda. But no political show so damning as Murrow's McCarthy program had ever been done, and no voice had such force of position behind it. And this raised another question:

If it is ethical for TV and radio to line up in favor of, or against, an individual politician or a political wing, then what should be the ground rules under which the reply can be made?

Nothing in the law requires Murrow or CBS to grant equal time for reply in a case like this, but in most such instances, the opposition gets a chance to answer. The Murrow show, however, injected a complication in this respect:

Would McCarthy be able to reply adequately to the drama that Murrow had staged? Murrow could respond to this that he had only used McCarthy's own words and actions (the show consisted principally of film of McCarthy in action, edited to illustrate Murrow's own arguments that McCarthy uses the half-truth and committee-room persecution to gain his ends). But how often would an individual or group that believed itself injured by editorialized television be able to come back with an equally effective dramatic presentation of its case?

A Match for Murrow? No one familiar with McCarthy's sense of showmanship, his nimble reflexes, his superb talent for battle, could doubt his capability to defend himself, especially since Murrow had laid down no conditions on how the reply was to be made. But how many public figures are there who can match a gifted TV man with equally forceful presentation?

Going beyond showmanship, radio and television, while employing many of the techniques of press and theater and offering in numerous cases the same product—information and comment—are in a fundamentally different position. Radio-TV uses the air, and the air is public property.

From the beginning, this difference

Most Major TV Stations Say 'Let's Take Both Sides'

Nine major TV stations polled by Newsweek held to the tradition that the medium should be strictly impartial. Five indicated a belief that radio and television ought to editorialize, at least to the extent of the Murrow shows. The following is a cross-section of the views of local stations queried:

▶"We believe television should not take sides but should fairly present controversial issues. We attempt to offer both sides in the same period and by qualified exponents . . ."

▶"Television stations ought not to take any sides in political or controversial issues . . ."

▶"We believe radio and television should take sides by honest expression of editorial opinion."

▶"Sure, we do it every day . . ."

▶"We should adhere to the regulations as set forth by the FCC, and render the best possible service to our listeners. We believe we should not take sides."

▶"Television is a medium to convey the facts on both sides so that the public may reach its own decisions."

▶"As long as opinions are clearly labeled as such I think it is a healthy and progressive step for TV to have an opinion. To have an opinion is to have character."

▶"Presentation of both sides of a major issue wherein the public can draw its own conclusions is deemed highly desirable by this station."

▶"Just as NEWSWEEK, in addition to carrying straight news, carries columns by such men as Raymond Moley, who are identified by their by-lines—and thus express their own opinions over and above those of your magazine—we at this station identify commentators as such, as distinguished from newscasters . . . and have tried to distinguish between facts and opinion."

▶"Television, the greatest mass medium ever conceived, should not compromise its tremendous possibilities for public service by adopting editorial policies. Instead, the industry should energetically encourage the use of facilities for serious examination of controversial issues by commentators and advocates."

▶"There is nothing in the . . . act . . . which gives the commission any control on program content of stations. We believe that radio and television stations should share the same freedom of expression and the privilege of taking sides which have been enjoyed by the American press since the founding of our nation . . ."

▶"We have never felt that television should take sides . . ."

was recognized and the radio industry was based, therefore, on government license, instead of outright ownership. In exchange for the license, the radio people agreed to abide by certain rules, or at least to respect accepted practice where the rules were not clear, and always to operate in the public interest.

The Playing Field: The result, for a long time, was that radio fell over backward to avoid crossing the visible and often invisible lines of the playing field. In 1932, for example, one network blanked out the Lindbergh kidnapping story all through the night it broke on the ground that the news was "too sensational." Up to 1935 no large news service did business with radio at all, and not until 1941 did the Associated Press decide to supply news to the medium which now challenges the press as the chief conveyor of information. In 1943, the year that White of CBS gave his definition of the "ideal" impartial news analyst, another CBS official expressed the considered opinion that the day of the news commentator was over.

These timid advances and hasty retreats simply reflected the public attitude, as expressed in Washington. In the Federal Radio Commission, later replaced by the Federal Communications Commission; in the courts; and in the minds of thoughtful public officials there was no agreement as to how far radio should go in matters of controversy, even whether it should go at all.

Murrow himself appears confident of his ground in the McCarthy case.

The opinions of others in the industry are mixed:

T. F. O'Neil, president, chairman of the board, Mutual Broadcasting System: "We, as station owners, have never attempted to establish an editorial policy analogous to the editorial page of a newspaper, but we feel that any attempt to prevent individual commentators from expressing their interpretation of local, national, or international events would be a disservice to the public . . ."

Robert E. Kintner, president of ABC: "Local station managers still don't editorialize very much, and no network is going to editorialize just because the president or the board chairman has certain views on a subject.

"The situation is not analogous to a newspaper's because there is no one place on the air to editorialize as there is in a paper . . .

"There is more to be concerned about in reaching decisions about television because of its impact. But no one is going to be able to use radio or TV facilities as demagogues."

Willian S. Paley and **Frank Stanton,** chairman of the board of directors and president, respectively, of CBS: "In the pattern of mass communications as part of the fabric of freedom, we believe that

Murrow Calls It 'Reporting'

Newsweek—Ed Wergeles

Murrow with Radulovich (whom he defended) and McCarthy

Four pretty girls sat under a sign lettered "SIN" (for See It Now), on the seventeenth floor of CBS in New York. They sorted piled-up mail and delegated it to even more boxes. Fred W. Friendly, See It Now's big, loose-limbed coproducer, hurried in and out. Down the corridor, in a small, quiet corner room, sat the man who was the focal point of all the ruckus.

Ed Murrow, whom Variety had just that day called "practically . . . a national hero," looked just the way he does every afternoon—loose tie, solemnity, and all. His office was unchanged except for a long-needed coat of white paint and an extra pile of unanswered correspondence. It was still as unlike most CBS executives' offices as ever. Where the others are carpeted and furnished and picture-hung until they could illustrate any decorating magazine (one is so trim it doesn't even have a desk), Murrow's nook bespeaks the man who uses it. Murrow refers to his office with a wave of his hand as "this pig sty."

No Crusade: Behind his desk, the 45-year-old Murrow talked about himself and the controversy he had sparked. Weighing his words, as always, and shifting around—hiking his feet up, hunching over and inspecting the floor—he explained his thoughts on the controversy raging around him.

He firmly denies that he is conducting an anti-McCarthy crusade: "I am just doing a job of reporting. The last thing I want to do is to take the privileged opportunity I have five nights a week on the radio and two on television to attack this man. The moment I start to use my opportunity to agitate against McCarthy or against antivivisection or against anything else, then I've lost whatever standing I have as a reporter."

He answers his critics, who say he poses in a cloak of objectivity and then slants the news: "See It Now is a weekly documentary for television; it has never been designed to present hard, fast-breaking news. And we followed the CBS policy of fairness. We labeled the McCarthy show controversial and we offered the senator time to reply. We leaned over backward to be fair."

Murrow realizes that television could be an instrument of evil in the wrong hands. "Would Hitler," he muses, "have been bigger and faster if he'd had TV? Would it have helped Huey Long?" But he sees no need for any change in the rules that govern controversy on the air: "The public is alert enough to do its own policing."

'No Violence': "Clever film cutters and trick shots can distort," he admits. "Just a camera angle can. It frightened me at first." But he has confidence in himself and his staff. "We take extreme care in the editing of our film. I did [McCarthy] no violence."

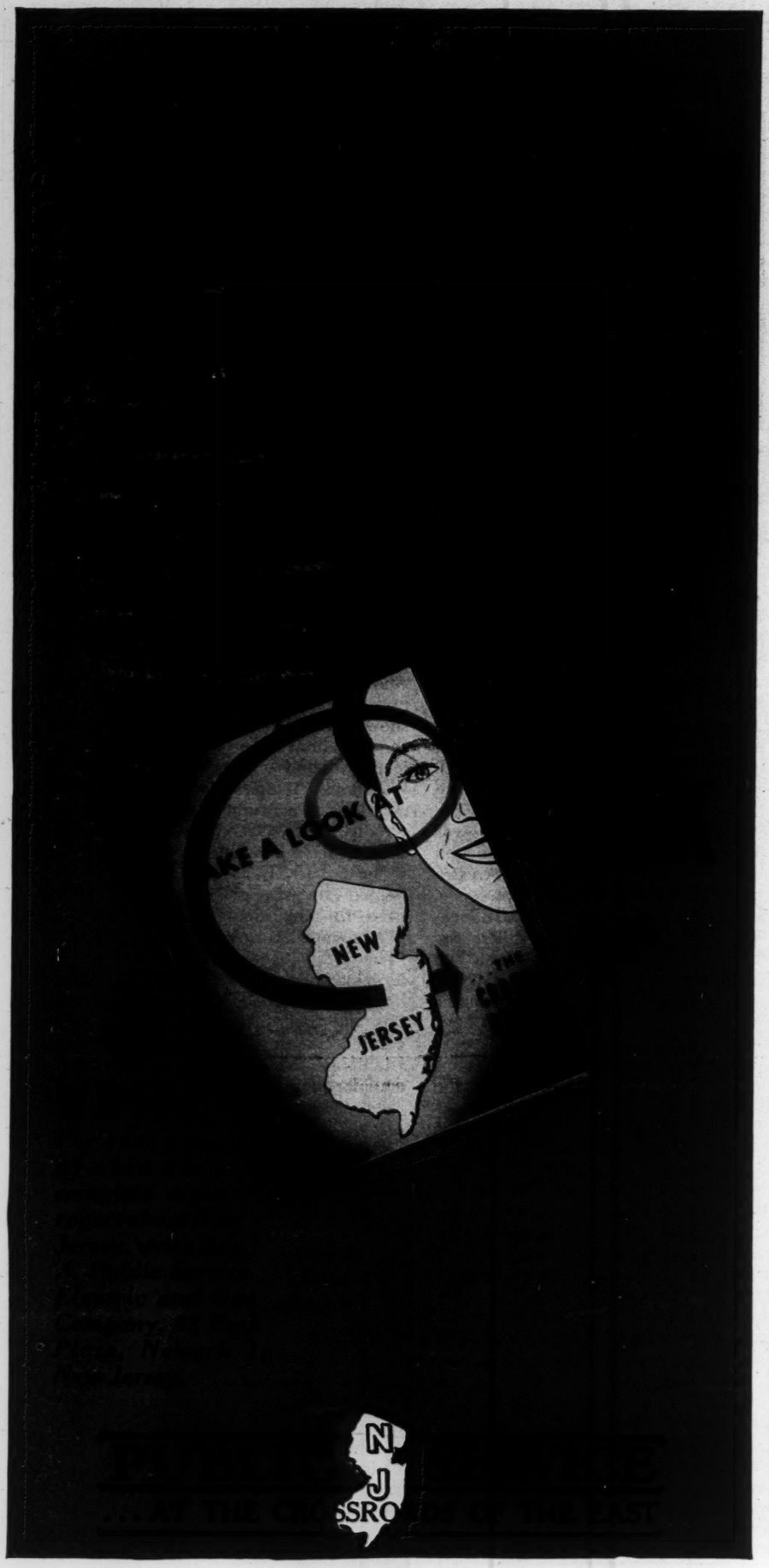
Murrow even professes wonderment at the impact of his McCarthy report. "I didn't say anything I haven't said many times before on the radio and on the Radulovich show [when he successfully opposed the Air Force expelling Lt. Milo J. Radulovich as a security risk]. I imagine it was McCarthy's words and McCarthy's picture that made the impact." And he denies that his program marked "TV's coming of age": "No single show can change the whole medium." He also disclaims any claim to courage: "It's a sad state of affairs when people think I was courageous."

a broadcasting station or network has the same right to editorialize and the same right to independent expression as the free press . . . that the suppression of opinion and independent thought—whether it be in print or over the air waves—limits public understanding.

"When a station or network exercises its right to editorialize, however, it is vitally important for it to separate opinion from news. Opinion should be clearly labeled as such. The listener is entitled to know what he is receiving, news or opinion, and if it be opinion, whose opinion . . .

"But the execution of the policy cannot be reduced to a mathematical formula or even to a set of rigid rules which are self-executing and will cover all possible circumstances. In achieving fairness and balance, the exercise of judgment by station or network management to assure fair play must control . . . Fairness is not assured by self-sterilization—by being so frightened or nervous of the powerful impact of the medium that opinions are required to die before utterance . . .

"The fact that the air belongs to the people is irrelevant in this context. So do the mails through which the printed me-

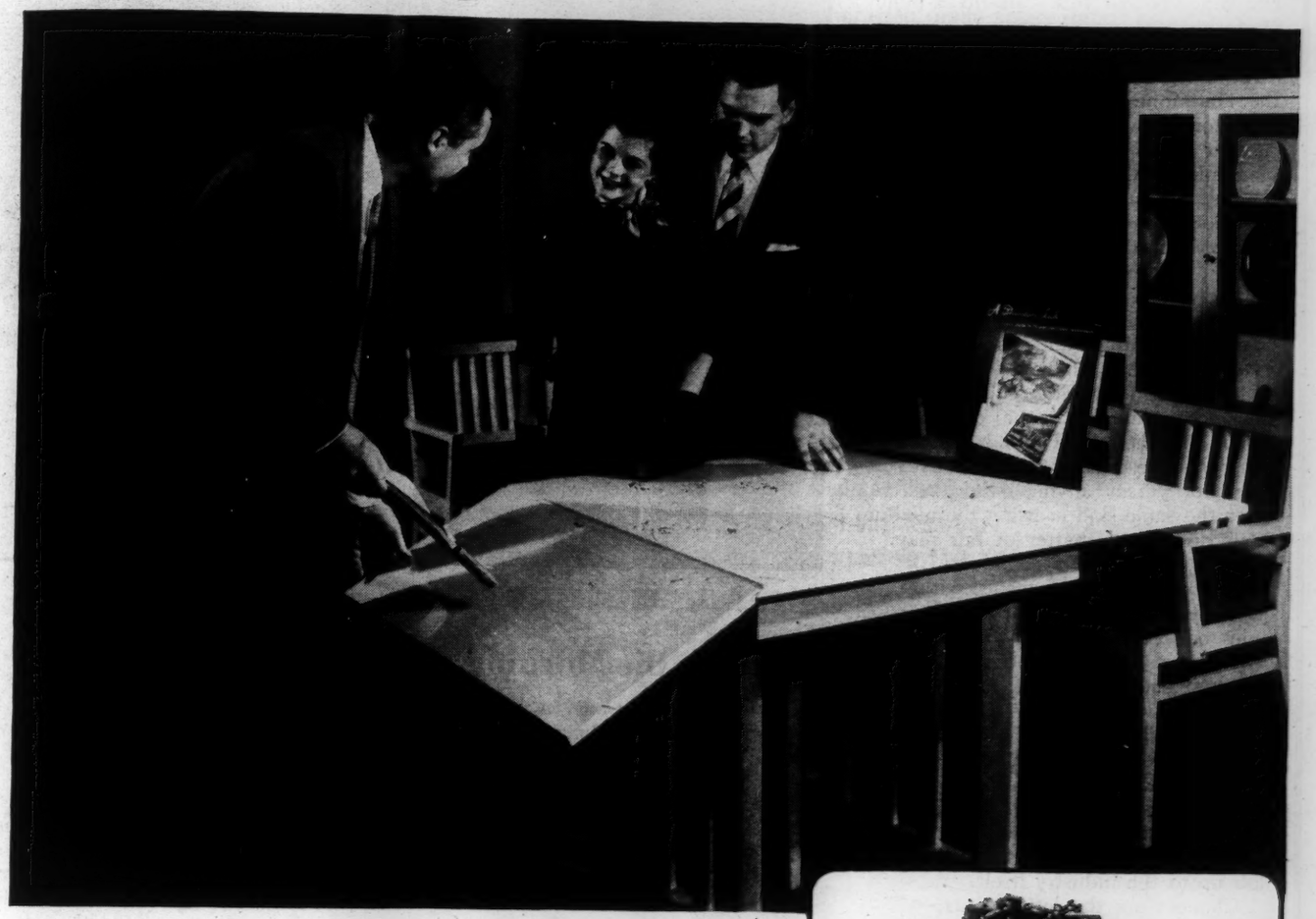


Sponsor's Views on Murrow

A spokesman at the Aluminum Corp. of America, which sponsors See It Now, had this to say:

"This is the first time that Ed took an editorial point of view. You could point at the Radulovich story and say he did. But he did that with straight film clips and quotes. It was a straight reporting job. Here it's a little more complicated. It raised two matters: Do you like Murrow? And do you like McCarthy? There's been no pressure to drop Ed. There's been no discussion. There'll be talks held . . . This is not going to be a board meeting to discuss Ed or anything like that. And I suppose a decision of some sort will be made . . . It's something we're going to talk about, but only when it blows over. If we ever drop the show, even two years from now, people will say we did it because of that show. We originally bought the show for an institutional showcase—basically as a prestige thing. If the day ever came when we go to sell products, we'd take another kind of show. If the day ever comes to quit, we'll quit."

They're buying furniture...

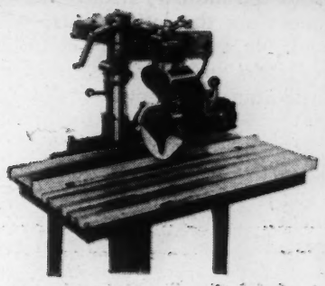


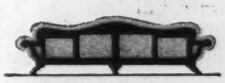
they're helping to buy a machine tool ---

STYLE-CONSCIOUS, home-minded people like these bought more than *four billion dollars* worth of new furniture last year . . . and will buy even more in 1953, according to estimates. Yet few furniture purchasers realize that a small part of the price of each table, chair or sofa sold makes next year's new designs possible . . . helps furniture manufacturers buy the machinery and tools that will produce these designs — at a price you can afford to pay.

The same story applies when people buy washing machines, dryers, automobiles, clothing . . . cigarettes, food, toys and a thousand and one other items. A small part of the cost of any product must be set aside for the purchase of the new *machine tools* necessary to produce new models—or to replace obsolete tools in order to make established products better or more economical.

In 55 years, Kearney & Trecker have produced more than 60,000 standard and special machine tools . . . to simplify methods and increase production for manufacturers . . . to make better products at lower cost for consumers. If you use machine tools, it will pay you to have Kearney & Trecker analyze *your machining* operations.





Here's another example of how Kearney & Trecker tools pay off for industry. Pictured above is a radial saw manufactured by the Walker-Turner Division of Kearney & Trecker, builders of light-heavyweight machine tools universally used in wood and metalworking. The radial saw is extremely versatile, providing high-speed accuracy for cross-cut and rip sawing, mitering, dadoing and many other operations.

KEARNEY & TRECKER MILWAUKEE MACHINE TOOLS

KEARNEY & TRECKER CORPORATION • Milwaukee 14, Wis.

Builders of precision and production machine tools — Since 1898

dium finds much of its circulation, yet no one suggests that this warrants a policy of forbidding newspaper or magazine editorials."

▶**Ted Bergmann,** managing director of the Du Mont Television Network: "On Du Mont news programs, we strive to present a true and accurate picture of men and events of the day. Our news editors and newscasters are under instruction to make their newscasts as objective, as factual, and as comprehensive as is humanly possible... But the bare outline—the headlines of the day—such as can be set forth in a five- or a fifteen-minute newscast is not enough."

▶**Rosel H. Hyde,** chairman of the FCC: "I believe editorializing on TV is acceptable, consistent with the commission's opinion that it should be fair and impartial. The question of the radio-TV commentator versus anyone who does not have the same skill at using the medium boils down to a matter of fair play."

NBC declined to comment.

The divergence of views within the industry indicates that no hard and fast rules can be laid down for the future. The consensus of authorities is that there are two choices:

1—A law that clearly establishes the rights, privileges, duties, and restrictions applying to the medium in the area of news (instead of changing and ambiguous opinions of a Federal commission) or

2—The continuance of the existing method, which means leaving the police job up to the industry itself.

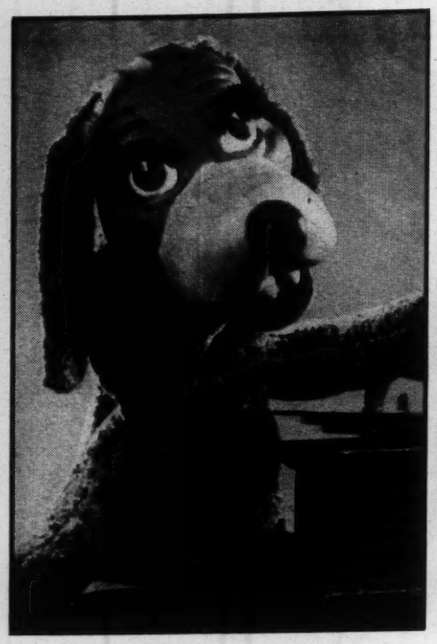
Chances are the latter course will be followed. No one expects that radio-TV will revert to the early pattern of delivering simple news bulletins to the public.

If anything, the recent Murrow shows are likely to be imitated. Television people follow a winner, and Murrow has won some popularity prizes with his treatment of news and controversy. But there is risk as well as profit in controversy. TV feels the public will decide how far the medium should go. But TV is subject to regulation. Congress has the power to step in, if it chooses, and answer, once and for all, the question: "Should television take sides?"

TV Extravaganza

Bright spot in TV coming:

A Rodgers and Hammerstein extravaganza that could equal the famous Ford Show of last summer. The 90-minute songfest on NBC and CBS Sunday, March 28, from 8 to 9:30 p.m. EST, will include tunes from "Oklahoma!," "Allegro," "Carousel," "South Pacific," "The King and I," and "Me and Juliet." The singers: Mary Martin, Yul Brynner, Ezio Pinza, Tony Martin, Rosemary Clooney, and John Raitt. And, for comedy: Jack Benny, Groucho Marx, and Edgar Bergen with Charlie McCarthy.



Humphrey and Charlemane are two in a thousand

Battle in the Morning

There are no time-outs in the fight between the radio-TV chains. Having battled the competition at night and through the normal business hours, CBS is now getting up early in the morning (7 a.m.) to meet the challenge of NBC's Today. The new CBS program, The Morning Show, is a two-hour compendium of the elements that seem to be de rigueur for the early hours—news, features, interviews, remote pick-ups, the time, the weather, a little straight entertainment, and a lot of chitchat.

One difference between the two eye-openers was the critical reception. Today's debut was greeted with nearly unanimous hoots. But by last week the radio-TV editors were inured to reviewing at 7 a.m.; and, though bleary-eyed, they were gentle.

So far, the choice between the two programs is a simple one: Do you prefer Dave Garroway or Walter Cronkite? And which is more fun for breakfast, the chimp named J. Fred Muggs or the puppets manipulated by Bil and Cora Baird?

Ad-libber: Walter Cronkite's admirers, legion since his TV performance during the 1952 national conventions, can now see him in action for ten hours a week—a great improvement over the few moments he's on camera narrating You Are There. And it's just the beginning of his TV spread. Later this spring he will also film a weekly half-hour news show called Eye on the World. On that he will return to his first and chosen profession of newsman. In the morning, however, Charles Collingwood reports while Cronkite ad-libs his way through the lighter stuff. "That's the way this business has gone," he says; "you have to show your versatility." He also has to deliver commercials for the first time in his radio-TV career—and converse with Humphrey the Houn' Dog and Charlemane the Lion.

Scene Stealers: It's no chore to talk with Charlemane (who answers courtesy of Bil Baird). In fact the puppets stole all the rave notices for The Morning Show, just as Muggs sometimes steals the scene from Garroway. Although both Bil, 48, and his wife, 42, had their doubts about being the ideal competition for "that monkey"—"our work is pretty sophisticated, adult stuff"—their puppets' cavorting to recorded music hits just the right note in the morning.

With four routines to think up and work out for each show, the Bairds with their staff of ten spend all afternoon and evening trying to keep ahead. If they're lucky, a routine takes only two or three hours of rehearsal (like their wonderful spoof of Eartha Kitt singing "C'est Si Bon" in which a cat lounges on a couch, picks little men up in her teeth, and spits them out). Others that require more puppets and a lot of dancing can take nine hours to choreograph and rehearse.

With 1,000 puppets hanging all over their home and workshop (a reconverted carriage house near the Hudson River), the Bairds can let up on the designing. But finding the right songs to work with is a time-consuming chore. Love ballads are rejected. "How can you do a love ballad?" Bil asks. "We have to have songs we can satirize." And, working in the morning, the Bairds are sticking to fast music. They're taking no chances on sending anyone back to sleep. It's a safe bet they won't.

I E

November 30, 1953

"THIS ... IS EDWARD R. MURROW"

Programs:

"Person To Person," CBS Television Network, Fridays, 10:30-11:00 PM, EST
"See It Now" CBS Television, Tuesdays, 10:30-11:00 PM, EST
"Edward R. Murrow With The News," CBS Radio Network, Mon.-thru-Fri., 7:45-8:00 PM, EST
"This I Believe," CBS Radio, recorded, five minutes daily

Chronology:

1908 - Born April 25, Greensboro, N. C.
1912 - Family moved to Blanchard, Wash.
1914-1922 - Blanchard grade school
1922-1926 - Edison (Wash.) High School
1926-1930 - Washington State College
1930-1932 - President, National Student Federation
1932-1935 - Assistant director, Institute of International Education. Married Janet Huntington Brewster Oct. 27, 1934, at Middletown, Conn.

1935-1937 - CBS Director of Talks and Education
1937-1945 - European director, CBS; war correspondent. Son, Charles Casey, born Nov. 6, 1945, in London
1946-1947 - Vice President, CBS; Director of Public Affairs
1947- - Reporter and news analyst, member of CBS Board of Directors

Memberships: Board of Trustees, Institute of International Education
Council on Foreign Relations
Association of American Correspondents, London (President in 1945)
Phi Beta Kappa
Kappa Sigma

Honorary Degrees: LL.D., (Hon.), Washington State College
LL.D., University of North Carolina
LL.D., Muhlenberg College
Dr. Humanities, Rollins College
Dr. Journalism, Temple University

Honorary Titles: Honorary Officer of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire, appointed by King George VI in 1947

(More)

Awards (Among others):

Overseas Press Club: 1940, 1948, 1950, 1951, 1952
George Foster Peabody: 1943, 1949, 1951, 1952

* * *

1908-1930

Born at Greensboro, N. C., April 25, 1908 - "mixture of English, Scotch, Irish and German."

Parents are Roscoe C. Murrow and Ethel Lamb Murrow, both of Greensboro. Father was born in 1881, mother in 1884.

Youngest of three boys. Oldest, Dewey, is a Spokane contractor. Other, Lacey, is an Air Force brigadier general.

Father was a Greensboro farmer. "My father," Murrow says, "does not go so far as to say that there's something dishonest about a man making a living merely by talking. But he does think there's something doubtful about it."

When Murrow was four, family moved to Blanchard, Wash., where father became railroad engineer.

Attended Blanchard grade school from 1914 to 1922, and Edison, Wash., High School from 1922 to 1926.

Went to Washington State College at Pullman, Wash., where he was graduated Phi Beta Kappa in 1930 with B.A. degree (majors: history and speech).

During high school and college vacations, worked as compassman and topographer for timber cruisers. "Even now," he says, "I'm probably more proficient with an axe than I am with a typewriter." Still remembers lively logging songs, which he occasionally sings, along with old American and English ballads, in a bass-baritone.

(More)

At Washington State, was leading debater, active in student dramatics and top cadet in the ROTC. Was president of the junior class and student body president as senior. Changed first name from Egbert to Edward after sophomore year, shortened Roscoe to a middle initial.

Part-time employment: shifting scenery in college auditorium, serving as houseboy at the Kappa Delta sorority house.

Ed Lehan, Spokane attorney who roomed with Murrow through four college years, notes: "He had a photographic mind. He could sit through classes all week and never take a note, but on Friday nights he could rattle off the professors' lectures almost verbatim."

1930-1937

Was president of the National Student Federation from 1930 to 1932; traveled extensively in America and Europe.

Assistant director of the Institute of International Education (financed by the Carnegie and Rockefeller foundations) from 1932 to 1935; in charge of foreign offices in London, Paris, Berlin, Geneva and Vienna. With the I.I.E., "eight of us set up an emergency committee, and I was the youngster who did the donkey work. We raised and spent a million and a half dollars to bring out 90 of the best minds from Germany. It was the most satisfying thing I ever did in my life."

Met Janet Huntington Brewster in 1932 on a train bound for New Orleans, where a National Student Federation meeting was scheduled. She was representing Mount Holyoke, her alma mater. They were married Oct. 27, 1934, in the bride's home town, Middletown, Conn. Son, Charles Casey, was born Nov. 6, 1945, in London.

(More)

Appointed by William S. Paley (then CBS President and now Chairman of the Board) as Director of Talks and Education in 1935.

1937-41

Became European director for CBS in 1937. "The most important decision of my life," he says, "happened in New Orleans in 1937. I was down there as Director of Talks for CBS, attending the annual meeting of the National Education Association when I received a call from a Columbia executive asking me if I wanted to go to Europe. That New Orleans decision gave me an opportunity to be in a front row seat for some of the greatest news events in history."

In Europe, engaged William L, Shirer to help cover the Continent, but main work of both was to line up educational, musical and informational programs, with others doing the broadcasting.

Broadcasting career began in March, 1938, with Germany's Anschluss of Austria. Was in Warsaw, lining up a children's broadcast for the "School of the Air" program, when he was called by Shirer from Vienna. "The opposing team has just crossed the goal line," Shirer said. "Are your sure?" Murrow asked. "I'm paid to be sure," Shirer answered. Shirer flew to London to broadcast his story of Anschluss. Murrow flew to Berlin, chartered the only plane available -- a 27 seat Lufthansa transport -- for $1,000 and flew to Vienna. Rode a streetcar into the city. In time for arrival of Nazi troops, he got permission to broadcast and went on the air himself with the story. He broadcast the Anschluss story for 10 days, and thereafter was on the air regularly.

Returned to London and began building up the CBS network's roster of correspondents. Besides Shirer, he took on Eric Sevareid,

(More)

Charles Collingwood, Larry LeSueur, Bill Downs, Howard K. Smith, Richard Hottelet, Winston Burdett, Cecil Brown and Farnsworth Fowle.

After Anschluss came Munich, the war and the London Blitz.

1941-1945

Phrase "This. . .is" evolved as a Murrow trademark during the blitz with his famous "This Is London" broadcasts (published as a book in summer of 1941). Ida Lou Anderson, his speech teacher at Washington State, listened regularly, suggested greater emphasis placed on word "This." Since then there have been "This is the news" (introduction to the CBS Radio program), and "This I Believe" (the CBS Radio program and best-selling book).

During the blitz his CBS offices, near the BBC offices in London, were bombed three times. Mrs. Murrow was British Director of Bundles for Britain, and did educational broadcasts for the BBC.

Returned to U.S. in November, 1941, honored at dinner given by CBS president William S. Paley, at which 1,000 guests included high government officials, educators, editors, industrialists. Paley called him "a man fitted to his time and to his task, a student, a philosopher, at heart a poet of mankind and, therefore, a great reporter." Archibald MacLeish said: "Because you told them the truth and because you destroyed the superstition of distance and of time which makes the truth turn false, you have earned the admiration of your countrymen."

Invited to dinner at the White House by President and Mrs. Roosevelt on fateful day of Dec. 7, 1941. Dinner was not cancelled, but the President did not attend. Mr. and Mrs. Murrow dined with Mrs. Roosevelt, and Murrow was asked to wait for FDR. Mrs. Murrow left at 10:30 PM. Sometime after midnight, Murrow saw the President and was quizzed about England, Winston Churchill and the blitz. The President

(More)

told some details of the Pearl Harbor attack, a story on which Murrow "sat."

Back to England in 1942, he flew combat missions with British and American Air Forces, covered the campaigns in North Africa and on the Continent.

Of his work in London, Ambassador Winant and Harry Hopkins said: "We aren't the ambassadors and interpreters of American ideas and opinions in England. Murrow is the man of our country who is doing the greatest job of all, of interpretation, representation and understanding, of morale building in England and the U.S."

Was first war correspondent inside the Nazi concentration camp at Buchenwald. One of the victims was an old friend, Dr. Petr Zenkl, onetime lord mayor of Prague. There were still 300 bodies there. Piled near them were hundreds of shoes, of men, women and children. "I wrote the story for the London Express. It received much praise. But I regarded it as a failure. I could have described three pairs of those shoes. . . but hundreds of them! I just couldn't. The tragedy of it simply overwhelmed me." His BBC broadcast on Buchenwald was front-paged in London newspapers.

Was headed for Pacific theater when war ended.

1946-

Became CBS Vice President and Director of Public Affairs in 1946. He returned as a broadcaster in the fall of 1947. "I'm not an executive," he said. "Budgets, in-baskets and out-baskets aren't for me. After a year and a half I returned to broadcasting, where I belong."

Starting his new CBS Radio series Sept. 29, 1947, he quoted following paragraph from his contract:

(More)

"News programs are broadcast solely for the purpose of enabling the listeners thereto to know facts -- so far as they are ascertainable -- and so to elucidate, illuminate and explain facts and situations as fairly to enable the listener to weigh and judge for himself. We will endeavor to assist the listener in weighing and judging developments throughout the world, but will refrain -- particularly with respect to all controversial, political, social and economic questions -- from trying to make up the listener's mind for him."

Explaining further, he said: "My own interpretation is that this program is not a place where personal opinion should be mixed up with ascertainable facts. We shall do our best to identify sources and to resist the temptation to use this microphone as a privileged platform from which to advocate action. It is not, I think, humanly possible for any reporter to be completely objective for we are all to some degree prisoners of our education, travel, reading, the sum total of our experience. And we shall try to remember that the mechanics of radio which make it possible for an individual voice to be heard throughout the entire land do not confer great wisdom or infallibility on that individual.

"It is unwise to predict what will happen on a news program because that will be determined by the nature of the news. Being human we will probably make mistakes and the only thing that can be said about that in advance is that we shall do our utmost to be the first to correct them."

Postwar news coverage includes the Korean War, the wedding of Princess Elizabeth and her Coronation as Queen Elizabeth II, foreign

(More)

ministers' conferences, the Italian elections, the Berlin crisis leading to the airlift, the election of the Labor Government in Britain, subsequent election of the Churchill regime, and the American presidential conventions and elections.

Narrated the "I Can Hear It Now" albums, recent history in the actual words and voices of the principals, for Columbia Records (1948-1950). 1st volume: 1932 to 1945. 2nd: 1945 to 1948. 3rd: 1918 to 1932.

From the record albums stemmed the "Hear It Now" series on CBS Radio, which ran from Dec. 15, 1950, through June 15, 1951, and won a George Foster Peabody citation. This program evolved into the current "See It Now" series on CBS Television, which made its debut Nov. 18, 1951, and won a 1952 Peabody Award.

On his newest program series, "Person To Person," Murrow visits two of the great and near-great of the country in their homes each week via television. The series started on the network Friday, Oct. 2, 1953.

"This I Believe" started as an idea at a 1949 business luncheon, with Murrow, William S. Paley, Donald W. Thornburgh and Ward Wheelock discussing the rise of materialism and decline of spiritual values in the U.S. From that emerged the five-minute daily CBS Radio program, "This I Believe," which premiered Sept. 24, 1951, and the 600-word weekly newspaper article in which men and women unfold their personal philosophies. Put into book form in 1952, by Help, Inc., and Simon & Schuster, "This I Believe," with an introduction by Murrow, was a best-seller in 1953.

(More)

WTPS - 5/3/53

Ed Murrow—Person to Pe

In a typical Murrow pose, the author, by montage, takes over the role of interviewer. The subjects: Edward R.; his wife, Janet; their son, Charles.

Here's a Turnabout on a Non-Conformist Who Brought New Dimensions to Radio and TV

EDWARD R. MURROW is a tall, angular, rather grim-visaged man of 45 who, in recent months, has given new impetus to radio's efforts to act its age and television's struggle to grow up in a hurry. Regardless of what you think of him and the philosophy he propounds through those two media, he has become one of their most provocative and dynamic personalities. It would be no exaggeration to say that he has become a figure of national, if not international, interest—especially since his no-punches-pulled clash with Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy.

Ed Murrow is, of course, no Johnny-come-lately to radio and television, and he's long had a reputation as a non-conformist for his determination to give both broader dimensions.

He is well remembered for his vivid broadcasts of the blitzing of London during the war. When he wasn't ducking bombs to get the reactions of Britishers, he was riding a submarine or bomber or mine-sweeper to get the story as it actually was. So it is no rash departure for him to have essayed a new type of journalism through such programs as See It Now and Person to Person.

Each Friday night since Person to Person was launched by CBS on Oct. 2, 1953, Mr. Murrow has gone into the homes, via television camera, of some of the country's best-known people for interviews. The *Saturday Feature Magazine* has turned the tables on him—put him on the receiving end of an interview—to relate the story of Ed Murrow just as if he himself might be interviewing himself.

But before the camera is trained on him, a few more personal details.

Edward Roscoe Murrow, born in Greensboro, N. C., the son of a farmer, and raised in the state of Washington, joined CBS in 1935 after a varied career in which he performed the duties of, among other things, a lumberjack. He became a reporter for CBS after doing student exchange work in Europe and later raising money to help "90 of Germany's best minds get out of the country" on the eve of Hitler's rise to power.

He and his wife, the former Janet Brewster, have been married "20 years I guess—I can't remember dates or telephone numbers." They have one child, Charles Casey—"I threw in the name Casey just for the hell of it"—born in London during the war. Because of his full schedule, Mr. Murrow is compelled to spend all too much of his time, he says, in their New York apartment, seven rooms on the 10th floor of 580 Park Ave. His delight is the one-and-a-half-story log house they bought up at Pawling, N. Y., five years ago.

It is there, 14 acres at their pleasure, with a lake, a trout stream, pheasant and duck, and a rod and gun club and a nine-hole golf course nearby, that they spend their fondest hours.

We interviewed Mr. Murrow in his unpretentious office in the CBS building at 485 Madison Ave., where he sat back in a leather chair, his sleeves rolled halfway up his arm, his collar unbuttoned, his manner one of complete ease. This is his story—Person to Person.

Do you feel that objectivity can and should be maintained in television and radio?

I would contend that a program dealing with hard news should attempt to be as objective as humanly possible—and I would be the first to admit that I never have known a completely objective, impartial reporter. On a program such as See It Now, which does not deal with hard news, I feel that when an editorial position is taken on a controversial issue, as with Sen. McCarthy, the statement should be made in advance that opportunity to reply would be afforded.

Which of your broadcasts or telecasts have brought the most reaction? Which have gratified you most—and disturbed you most?

I would suppose that the McCarthy telecast produced the most reaction. The most gratifying comment I have ever received was from a woman who said she had been listening to me regularly for 13 years and still didn't like me. At least she was still listening. I have been most disturbed by the occasions where I have made a factual error on the air and then had to wait 24 hours to correct it.

Has the clash with Sen. McCarthy affected your living routine?

My living routine has not been affected. I am always relaxed at home and hope to remain so.

What are the technical details in setting up an interview for Person to Person?

Our main problem is to make sure that we have sufficient power for three cameras and that the picture can be transmitted. Sometimes it's easier to get a picture from some distant place than it is right here in town, where something could obstruct the picture. We get the layout of the person's home or apartment by taking photographs with a Polaroid camera which the technicians study. The gear goes in at lunch on the day of the show, and by dinner 14 technicians are swarming all over the place. One of the men will go through a walk-through of the area to be covered in the interview to make sure we will have a picture and sound at all times and also to get the desired angles. Squawk boxes (loud speakers), through which my voice is heard in the person's home, are placed strategically around the place so that there is constant and complete communication between us. The person or persons interviewed each carry a power unit and a combined microphone and transmitter. In the case of a man, the microphone-transmitter usually fits into his breast pocket and the power unit into his back pocket. A woman will wear the microphone-transmitter in her bodice and the power unit around her waist under her dress, with about 30 feet of wire wrapped around her.

How often does your wife get to see you?

When I get to the country on weekends. But I seem to be losing an awful lot of weekends. We try to have friends in to dinner on Wednesday nights, when I get home around 8:30—friends from Europe passing through, older friends from the days before I got into radio, and that sort of thing. She takes it like a very good trouper. She's had a few years to get accustomed to it. By and large we seem like the same kind of people we've always been. We don't get to the theater as often as we'd like and don't get the time to read as much as we'd like because it seems there's always some

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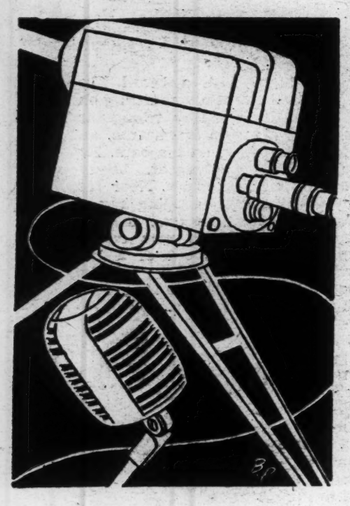

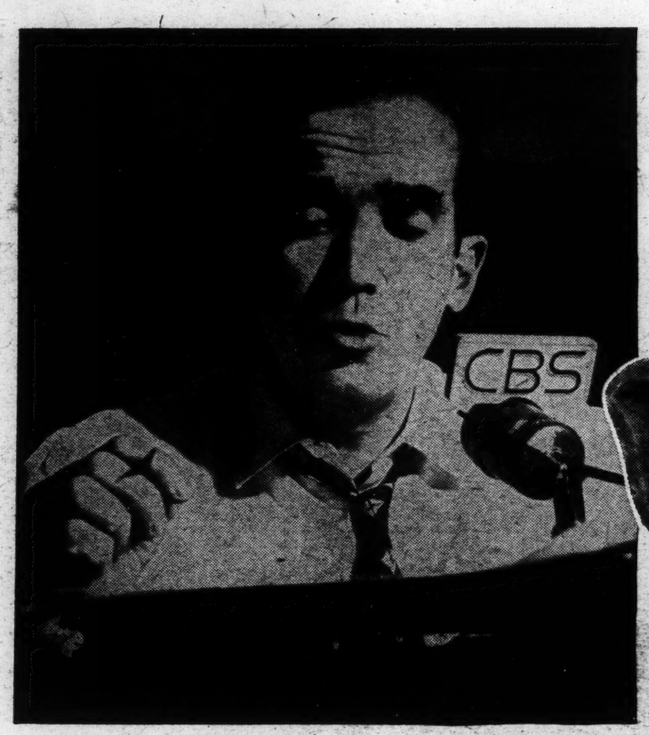

Edward R. Murrow essayed a new type of journalism through his two television programs. It is built on a foundation laid during the London blitz of World War II and strengthened by eye-witness reports from Korea.

By

HERBERT KAMM,

Saturday Magazine Editor.

thing to keep both of us busy. She has the house and family to take care of, and she's a trustee of Mt. Holyoke and chairman of the board of a student hospital in Paris called Reid Hall. During the war, incidentally, she ran the London end of Bundles for Britain. She manages to look at most of my shows and is a very solid critic. When I missed Christmas at home because I was in Korea, she really let me have it. But she thought the shows were terrific except for one thing—too much Murrow in them. She doesn't compromise and chops me down to size in no uncertain terms.

How does your son Casey react to his dad's shows?

I'm not quite sure. He doesn't see the television shows, because they're on too late for him. Occasionally I'll run off a kinescope for him. He listens to the radio shows in bed. We used to do a Christmas broadcast each year from the age of 2 to 5, but when he reached school age I discontinued it. I think anything that sets a kid apart is no service to the kid.

Which medium do you prefer?

A different one for different things. If we talk about news, I think radio, only because of the speed and flexibility of ideas. As for feature stories—television. I find that in a given week I'll come up with stories I'd like to do on TV but, for technical reasons or otherwise, I can't. I'm just a reporter. The only official connection I have with CBS is that I sit on the board of directors. But I'm not a very good administrator.

How many hours are you on the air each week, radio and television included?

Well, there are five quarter-hour news shows each week for CBS Radio, and two half-hour television shows. And then there's the odd recorded stuff for the program called This I Believe. I don't suppose any of us could really figure out the hours required for thought, preparation and planning. I write my own stuff for the editorial portion of the daily radio news show—and sometimes I have to sweat it out just a few minutes before we go on the air. My system of typing is a slow, painful and laborious thing.

Who was the most interesting person you've interviewed on Person to Person?

It would be very tough to answer that question. I don't want to try to duck it, but let me back into it. I can't think of a single instance where an individual did not come through as he or she actually is—as if you met them in their home. There is a fidelity about the portrait that is identical with the impression you get when you actually go into that person's home. They can't see me during the program, but in spite of that, they're recognizable in the full sense of the word. I think that can be attributed in part to the fact that we don't rehearse the interview, which causes them to be spontaneous. The only thing we rehearse is the movement, because the light, camera and sound men have to know where we're going.

Are you as relaxed as you seem on the air, and how many cigarets do you smoke during a show?

I've got a watermelon in my belly every night. There's always tension. There has to be. You have to play it relaxed in order to help the individual at the other end. As to smoking—I'd be afraid to count. I guess there isn't a moment during the show when I don't have a cigaret in my hand, is there?

Do you prefer living in the city or the country?

I hate living in the city. It seems to me there is so much stew, scurry and scamper and people going like hell to get an ulcer.

What sort of shows do you hope to do in the future?

I took a certain beating from the critics when I started Person to Person. I was supposed to be a news man. Well, what I want to do eventually on this particular show is more unknowns—ordinary people who are interesting and who have a story that's interesting to tell. The thing I want to do more than anything else is a show on current events for the kids—from 10 to 16. I want to take a subject like the war in Indo-China, for instance, and make it so fascinating that they will be more avid to read about it. I think, in terms of psychological dividends, I would get more satisfaction from it than from anything I've ever done. But I think it would be the toughest I've ever done, too. This is a great teaching job which I think could be made awfully exciting.

You say that Person to Person is unrehearsed. The subject to be interviewed is briefed to some extent, is he not?

On Thursday or Friday, I have a brief chat with the person, merely to explain some details and touch generally upon the area of the interview. No person has ever told me in advance not to discuss such-and-such a matter or ask such-and-such a question. It is understood that we will behave as if we were actually in your home, that we at all times will be well-mannered. If you visited the home of a person who recently had been involved in divorce proceedings or something of the sort, you naturally would avoid any reference to the matter. Similar rules of good taste and decorum guide us on the show. Occasionally a person will suggest some questions himself, and we naturally are pleased with those suggestions. We also try to abide by reasonable requests. One individual, for instance, banned his children on the show because he had a built-in fear of kidnaping.

What was the most embarrassing question you've asked on a show?

Fortunately, I think we've managed to stay away from really embarrassing questions—and answers. At least, I don't recall any. I had a piece of luck when I was doing Jeanmaire. She was changing her clothes behind a screen, and when she answered one of my questions, I said, "I see." I had the sense to change it to "I understand." I have one escape hatch which I've never told anyone about—"Fables of Our Time." If we ever break down completely, I'm going to sit there and read that book, because I've always wanted to read it anyway.

Do you watch the ratings of your shows and try to tailor them to the ups and downs of the reports?

I never look at a rating. I'm told by the boys that Person to Person is right up there. I don't think your work would be improved a bit, for instance, if you simply studied circulation figures every day.

Who was the most difficult person to interview and why?

None of them have been really difficult. We've been fortunate about that. Curiously, a man I've known for 20 years—Krishna Menon, India's representative to the United Nations—gave us some anxious moments. He's a very austere individual. And part of the difficulty was that he lives in a hotel. Unlike doing an interview from a person's home, there were no mementoes or souvenirs around, and the setting was rather severe. On top of that, I was trying to ask questions I shouldn't have—and he told me so. But none of them has been so difficult that I have been eager to conclude the thing. And we've done a number of people I'd never met before the show. I have never met Earl Blaik (Army football coach) and George Meany (president of the American Federation of Labor). And there are a number of others I'd never met until the day before the show.

A $64 Question

HOW much latitude does Edward R. Murrow have in selecting and editing the material for a television show like See It Now? The question came into acute focus after his controversial report some weeks ago on Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy. Here is Mr. Murrow's reply:

This program is a weekly document for television, both live and on film, and is not designed to present hard, fast-breaking news. I and my co-editor, Fred Friendly, have been delegated the responsibility for its content. Never has our sponsor, the Aluminum Co. of America, attempted to pass upon the subject matter or to influence the selection of material.

See It Now operates under the broadcasting policies set by CBS. Our report on Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy was labeled, as by definition, controversial. In accordance with CBS' policy of fairness and equality, we offered the Senator time to reply. He suggested the date of April 6 and we accepted.

EDWARD R. MURROW - CLUBS AND ORGANIZATIONS

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Pawling, N.Y.
Member in 1949. Present ?

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209 East 61 Street, N.Y.21
Vice President

BURNING TREE CLUB
Bethesda, Maryland

THE COFFEE HOUSE
54 West 54 St., N.Y.
Social Club - resigned membership Jan. 14, 1954

DUTCH TREAT CLUB
c/o Ray Vir Den, President
17 East 45 St., N.Y.
2nd Vice President

DUTCHESS VALLEY ROD AND GUN CLUB
Pawling, N.Y.

KAPPA SIGMA FRATERNITY
Washington State College, Pullman, Wash.

THE LAMBS
130 West 44 Street, N.Y.
Resigned, November 30, 1953

THE QUAKER HILL COUNTRY CLUB
Pawling, N.Y.

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POST

PLEASE RETURN TO
CBS REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

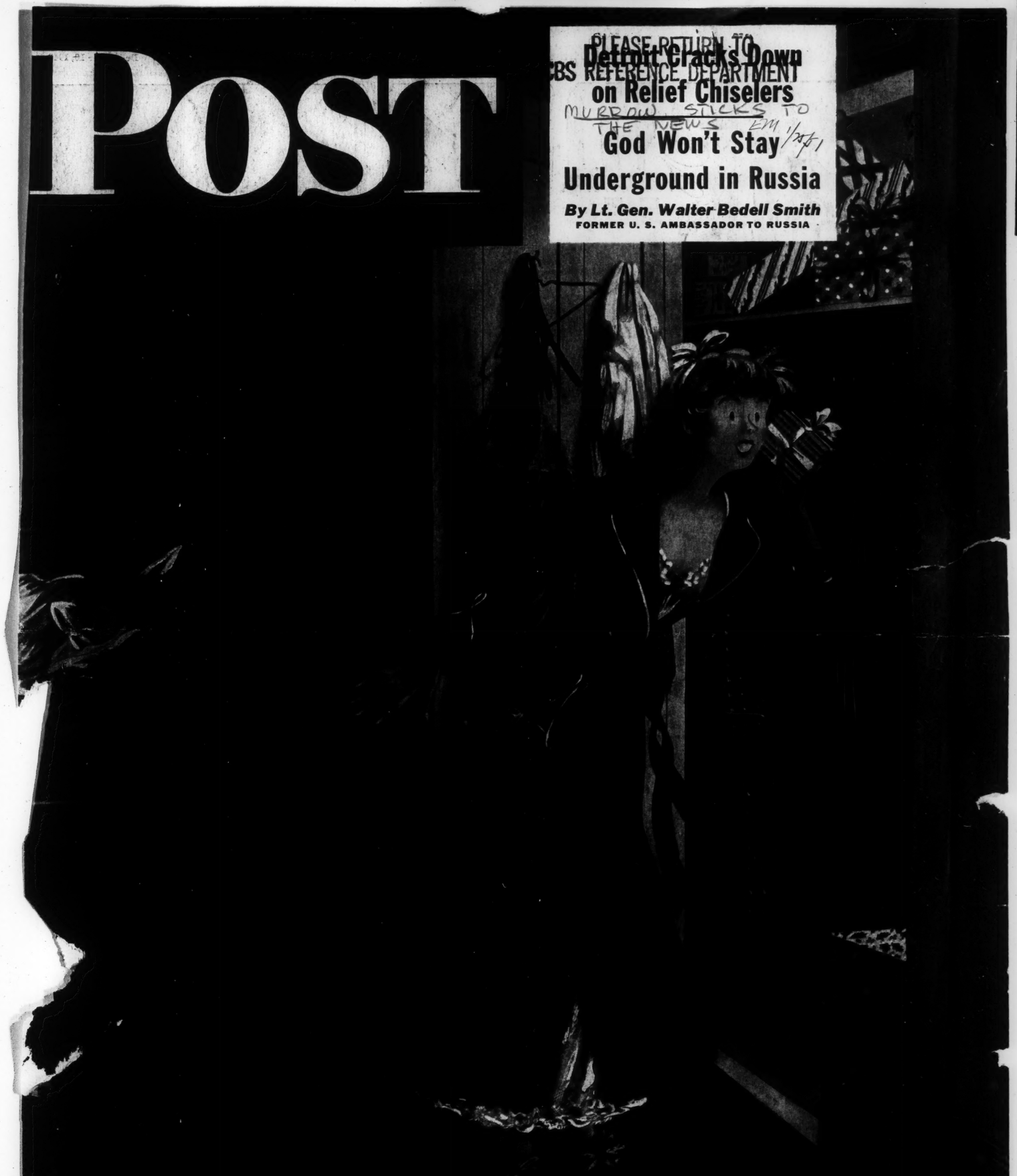
Detroit Cracks Down on Relief Chiselers

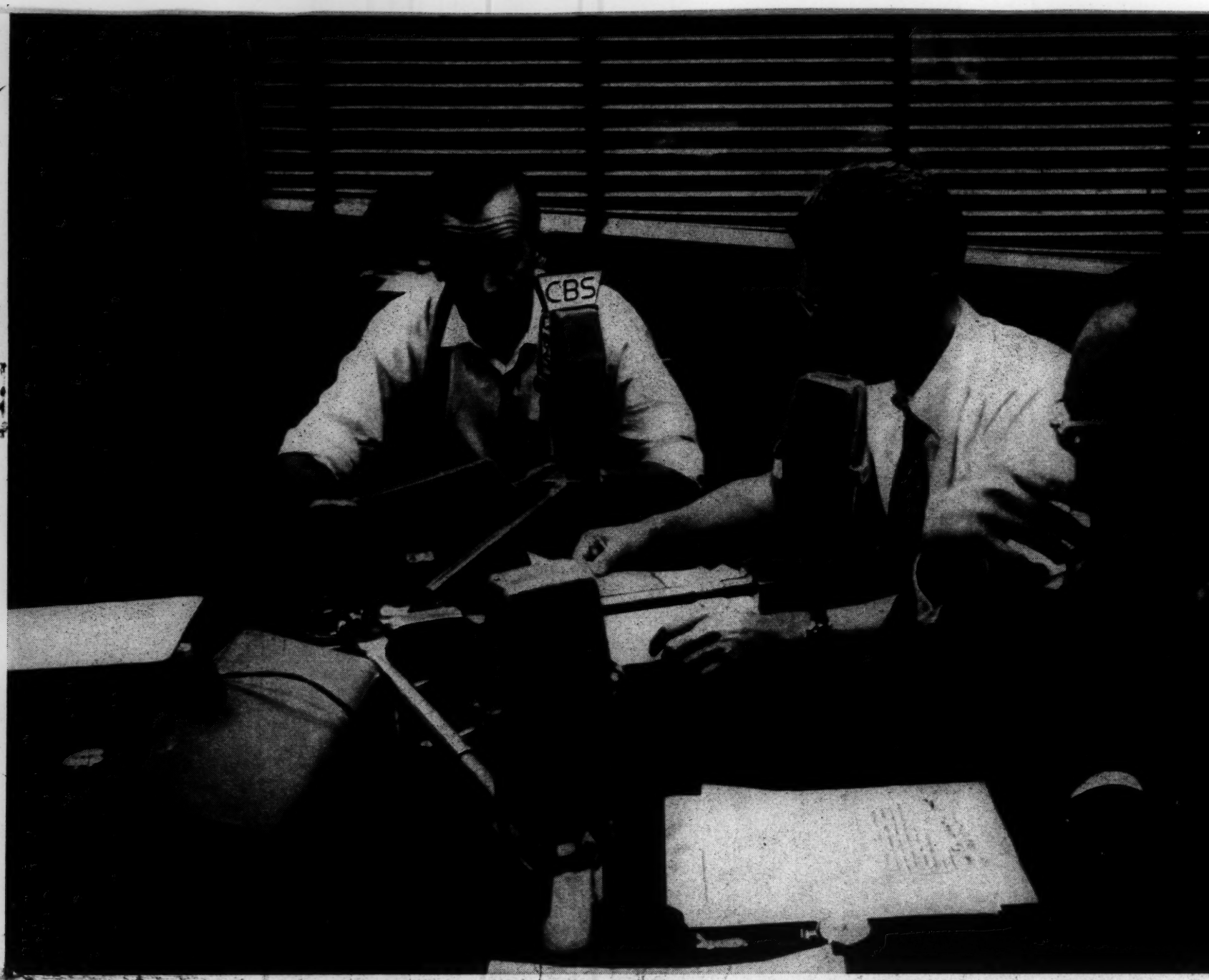
MURROW SICKS TO THE NEWS EM 1/25/41

God Won't Stay Underground in Russia

By Lt. Gen. Walter Bedell Smith

FORMER U. S. AMBASSADOR TO RUSSIA





"This—is the news." Ed Murrow eyes the clock, saving time for Dick Hottelot, a guest, while Announcer Dixon (right) awai

Murrow Sticks to the News

By WESLEY PRICE

He peddles no gossip, repeats no rumors, exhorts no listener to write his congressman. Yet Ed Murrow has built a huge national audience for his fair-minded radio reporting.

THERE was a time during the war when Edward R. Murrow, the radio newscaster, suspected that his nerves were flapping. He couldn't ring up a doctor or even tell it to the chaplain, because he was aboard a bomber raiding Europe. But he had this queer symptom; cruising at the frostbite level, he felt hotter than a firecracker. The impression was so vivid that he actually sweated.

Another sign of the whimwhams, as he saw it, was his failure to make a radio transmitter transmit. This was a special rig, installed in a B-17 so Murrow could broadcast a story of flak, fighters and bombs-away. He knew how to use the box. Still, no matter how he twiddled the controls, he couldn't put himself on the air. All the way to the target he twiddled, and half the way back, until he was persuaded that his wits had scattered. And he had this notion that he was hot. The longer he flew, the hotter he felt. When the bomber landed, Murrow was steaming like a yard locomotive, and ready to go quietly with the man in the white coat.

First to reach him was a radio engineer, who discovered a simple mistake. The transmitter had never been plugged in. There was a plug in the power socket, but it had been shunting current to the wrong place. All the voltage which should have flung Murrow's voice over land and sea had been sizzling through the heating wires of his flying suit. So he skipped the nursing home and prescribed himself a cold tub.

Disconnected and cooled to room temperature, Murrow resolved to try again. On another bomb run he talked to London loud and clear, and was relayed to the Columbia Broadcasting System in the United States. Altogether, he thumbed rides with the British or American air crews on twenty-five combat missions. His war, in great part, was an eyewitness war: Austrian *Anschluss* back in '38, the blitzing of London, battles and victory in North Africa and Europe. Bomb explosions destroyed three of his London offices and damaged a fourth. He lingered in postwar rubble to report Great Britain's tumble into socialism.

Home at last in 1946, he felt like a stranger. He had been abroad nine years. It took a 20,000-mile tour of the U. S. A. to ease his nostalgia. Micro-

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MARTIN HARRIS

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of importance to every

(Continued on Page 152)

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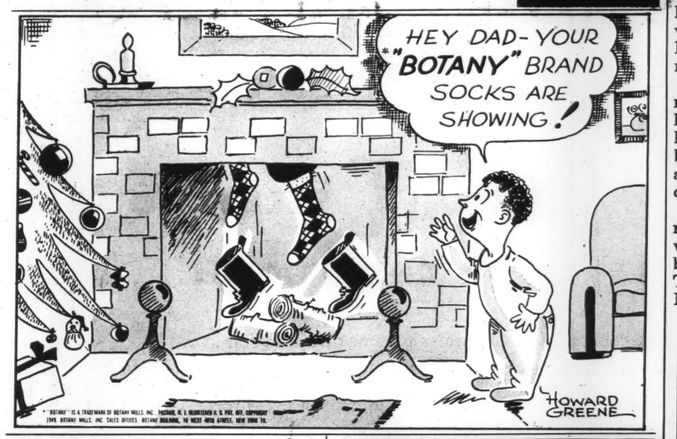

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MURROW STICKS TO THE NEWS

(Continued from Page 25)

is a coppery baritone charged with authority. When he mispronounces a foreign place name, he does it with crushing aplomb. Moscow may rhyme with "toss low" in the dictionary, but he prefers to say Mos*cow* as in Guernsey. It's more comfortable that way. His beveled accent is all-American. Dr. Cabell Greet, the famed detector of regional inflections, says he can't place Murrow at all. "He might come from anywhere. Sounds like a bishop to me—or rather, the way a bishop ought to sound."

This is a shrewd hit. Not only can Murrow read out a grocery list in organ tones worthy of noble Genesis; he is at heart a moralist, troubled by the series of dull thuds which pass for civilization nowadays. Still, he won't preach, because he has vowed to be an objective newsman. In his anxiety to avoid bias, he sometimes reports 2 + 2 without giving the sum, and so leaves dullards groping for conclusions. He will conduct his audience, if need be, to that lost horizon where fact meets comment in a cloud of high-order abstractions. But he takes care to erect a guard rail. "This," he warns, "is one man's opinion."

Murrow joined CBS in 1935 for the same reasons a Salvation Army lass enters a saloon: to do good works and jingle up some money. He had been a low-paid promoter of educational projects. Now he gets $112,000 a year for broadcasting, plus royalties from his best-selling album, I Can Hear it Now. This is a forty-five-minute parade of historic radio news reports and famous voices—Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin, Hitler and others—with running comment by Murrow.

In the good-works department, Murrow's labors are never done. The public-service programs of CBS might be less elevated in tone if Murrow had not been an adviser. He now cerebrates as a member of the network's board of directors.

Other CBS brass hats were favored recently with a sort of White Paper written by Murrow on the awful possibilities of television newscasting. In TV's infancy, much can be excused. But what if TV news grew up with an imbecilic squint? Murrow feels that TV newscasting wants a combination reporter-producer-broadcaster. He envisions this superman furnished with John Kieran's memory, Quincy Howe's wit, Walter Lippmann's profundity and Bob Trout's genius for nonstop ad-libbing. Also, he says, superman should be a quick study, a glossy conversationalist and an expert at recognizing famous faces. "No introverts need apply," Murrow adds.

What he dreads is that TV's counterpart of the radio newscaster might be a reckless deceiver of the news-viewing public. "Is it not possible," he asked CBS, "that an unruly head of hair, an infectious smile, eyes that seem remarkable for the depths of their sincerity, a cultivated air of authority, may attract huge television audiences regardless of the violence that may be done to truth or objectivity?"

Murrow's portrait of the knave of the future is an unconscious cartoon of himself. The disarming smile, the forthright glance, the trust-inspiring manner—all are his. No other reporter looks so much like the foreign correspondent of Graustarkian fiction, inevitably tall, lean and dark-haired. Nature has blessed him with a man-of-action chin and a scholar's brow. He is ambidextrous, a crack shot and, as habitués of press camps know to their sorrow, a deadly poker player.

Murrow springs from Irish, French, English and German forebears who colonized the pre-Revolutionary South. His mother's everyday speech was salted with words uncommonly heard since the reign of Queen Bess, and she sang ballads the English have forgotten they wrote. Edward Roscoe Murrow, youngest of three boys, was born in 1908 near Greensboro, North Carolina. The family moved to the Puget Sound region of Washington when he was six. His father, Roscoe C. Murrow, had been a farmer. In the West he became a locomotive engineer.

Young Ed took summer jobs and saved money for college. He postponed matriculation at Washington State College for a year to work in timberlands on the Olympic Peninsula. There he rose from whistle punk on a donkey engine to compass man on a survey gang. He can still pace out a section within 200 feet. It didn't do to tell the buckers and fallers that he was aiming at college. So he said he was "going south to work," and carried an I.W.W.

"What's the matter, Honey? You seem cool and indifferent tonight."

THE SATURDAY EVENING POST

card for protective coloration. The forest gave him summer employment until he was graduated.

A job as president of the National Student Federation took him to New York. The office was in a basement and the pay only twenty-five dollars a week. Fun, though; he ran student tours abroad—once he worked his way on a Dutch liner—brought Oxford debaters to the United States, and visited 300 American colleges. He made speeches everywhere. But two years of this was enough; he didn't want to wind up as a forty-year-old youth leader.

In 1932 he joined the Institute of International Education as assistant director and a couple of years later married Janet Huntington Brewster, a New England girl. He had jurisdiction over five European capitals. The big effort was to exchange students and teachers between American and foreign universities. After a while he found himself throwing life lines to scholars trapped in the rising tide of Fascism. Hitler had declared war on free thought.

A committee of Americans formed up—liberals, educators, a few rich men—to rescue endangered professors. Murrow compiled lists of savants, helped to raise money and queried United States colleges about placements. "Just donkey's work for the committee," he says. But he is proud of that work; the committee brought 288 professors to safety in the United States.

When CBS wanted someone to direct a new department called Talks and Education, Murrow was an obvious choice. He was hired in 1935 as an arranger of programs, not as a broadcaster. As late as 1937, when he became European director for CBS, his post was off stage, and his voice the voice of an interlocutor. The home office wanted European culture: the Vatican choir, nightingales in a Surrey wood, Bernard Shaw "if you can get him." Murrow knew, CBS knew, that war was at hand. But they hadn't figured out what to do about it.

Based in London, the "European director" was CBS's entire foreign staff. NBC had Fred Bate in England, and Bate had a man on the continent, Max Jordan. They made tough competition. Murrow decided he had to have a man on the continent too. The first of many he hired was William L. Shirer, then a little-known newspaperman. Like Murrow, he was supposed to arrange programs. The role of radio correspondent hadn't been invented in 1937. If a hot story broke, it was customary to drag a big name to the microphone—a cabinet member, say, or a distinguished journalist—and let him pontificate. With what authority could mere radiomen speak? Murrow was beneath the notice of the august Association of American Correspondents in London. (Years later he was elected president.)

The revolution in news technique was started by Shirer and Murrow when Hitler invaded Austria in March, 1938. Shirer was in Vienna, an eyewitness to *Anschluss*, and aching to report the story. But New York seemed more interested in a chorus of Austrian school children. Culture they needed.

Shirer telephoned Murrow, who was in Warsaw drumming up a program of Polish music, "The opposing team has just crossed the goal line."

"Are you sure?"

"I'm paid to be sure," said Shirer.

Censorship forbade Shirer to broadcast from Austria. At Murrow's suggestion, he flew to London, and from there broadcast his I-was-there story to the States. It was a tremendous exclusive. Meantime Vienna was uncovered. Murrow flew to Berlin, but couldn't connect for Vienna. Airline flights to Austria had been canceled. The only plane available for charter was a twenty-seven-seat Lufthansa transport; price $1000. Murrow paid and flew to Vienna in lonely splendor. The airport swarmed with Nazi guards. No taxicabs were running to the captured city. Murrow rode a streetcar The censors let him broadcast that night, and the story of Austria's surrender kept him on the air for ten days He had America by the ears.

Anschluss transfigured Murrow and Shirer into true radio correspondents, the first of a new breed. They knew where to find short-wave transmitters all over Europe. They could get on the air before newspapers could edit cable dispatches. They broke away from the tortuous phrasing of daily journalism and spoke plainly. Since they had no newsstand sales to make headlines for, they didn't have to exaggerate stories. "Keep it calm," Murrow told his men. "If there isn't any news, just say so."

CBS frowned on hyperthyroid reporting. Early in the war Tom Grandin was broadcasting from Paris. The wail of air-raid sirens leaked into his studio. Next day Grandin had a rebuke from CBS in New York for sensationalizing the news.

The rules softened later. Murrow, reporting the Battle of Britain in 1940, carried microphones to the bombed streets. He sent us sounds more terrible than sirens—ominous drippings from stricken buildings and the nervous clop-clop of feet hurrying toward shelters.

"This . . . is London," he would begin. The words, the pregnant pause, took listeners by their throats. This is London and a last-ditch fight. "The English die with great dignity," he said.

A woman wrote a letter of complaint to CBS: "I am not one of the many who believe that your chief European correspondent, Edward R. Murrow, takes money from the English. I think it is much worse than that—I think he *likes* them!"

Murrow covered the blitz in style. Shell fragments called for a steel-top auto, but he drove an open car with a canvas deck snapped over all but the driver's seat, leaving him sticking out like an Eskimo in a kayak. He wore the correct costume for a man-about-town-being-bombed—pudding-basin helmet, gray-flannel trousers and a sport coat made up by a Savile Row tailor in a hound's-tooth check. He and Larry Lesueur, another CBS newscaster, dined nightly in a Soho restaurant that was cursed with a vast skylight. They sat directly under this glassy menace, shunned like lepers. The raid sirens followed coffee.

By good luck, Murrow's flat was never hit. He lived with his wife Janet, who managed the London end of Bundles for Britain, not far from the BBC studios. BBC was a prime target, and the bombs that missed BBC seemed to favor CBS offices nearby. They were bombed out of Langham Place, Portland Place and Duchess Street. Murrow saw the Duchess Street strike while watching the raid from his own roof. He ran to the scene, and found his secretary, Katherine Campbell, miraculously alive. Plaster dust had stiffened her hair-do into a fright wig. Mur-

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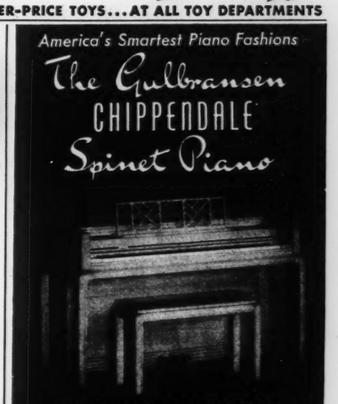

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row says he found her blown under a rug, but her own recollection differs.

"I was merely blown through an open doorway," she says. "The bombings grew very tiresome. One had to search the debris for petty cash, and clean the typewriters, and hunt up new quarters. We were getting known, and people didn't want to take us in."

The fourth office, on Hallam Street, was also near the BBC. Five days after they moved in, a bomb smashed a synagogue across the street and crashed CBS's windows.

Janet Murrow visited the United States in the spring of 1941 to spur the flow of Bundles for Britain. Ed followed in late November for a short stay. CBS threw him a testimonial banquet with 1000 guests, speeches by bigwigs, and messages of praise from Roosevelt, Hull and Halifax. It was the consensus that Murrow's reports from London had done most to make England's plight clear. The Roosevelts sent word that the Murrows must take family dinner at the White House.

The date set for the dinner was Sunday, December 7, 1941. Murrow spent the earlier part of that day playing golf at Burning Tree with Washington notables. A messenger found them on the fairways. Flash: the Japanese had bombed Pearl Harbor. Who said so? The Reuters news agency.

"Very unreliable," sniffed Murrow.

He visited the CBS studio for confirmation, and stayed to broadcast. Later he telephoned Missy LeHand at the White House to say that, under the circumstances, he expected the dinner was canceled. But it wasn't. The Murrows were to come.

The President was not at table. Mrs. Roosevelt dined with the Murrows, and chatted, and every so often left the room. Each time she brought back the same message: "Mr. Murrow is to wait."

Janet left at 10:30 P. M., and Ed went to sit on a bench outside the Oval Room. Secretary Hull emerged from the sanctum, spoke to Murrow and hurried off.

Harry Hopkins came out and asked, "What the hell are you doing here?"

"He told me to wait."

"If he said wait, you better wait."

Hopkins and Murrow had seen a lot of each other in London, and Hopkins had been catching those overseas broadcasts. They went to his room, where they were joined by Jesse Jones. While they talked, Hopkins undressed and put on striped pajamas.

"His body was frail," Murrow recalls, "and he looked like a death's-head. He groaned, 'Oh, God, if I only had more strength.'"

Murrow went out to sit on the bench again. Sometime after midnight he was told to go in to the President. Roosevelt had done everything that could be done in one day. Now he was relaxing with sandwiches and a bottle of beer.

First he fired questions about England, Churchill, the bombings. Then: "Were you surprised by what happened today?"

"Yes, Mister President."

Roosevelt slapped his desk. "Maybe you think we weren't surprised!"

He offered Murrow beer and a sandwich, and told him about ships that had been sunk at Pearl, and airplanes destroyed on the ground. "On the ground," he repeated, banging a fist on his desk. The idea seemed to hurt him. Wild Bill Donovan came in, and the talk veered to the Philippines.

When Murrow left, he had the makings of a monumental news beat, which, in honor, he couldn't use. A few in the White House press room knew he'd been with the President, but the only question was a cautious "How is it?" from Eric Sevareid, who stood watch for CBS.

"Pretty bad," said Murrow, swallowing the story of the year.

A short lecture tour made him a barrel of money which he handed over to British War Relief and Air Force Comforts. Then it was London again, and the endless air raids. The RAF took five newsmen on a Berlin strike; only Murrow and one other got back. He found his long-sought nightingale in Anzio, and put its sweetness on short wave. In 1944 he was chosen to give the official flash, on all networks, that D Day had come. His text, assigned him by SHAEF, was General Eisenhower's Order of the Day: "Soldiers, sailors and airmen of the Allied Expeditionary Force: You are about to embark upon a great crusade ——" At the end, a year or so later, Murrow walked into the horrors of Buchenwald with a liberating spearhead, and found an old friend, Dr. Petr Zenkl, one-time lord mayor of Prague.

Having seen so much, Murrow regrets that he hasn't seen more. He has encountered Churchill, wept with the late Jan Masaryk, and been snubbed by Senator Taft. But Asia and its political leaders are unknown to him, and there was a Pacific war which he missed entirely. There aren't enough big stories in a lifetime to satisfy him. If Murrow had a Time Machine, he would take off at once to watch Columbus discover America. He admired Goodman Ace for dreaming up a show in which CBS covered, as spot news, re-enactments of the Battle of Waterloo, Lincoln's martyrdom and the siege of Troy.

When World War II was ended he made a painful discovery. "It is much easier to report a battle or a bombing raid," he said, "than it is to do an honest and intelligible job on the Marshall Plan, the Taft-Hartley Law or the Atlantic Pact." Objective reporting? "I am a reactionary, a Socialist, anti-Wallace, anti-Truman and anti-Republican; too radical, too conservative, too serious and too frivolous. And I have letters from my listeners to prove it."

The Murrows serve on a lot of nonpolitical committees linked with education. Mrs. Murrow is a trustee of Mount Holyoke College, her alma mater, and the deft manager of two homes. Failing to find an apartment when they returned from London, they bought a house in Manhattan much too large for their needs. For vacations and week ends they have a handsome cedar-log layout in deep Republican territory near Pawling, New York. Come partisans, says Murrow, and he'll loop hole the walls and defend the place.

They were childless for years, and were arranging to adopt an entire family of English orphans, when, lo, Charles Casey was born. He has spoken on two Christmas broadcasts with his father, and expects to give us his childish blessing every year. Good clear voice, but no contract so far.

Murrow has an amiable understanding with his sponsor, Campbell's Soup. They keep hands off his scripts, and he doesn't meddle with their recipe for cream of tomato. He planted in his contract a bit of CBS policy on news programs, and quoted from it on his first sponsored broadcast. The essence of it was that Murrow bound himself to separate fact from opinion, and refrain from telling people how to think. He abhors gossip, rumor, divorce-court tattling and write-your-congressman appeals. The screeching note of omniscience doesn't suit him. He has no ambition to "get" anybody. In consequence, he lacks two distinctions: he has never been called a liar by a President of the United States, nor been accused of hounding a Cabinet officer to his death.

So far, Murrow has collected fourteen prizes, awards, medals, citations and pieces of engraved hardware in recognition of meritorious reporting. Last spring he was given his second Peabody Award, radio's equivalent of the Pulitzer Prize. In his acceptance speech he remarked that the microphone alarmed him. Here, he said, was a gadget which could make a man believe that his wisdom increased in direct proportion to the magnified range of his voice. "I confess to a fear of abusing a monopolized opportunity," he said.

The sponsor gets Murrow in a package deal which includes CBS news-gathering resources here and abroad. He makes lavish use of transoceanic telephones, and keeps a staff of five people busy. One of his secretaries is Katherine ("Bombs are so tiresome") Campbell, brought here from London. His chief editor is silver-haired Jesse Zousmer, a wizard at smelting nuggets of hard news from tons of agency copy. Background research is handled by John Aaron, a round-eyed hustler.

One of Aaron's chores is the replenishment of a collection of old saws and wise sayings. They may be taken from Abraham Lincoln, Billy Rose or the philosophers of ancient Greece; just so they fit the day's news somehow. Murrow uses these quotations to give the tail of each broadcast a neat curl. Thereafter they stick in his mind and creep into his conversation, so it's hard to tell where Murrow leaves off and Mark Twain begins.

Zousmer writes much of the hard news himself, subject to Murrow's blue pencil. At Murrow's usual reading pace, 13 lines equal one minute. Room must be left for the larger part, which Murrow writes himself. It's known around the shop as "Ed's piece" or "Whatta you gonna talk about?" Sometimes he can't be sure until an hour or two before the deadline. Then he dictates to Miss Campbell or beats a typewriter. He can't bear to commit himself to a word until he has thought out an entire sentence.

He finishes with thirty minutes to spare. Aaron drops in with a hot one from Mark Twain: "The difference between the right word and the almost right word is the difference between lightning and a lightning bug." Okay, Ed? Kay Campbell counts lines in the final script, allowing for Murrow's perverse tendency to speed up in spots.

Fifteen minutes to go. The CBS newsroom editor scans the copy for possible errors. Aaron goes to the wire room to watch for late bulletins. Murrow confers with Bob Dixon, the announcer, smoothing the commercials into place. Ten minutes to go. Zousmer, who has been shielding Ed all day from news too sordid to broadcast, now regales him with the best trunk murders. Three minutes to go.

Murrow takes a sip of water, enters the studio, lays his script on a table. Deadline. A wireless key shrieks *n-e-w-s* in code, Dixon smacks his lips over the sponsor's spaghetti, and Murrow takes his cue. He crouches forward, tie dangling, sleeves rolled up, jiggling his feet and rocking to and fro like an oarsman. He has eight hours of solid work behind him. Now, at the fag end of the day, he must be at his peak.

"This," he begins, "is the news."

THE END

HAZEL

"Sounds important."

THE SATURDAY EVENING POST

PROFILES

THE WORLD ON HIS BACK

Edward R. Murrow

TO the top men of the Columbia Broadcasting System, it is a matter of concern that their news broadcaster Edward R. Murrow, whose baritone voice over the C.B.S. radio and austere presence on C.B.S.-TV have made him both a semi-public figure and a valued private property, has appeared, over the years, to be less attracted to eminence than to trouble. To be sure, Murrow, a lean, dark, handsome, and deceptively easy-mannered man of forty-five, who bears his own eminence without visible effort, is on cordial-to-intimate terms with most of the important people in the United States and Great Britain and gives no evidence of being indifferent to their esteem. But it has been noticed that his satisfaction in his work as an informer of public opinion increases with his proximity to gunfire, to some real or fancied calamity, or to the brink of complete physical exhaustion. During the Second World War, his habit of excusing himself from his post in London to go off on bombing missions brought frequent ineffectual protests from William S. Paley, chairman of the board of the Columbia Broadcasting System and the only man there who has ever tried to boss Murrow; declining to be bossed, Murrow made a couple of dozen combat flights, of which Paley said later, "They didn't do us much good from my point of view, but there was no way to make him stop, short of firing him." Since that war, Murrow has had fewer opportunities to expose himself to hostile marksmen. He did manage to get in two trips to Korea while the shooting was going on there, but for the most part he has had to content himself with the pursuit of floods, droughts, and tornadoes and with such personal discomforts as going too long without sleep and flying too much in airplanes, the first of which causes him to sweat profusely and the second to have trouble with his ears.

Murrow's predilection for fatigue is puzzling to his associates. "Ed is just as rational when he's all worn out as when he's rested—no more, no less," Paley says. "I don't see why he runs himself so ragged. Unless it's that he *thinks* he thinks better when he's got sweat pouring from his forehead." Another colleague of Murrow's has said, "In some way that I don't pretend to understand, Ed's all wound up and can't slow down. I think that, like a lot of other people, he hit his high spot emotionally during the war—specifically, in his case, during the Battle of Britain, when he was living in the midst of disaster, and that sepulchral 'This is London' of his was the voice of England telling America about it. I wouldn't be surprised if he's been trying to recapture some of that—the danger, the exhaustion. In a way, I think it's like the air of toughness he assumes—the sort of thing that makes him sprinkle his conversation with 'ain't's and double negatives."

When not scrutinizing the distressful or participating in it, Murrow seems to brood upon it. Large dinner parties have been riled by his between-courses predictions of national or international misfortune at the hands of dictators, demagogues, or plain politicians. Conversely, after-dinner talk sometimes dies when it is seen that Murrow is no longer taking part, or even listening, but is leaning far forward in his chair and staring at the rug, his elbows on his knees and his fists slowly beating each other, an unattended cigarette in his mouth glowing and subsiding with his breathing, and the smoke from his nostrils enveloping his face in a dense infernal cloud. The cigarette may burn to his lips before he plucks it out, crushes it in an ashtray, and picks up the conversation where it was dropped several minutes earlier. This portentous condition of mind persists to some extent when Murrow is at the microphone. On the air, his manner of speaking often conveys the impression that he knows the worst but will try not to mention it, and so powerful is this impression that it has become a cliché around C.B.S. and elsewhere to describe his voice as the voice of doom.

The voice and whatever compulsions lie behind it have combined to give Murrow certain advantages over rival criers of information over the airwaves. He has been careful to present himself as something between the breathless messenger and the sagacious pundit, and so has been able to satisfy the customers of both without agitating the critics of either. As a self-driven leg man, he finds it necessary to cover as much current history as possible; a couple of years ago, he was given a month's vacation and spent it with the troops in Korea, although he admitted to friends that he could think of no very good reason for doing so. Lately, the demands of "Edward R. Murrow with the News," a fifteen-minute radio program he has been presenting five evenings a week for more than six years, have been combined with those of "See It Now" and "Person to Person," two half-hour, once-a-week television shows over which he presides, and the work that this triple-barrelled job entails has partially interrupted his wanderings, with the result that he has to spend a good deal of his time on the air describing events in which he has not been able to take part.

Murrow talks for twelve minutes on his "This Is the News" program, as his radio broadcast is often called—those four words being the ones with which he greets his listeners each evening, Monday through Friday, at seven-forty-five. The three other minutes are given over to the extolling, by an announcer, of the sponsor's product, which, in this part of the country, is Amoco gasoline. Murrow devotes his first six minutes, give or take a few seconds, to a relatively routine presentation of the news that has come into the studio from the press wire services during the day. In the second six, he delivers what he calls his "end-piece," which may be a first-hand report of some event he has contrived to witness, a synopsis of an involved political situation, or a sermon dealing with anything he feels like getting off his chest. Even when he is talking about what he has just seen, he avoids the excited accents of the "Here am I" school of broadcasting; indeed, he sounds more as though he were gazing straight through his subject at its inevitably dire consequences. And his firm control of his baritone is no less an asset when he ex-

plores the field of opinion than when he is fresh from the field of action. In introducing the first "This Is the News" broadcast, in September, 1947, he said, "This program is not a place where personal opinion should be mixed up with ascertainable facts." Then he added a qualification: "It is not, I think, humanly possible for any reporter to be completely objective, for we are all to some degree prisoners of our education, travel, reading—the sum total of our experience." Murrow is the prisoner of some strenuous opinions, but his admirers and detractors agree that it is difficult to catch him mixing them up with the facts. One of the former has said, "To hear his broadcasts in the last campaign, you wouldn't have known which side he was on," and one of the latter, "He pontificates, but in such a way as to hide the condescension that goes with pontificating. He's much too clever to let you see what he's up to." Analytical listeners find that Murrow makes his points by tonal understatement, just as he indicates quotation marks by pausing slightly, as if for breath. Among the public men who have commended Murrow for his fairness is Senator Joseph McCarthy.

The care Murrow has taken not to mix opinions with facts has been the subject of widely varying interpretations, even among people whose political outlook is pretty much like his own. "Ed never pushes his liberalism beyond a carefully calculated safety point," one of these people has said. But another says, "He always stands up to be counted when the issue's big enough. And he never misses a chance to stand up for the *principle* of dissent. But he's too much of a fanatic about being a reporter to throw in a lot of opinions when he thinks the facts will make the point by themselves."

MURROW is on the board of directors of C.B.S., a circumstance that has been particularly helpful to Murrow the co-producer, narrator, and occasional interviewer of "See It Now," which is the older of his two television programs, and to Fred W. Friendly, a hulking admirer of his, who is co-producer of the show. "See It Now" grew out of the collaboration of Murrow and Friendly on a set of record albums called "I Can Hear It Now;" instead of documenting history with sounds from the past, as the records did, "See It Now" seeks to present, recorded on film, significant sights and sounds of the present. Among recent "See It Now" programs that have won considerable critical acclaim have been an interview a Murrow representative had with Nehru, a presentation of both sides of an argument between the American Civil Liberties Union and the American Legion in Indianapolis, and a series of interviews conducted by a British journalist named Aidan Crawley with various Americans. The most talked-about "See It Now" dealt with Lieutenant Milo Radulovich, whom the Air Force was about to dismiss because two relatives of his were suspected of having Communist associations; it changed its mind after Murrow reviewed his case on television. To put together programs like these, "See It Now" employs five full-time camera crews, who travel all over the world. Murrow takes a good deal of pride in the fact that the show occasionally loses money. The Aluminum Company of America, its sponsor, pays twenty-three thousand dollars a week

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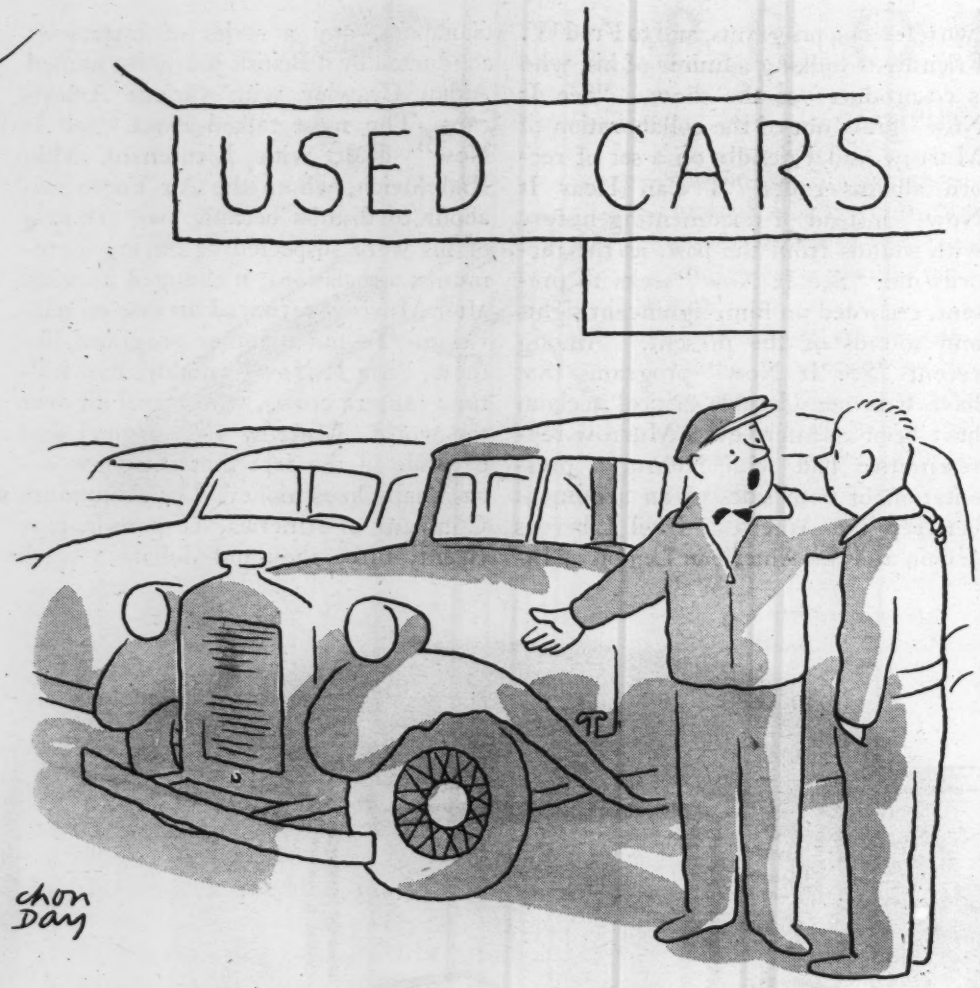

"Son, this car has features you've never even heard of."

• •

toward its expenses (and another thirty-four thousand dollars for the time), but a show sometimes costs more than twenty-three thousand to produce, and when it does Columbia makes up the difference. "From a financial point of view, the show's a great mystery, and I'm the only one sitting on the board who knows where the bodies are," Murrow says. Friendly isn't sure that even Murrow knows. "Ed couldn't tell you how much the show is going to cost for any given week," he says. "Not knowing is a point in our favor. For instance, he tells the other directors he wants to send a camera crew to Korea, and maybe he knows it will take five or ten thousand to pay the crew, but none of them—Ed included—stops to realize that the airplane bill is going to add on twenty thousand. So we go ahead, and the bill comes in later. By that time, the show has been a hit, and it's hard to squawk about a hit, even if it loses money. And even if they should squawk, Ed can remind them that they O.K.'d the idea in the first place." Murrow recently summed up his feelings on the subject by saying, "The theory of this business is that somebody wants to spend so many thousand dollars on a show, and if it costs twice as much as that to put on a good show, he gets a second-rate show. When we started 'See It Now,' I said I wasn't having any of that. If I wanted more than one camera crew, I'd damn well get more than one camera crew. They come to me now, the vice-presidents, and say, 'Look, there's so much going out of this spout and only so much coming in.' And I say, 'If that's the way you want to do it, you'd better get yourselves another boy.' "

What with his radio and television work, his royalties from the sale of records, and his director's fees, Murrow last year earned $211,126.20, which is more than anyone else with C.B.S. got for being serious in that same period. The largest part of Murrow's income came from his radio program, for which he receives thirty-five hundred dollars a week; to compensate, in part, for the liberties he took with the "See It Now" budget, he received only a modest fee, by the standards of the trade, for his labors on television. Murrow's father, a former locomotive engineer, is supposed to have once confessed to a friend that his son was "downright dishonest—making a living just talking." Murrow, who makes better than a living, appears to have something of the same guilty attitude toward the money he earns, and he gets rid of it as though he were obliged to show no enjoyment of it. In the city, he lives in a moderate-size Park Avenue apartment with his wife, Janet, and their eight-year-old son, Charles Casey. His country place, near Pawling, New York, is a log cabin, though, to be sure, the logs are costly cedar. He dresses expensively, but he usually wears an old trench coat or raincoat over most of the expense. He often goes to fancy restaurants and orders scrambled eggs. And he pays more income tax than his accountant thinks necessary. His most conspicuous form of waste, however, is gambling. Although he is a good poker player, late in the evening he almost invariably overbets his hands and comes out a large loser. He has been known to lose as much as twenty-five hundred dollars on the matching of a coin. "There's a little bit of the Warren Harding in him," Friendly says. "He'll say yes to anybody, and sometimes he'll say it before they even ask. Look at the royalties from those record albums of ours. For every four dollars he gets, I get six. Another guy with a big reputation like his would have said, 'Friendly, this deal is going to make you, so you take forty per cent and I'll take sixty.' Did he say that? No. He knew I was just out of the Army and broke, so he took the small slice."

Besides being the best-paid merchant of fact on the air, Murrow is without much doubt the most lavishly rewarded in sheets of paper suitable for framing. Since 1938, he has won forty awards or citations, has been presented with five honorary degrees, three of them LL.D.s, and has been appointed an honorary officer of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire. He has also refused three offers of college presidencies and innumerable offers to write books, and he has given no encouragement to some influential friends who have urged him to go back to the State of Washington, where he grew up, and run for the Senate. "When it comes to politics, I've never had an ambition that lasted more than ninety days," he says. "And it ain't no false modesty to say that I don't know enough to write a book. I can write the language of speech, but that's totally different. When I write a book review or a preface to somebody else's book, Janet has to go through it and scatter the commas. As for the academic life, I'm fascinated by ideas, but I'm not an educated guy and I just haven't got the qualifications

Merry Christmas to the Machinery

At the close of the day, in the Katakura silk mill, near Tokyo, the machines whine to a halt, the workers face them stiffly, arms out at their sides, bow rigidly from the waist, and recite aloud: "We thank you, O kind machinery, for ensuring our daily livelihood."

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for it." Murrow is nevertheless subject to recurrent yearnings for quiet and leisure, and once or twice a year he tells Friendly that he has decided to take an educational job or a sabbatical. Friendly then thinks up some exhausting stunt, and no more is heard about the matter. Another friend of Murrow's doesn't believe Friendly need worry about losing his associate to the campus. "It's too late now for Ed to switch," he says. "Those wartime years gave him a feeling of importance. When he goes to England now, he doesn't have to call up a private secretary and wangle an interview with Churchill. Churchill wants to see him. Naturally, Ed gets a kick out of it, just as he gets a kick out of Eisenhower's calling him Ed. He's much too much of a showman not to have fun in the part he's playing. When he gets out of a plane, wearing a trench coat and a hat with the brim pulled down, he's Ed Murrow, the big correspondent. Maybe one reason he enjoys acting like a newspaperman so much is that he never was a newspaperman."

A recurrent desire to get away from it all is not entirely a handicap to a high-priced employee in maintaining himself in a milieu of power politics. Murrow has achieved a position at C.B.S. that is outside, and basically antithetical to, the corporate structure of authority. In radio and television, those who appear on factual programs are ordinarily looked upon as poor cousins of the entertainers, because, as in most business enterprises, there is a tendency to value performance in terms of the amount of money it brings in, and in that the entertainers notoriously lead the field. By appealing to all heights of brow—from the people who listen to comedians to the ones who tune in on symphonies—Murrow has risen far above the ranks of the poor cousins, and in doing so has achieved a singular amount of freedom from authority of any kind. Not only does he do pretty much as he pleases about running his own shows but he has had a fairly free hand in the creation and development of the whole C.B.S. news service. During the nine years he served as European director of the service, he hired many of its correspondents, often against the better judgment of his superiors, and he has doggedly fought off interference with their reporting, both from above and from the outside. Moreover, he has relentlessly looked after the best interests of the men he has hired—a loyal group known in C.B.S. circles as "Murrow boys." "There's not one of us who doesn't go and cry on his shoulder the minute something goes wrong," a member of this group has said. "And Ed will pick up the phone and get the right person on the wire and say, 'Hey, wait a minute! We can't do this to this guy.' " Another takes a broader view. "Ed is what keeps the whole thing together," he says. "The total product of Murrow is much more than Murrow on the mike." As for Murrow himself, he says staunchly, "The help I get from the correspondents is greater than any they get from me." Wells Church, the radio-news director at C.B.S., once complained, "Ed Murrow has collected the Goddamnedest bunch of camp followers, and not one of them is worth a damn." But Church is a "Murrow boy" himself.

Firmly entrenched though Murrow would seem to be, however, his position is an uneasy one, as he tacitly admitted when he insisted on inserting a clause in his contract that will release him from it should Paley ever cease to be the ultimate authority on the board. This proviso is an indication of a relationship that goes a long way toward explaining how Murrow has been able to carve out his highly unusual niche in C.B.S. affairs. "Bill Paley's got a conscience, and he cares about more than just making money," a man familiar with the workings of the company said not long ago. "But in radio you've got to make money before you can do anything else, and most of the brass at C.B.S. thinks in terms of profit, which on the air means entertainment. Bill needs Ed to remind him to think in terms of news. Well, it's a little bigger than that—let's call it responsibility. In that sense, you might say that Ed is Bill's conscience."

MURROW's occasional yearning for the campus may go back to the time, in his pre-radio days, when he was employed on the fringes of the academic world, or it may go back still further, to the time when, upon graduating from high school, he was forced to realize that, because of lack of money, he could not go to the college of his choice. Lack of money was the dominant theme of his youth. "I can't remember when I didn't have to work," he says. He was born on

a small farm near Greensboro, North Carolina, in 1908, the youngest of three brothers. (The eldest, Lacey, is now a brigadier general in the Air Force, and the other, Dewey, is a contractor in Spokane.) The "R" in Edward R. Murrow stands for Roscoe, which is his father's name. The father, an easy-going two-hundred-and-fifty-pounder, taught his sons to fish and shoot, and liked to roughhouse with them. Their mother, a Southern Methodist, weighed about ninety; a stern disciplinarian, she allowed no fishing on Sunday and no card-playing in the house at any time, and, as Murrow recalls it, "made the old man beat hell out of us when we were bad." The farm produced an income of six or seven hundred dollars a year, and all three boys had to help to make it produce even that, the two older ones driving a hayrake and thinning corn, and the youngest carrying slops and doing other light chores. When Murrow was six, his father sold the farm and moved to Blanchard, Washington, sixty miles north of Seattle, where he got a job as a farmhand, and for a while the family lived in a tent. Then the father found work in a sawmill and the family moved into a house, and from the sawmill he went to a logging railroad, first as a brakeman and then as a locomotive engineer. Murrow started earning money summers at the age of fifteen, as a whistle punk in a lumber camp, and at sixteen he was the fireman of a donkey engine; his last two years in high school he drove the school bus. After graduating, he worked a year as chainman for a survey gang, saving money for college. He wanted to go to the University of Virginia but decided it would take too long to earn enough money, so he went to Washington State College, where his brothers had gone. He helped to pay his way by tending furnaces and washing dishes in a sorority house, and in the summers he continued to work in lumber camps. He got good grades, went in for some college dramatics, and became president of the student council, but he had no time, and little aptitude, for athletics. "I don't even swim very well, because I was always working at the time when most kids learn," he says.

In his last year at Washington State, Murrow was elected president of the West Coast Student Councils, and this led, after his graduation, in 1930—at which he smudged a distinguished record by tripping over his sabre in the R.O.T.C. parade—to a job as president of the National Student Federation. The pay was twenty-five dol-

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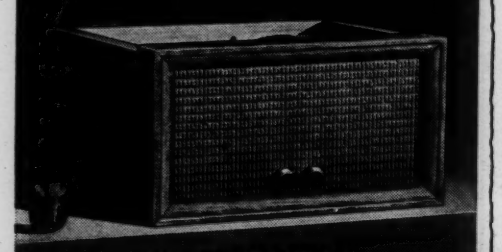

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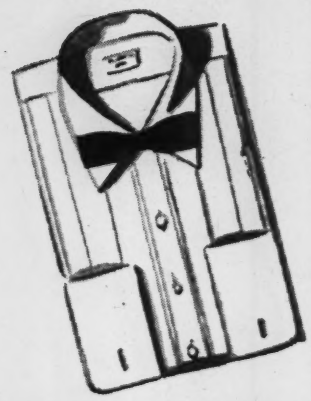

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lars a week and expenses, the office was a basement in New York, and the work was mostly arranging students' tours to Europe, at an average cost of two hundred and fifty dollars for the round trip. Murrow was an earnest and hard-working young man; in two years he not only arranged dozens of tours but made speeches describing them at over a hundred colleges and universities and took one jaunt around Europe himself. Then, in 1932, he found a better job, as assistant director of the Institute of International Education, an enterprise concerned with facilitating the exchange of graduate students and professors and financed by the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation. One of the attractions of this job was a free trip to Europe each summer.

The director of the Institute was Professor Stephen P. Duggan, of C.C.N.Y. After Hitler rose to power, Duggan and several other educators organized an Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars, and under this awkward and anxious letterhead Murrow, as the committee's secretary, carried on its correspondence. "It was the most satisfying experience I ever had," he said recently. "About ninety-eight per cent of the money came from Jewish sources, but we never raised any questions about the racial origin of a professor—only about his ability and whether a university would take him. I got more of an education from those professors than I'd ever had before. I was running a kind of revolving seminar. That's when I learned to talk slowly, too, because some of them couldn't speak English very well. Most of my time was spent with people twenty to forty years older than I was. They took me seriously, and I guess I took myself pretty seriously."

When Murrow was twenty-six, he was offered the presidency of Rockford, a small women's college in Illinois. Having just got married to Janet Brewster, a graduate of Mount Holyoke, whom he had met a couple of years earlier, he was on the verge of accepting the offer. "But the ladies hadn't pursued their investigations far enough to learn how young I was, or to find out that I didn't have some of the qualifications they thought I had," he says. "When they did find out, the whole thing fell through. That got me to thinking that there wasn't no future for me in the world of scholarship, because I didn't have the credentials. Then I heard that C.B.S. was looking for somebody to work on education, and that seemed to be the answer."

Murrow joined C.B.S. in 1935, as director of its talks-and-special-events department, which involved supervising educational programs dealing with political and scientific subjects and addressing various groups on the potentialities of radio as a medium of education. He got more into the thick of things during the months that preceded the Presidential election of the following year when, as assistant producer, he helped with some of the campaign broadcasts. In February, 1937, in New Orleans, where he had gone to deliver a speech before the National Education Association, he received a long-distance call from Edward Klauber, who was then the executive vice-president of Columbia, asking him if he would like to go to Europe and indicating that he wanted an immediate answer. Murrow immediately answered yes, and found himself with the title of European director of C.B.S., an office in London, and the duty of arranging programs of what he now speaks of as "culture stuff." "There never was such a job," he says. "I'd take a week or ten days to go to Rome to arrange for a broadcast by the Vatican Choir—which, of course, I could have done on the telephone. There were summer conferences in Salzburg and other pleasant places. I had no desire at the time to become a broadcaster. Why would I, with a job like that?"

It was more or less by accident that Murrow became a broadcaster. Radio reporting had fumbled its way to the point where not only politicians but well-known newspapermen were being called to the microphone to comment on important news. The National Broadcasting Company even had a correspondent in Europe to report the news over the air. Late in 1937, Murrow hired as an assistant, to help him get up "culture stuff," a former newspaperman named William L. Shirer, and stationed him on the Continent. Shirer was in Vienna—he was trying to arrange a broadcast by a chorus of school children—in March, 1938, when Hitler took over Austria. Shirer telephoned Murrow, who was in Warsaw, also on a musical mission, and reported that

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he had a story but couldn't do anything about broadcasting it, because of censorship. Murrow advised him to fly to London and broadcast it himself. Murrow then flew to Vienna. By the time he arrived, N.B.C. had been allowed to broadcast some comments on the Anschluss, and Murrow was able to wangle the same privilege. New York had raised no objection to his having put Shirer on the air—it was the first news broadcast from abroad in C.B.S.'s history—so Murrow made several broadcasts of his own. When he got back to London, he found that his status had changed. Klauber, who before going to C.B.S. had been night city editor of the New York *Times*, had persuaded Paley that there was something to radio reporting, and Paley had started giving a freer hand to his news director, Paul White. Because most of the news of the day was being made in Europe and Murrow was on the scene, Paley instructed him to build up a staff. Among the men whom Murrow hired—they now constitute the core of Columbia's news service—were Eric Sevareid, Larry Lesueur, Charles Collingwood, Richard C. Hottelet, and Bill Downs. After one of the new Murrow recruits had made his first broadcast, Murrow would frequently get a telephone call from Paley or Klauber complaining that the fellow was terrible. Murrow had a stock reply: "I'm hiring reporters, not announcers."

Murrow's behavior during the war was perplexing to his colleagues, to his employers, and, apparently, even to himself. During the Battle of Britain, he reported air raids from the streets and rooftops, drove an open car, and made a point of dining under a skylight, and he inexplicably found it necessary to have his office as close as he could get it to the headquarters of the British Broadcasting Corporation, which Nazi bombers treated as a prize target; the London C.B.S. bureau was bombed out of three offices, and the windows of a fourth were smashed. When the Allies took over the offensive in the air, Murrow showed at least an equal disregard for his own safety by his insistence on going out on bombing missions. Discussing Murrow's combat flights, a fellow-correspondent has said, "A man in Ed's position does it once to show he's ready to do what he asks others to do. He may even make two or three flights, if there's something extra special about them. But no more. I think Ed's got a martyr complex." Paley, whose efforts to keep Murrow on the ground failed so dismally, said not long ago,

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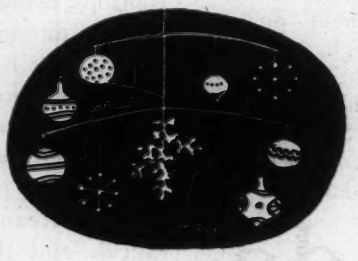
"He'd agree to stop it, and then the next thing I knew, he'd be off on another raid. I used to think he was afraid he was a coward, but it's more complicated than that." Murrow himself is not sure about the number of these trips ("It couldn't have been more than twenty-five") or why he felt obliged to make them. "Partly it was being a Boy Scout, I guess," he says. "Partly, I like fliers. Partly, it was a dromomania I have—I even have it when I drive a car. Partly, it was vanity. Three or four times in London, when I'd be sitting in the office with some of the boys, we'd hear the B.B.C. playing back things I'd said, and nothing has ever made me feel as good as that. I can't be logical about it. Like in 1950, when I decided to spend my vacation in Korea. Everybody asked me 'Why are you going?' and I couldn't think of any reason that made sense. It was just something I had to do."

Murrow became an important man in London. He not only had the entrée into governing and social circles that all influential American correspondents enjoyed but was held in especially high favor because of the fervor of his broadcasts at the time when England stood alone in the blitz. In addition, Mrs. Murrow was the London director of Bundles for Britain. Paley, who was also in London during a part of the war, as a colonel and deputy chief of SHAEF's Psychological Warfare Division, was impressed by his employee's prestige. "It seemed he was almost the most important American there," he said later. Apparently, Paley was also impressed by a quality of Murrow's that has been called—with varying degrees of sympathy—idealism, do-goodism, and the-world-on-my-backism; at any rate, during this period he told friends that his own outlook was broadening. At the end of the war, he persuaded Murrow to come back to New York as vice-president of C.B.S. in charge of news and public affairs; Klauber had retired, and the new vice-president was to take over some of his responsibilities. Murrow was reluctant to give up broadcasting, but Paley convinced him that his audience had gone with the war.



IT is generally agreed that Murrow was miscast as a vice-president. One man who left C.B.S. while he held the position has said, "Ed never could manage a news service, so after a year and a half he gave up." Those who still work there, however, concede that it is in large part thanks to Murrow that C.B.S. hires correspondents who are inclined to approach the news with an open mind and by and large leaves them free to report it as they see it, without policy directives or "guidance." (Marya Mannes, a radio critic, feels much the same way. "The key of C.B.S. is reason and reliability," she wrote in a recent article about the networks for the *Reporter*. "It is doubtful whether any news organization anywhere—the press included—has a better staff of reporters.") As a director, Murrow seems to have been a bit difficult in his dealings with staff members he had had no hand in hiring. "It's got to be admitted that if you weren't a 'Murrow boy,' you were under a handicap," one of these has said. "Ed couldn't seem to get it into his head that some of the others were just as good." Howard K. Smith, who succeeded Murrow as European director, has always been an exception. He was already a C.B.S. employee when Murrow promoted him to the post in London. At one time, a dissident group at C.B.S. formed a Murrow Isn't God Club, but it was disbanded after Murrow asked if he could join.

Of his tour of duty as a vice-president, Murrow says, "I was going to revolutionize radio from the inside—make it adult and intelligent. But I didn't like the 'in' basket and the 'out' basket. I didn't like budgets. I'm not a very good administrator. And I had some ideas that didn't turn out very well. We started something called 'C.B.S. Views the Press.' I naïvely thought that since the press takes it upon itself to criticize everything else, somebody had a right to criticize the press. It seemed I was wrong. At least, the show never found a sponsor and was dropped. Most of all, I didn't like firing people. I wanted to be a reporter again, because I needed the dignity and satisfaction of being a reporter."

Murrow's friends believe that his decision to give up the vice-presidency was brought to a head by the departure from C.B.S. of Shirer, who had returned from Europe in 1940 to become a commentator in New York. Neither Murrow nor Shirer likes to talk about the affair, but the facts appear to be that Shirer's sponsor complained about his broadcasts, Shirer was shifted to an

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unsponsored program at a less desirable hour, and Shirer resigned. Two or three newspaper columnists asserted that Shirer had been shifted because of his liberal opinions, and Murrow, as the official directly responsible for making the switch, came in for a good deal of criticism from the liberal benches. On the other hand, his supporters point out that if a sponsor objects to a commentator, the network can do little but substitute an acceptable one or lose the sponsor, and they contend that C.B.S. would have tried to find another sponsor for Shirer if he hadn't decided to quit. However that may be, Shirer's leaving must have been painful to Murrow, for after all Shirer was the original "Murrow boy." Murrow gave up his vice-presidency in the summer of 1947, and returned to broadcasting that September. "I was pretty nervous there for a while," he says. "I had to get my audience back." The chances are that, Paley's earlier views notwithstanding, it had never strayed very far. Murrow's doomful baritone was as well suited to a cold war as it had been to a hot one, and by the autumn of 1947 a great many people were evidently waiting to be assured that no matter how bad things were, Murrow was there to interpret them. Radio statistics are not always reliable, but for what they are worth, they credit Murrow with almost three million listeners.

A single daily radio program was not enough to satisfy Murrow's restless nature. While he was still a vice-president, Friendly had come to him with the idea of the "I Can Hear It Now" albums, and together they had listened to recordings of broadcasts of historic events from 1932 to 1945. Now they went to work in earnest on the project, and in 1948 they brought out their first album; it was soon followed by two more. In 1950, Murrow and Friendly tried the "Hear It Now" idea on radio, but dropped it a few months later in favor of their "See It Now" television show, which now is supposed to have an audience of around three million. During its first two seasons, "See It Now" appeared on Sunday afternoon, but last September it was moved to Tuesday night, at ten-thirty, so that Murrow might have a chance to rest weekends. Perhaps a little frightened by this prospect, he started a new television program within a month, which he presents on Friday nights at ten-thirty. Called "Person to Person," the new show consists of a series of interviews in which Murrow, at the studio, holds successive conversations with two celebrities in

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their homes here or, if they are from abroad, in their hotels. "Person to Person" has already won an award (the Sylvania) as "the most outstanding new television series of the year," and Murrow has derived a certain amount of fun from pairing such disparate individuals as Earl Blaik and Valentina, Tallulah Bankhead and Theodore H. White, Sir Roger Makins and Joe Louis, and V. K. Krishna Menon and Eva Gabor. At the conclusion of a "Person to Person" program, Murrow is able to embark on his weekend in a suitably exhausted condition.

In addition to these programs of his own, Murrow provides recorded introductions for "This I Believe," a five-day-a-week radio program, arranged by Raymond Swing, that presents the philosophies of various public and private citizens. The day after the broadcast, the credos are syndicated in sixty newspapers. Last year, some of them made yet a third appearance—in a book, named after the program, for which Murrow provided the introduction. It has sold three hundred thousand copies.

ORDINARILY, Murrow starts work on his radio broadcast at five o'clock in the afternoon, having read the news from time to time during the day and thought from time to time about its darker potentialities. Promptly on the hour, as indicated by a clock over the door of his office—a small corner one on the seventeenth floor of the C.B.S. Building, on Madison Avenue—he strolls into an adjoining office that is occupied by Jesse Zousmer, a cheerful former newspaperman, who writes most of Murrow's copy for the news report that constitutes the first half of the program. Zousmer has been joined earlier by John Aaron, a roundish man with a worried look, who produces ideas and does research for the program. After Zousmer has poured the three of them a small drink of Scotch from a bottle he keeps in a cabinet, they begin to discuss the evening's broadcast. Aaron and Zousmer have been discussing it most of the day, and have usually found in the news a pattern that suggests a suitable subject for the endpiece, which Murrow writes—or, rather, dictates—himself, filling it out with background material supplied by C.B.S. correspondents in the field. Since both his assistants have trained themselves to think as much like Murrow as possible, Murrow is likely to agree to their proposals, adding remarks that, once they've had some editing, he may repeat over the air. One afternoon a while ago, for instance, the day's news consisted largely of dissension among the forces opposed to Communism, and Murrow said, "And all that trouble started without a single goddam Russian being hit over the head with a billy club, doused with a fire hose, or prodded with a bayonet." Zousmer made a mental note to put the words into the news report, deleting the "goddam" as he did so.

Murrow has developed an accurate sense of time, which enables him to break up the conference within a minute or so of six without looking at the clock. He returns to his office and dictates his endpiece to Miss Kay Campbell, who has worked for him since 1937. Zousmer, meanwhile, begins to "rough" the copy of the news report on his typewriter and Aaron starts searching for some quotations appropriate to the subject of the endpiece. Murrow will choose one of these as his "word for today," a half-minute homily that he delivers after the closing commercial and by means of which he has persuaded his sponsors not to interrupt the main part of his broadcast. By seven-fifteen, Miss Campbell has typed the endpiece and Zousmer has brought in his copy. Murrow reads the entire script and then goes back over it and changes a few words here and there. He likes alliteration, and will change "mistrust" to "distrust" if there is another "dis" nearby.

By seven-thirty, Murrow has finished editing the script, has read it over several times, and has picked a quotation from Aaron's list. Up to that point, he has been pretty much at ease, but now, with nothing to do but wait for seven-forty-five, he begins to get nervous. He glances at whatever late news bulletins Zousmer may bring him, although he seldom adds anything to his script unless it is very important. He makes a couple of impatient trips to the water cooler. By seven-thirty-five, he is again seated at his desk, leaning back, his hands behind his head, and going over the script in his mind as he stares moodily out the window or at the wall before him, on which hangs a large photograph of Carl Sandburg, inscribed "Edward R. Murrow—reporter, historian, inquirer, actor, ponderer, seeker—Yrs., Carl Sandburg." Zous-

mer and Aaron allow him a few minutes of this, and then one of them comes in with a question to distract him. When the clock over the door says seven-forty-two, Murrow gets up and starts down a short corridor that leads to the studio. Zousmer and Aaron accompany him as far as the entrance. His coat is off and he is wearing red or green suspenders over a light-colored shirt; his collar is open and his tie loosened; his sleeves are rolled not quite to the elbows. His face is covered with sweat and his expression and movements are a good deal like those of a man going to his execution.

In the studio, Murrow sits down at a table before the microphone, which he tries not to look at. ("I've never got over a slight sense of fright at the sight of one of those things," he says.) He lays his copy in front of him, blows his nose, takes a drink of water, says something to test his voice, runs a hand over his face, and watches the clock. As the program goes on the air and the announcer, Bob Dixon, spells out "A-m-o-c-o," Murrow's face takes on a look of disgust and his right foot begins to tap softly. It keeps tapping until Dixon has intoned, "Now here is Edward R. Murrow," and then Murrow's voice comes in on the downbeat, in portentous cadence, giving each word the same stress: "This—is—the—news." For all its portentousness, there is often a small tremor in his voice at the outset, and during the first minute or so he sounds like a man reading, but he soon loses his self-consciousness, and by the time he goes into his endpiece, his head is wagging as Franklin D. Roosevelt's used to, his eyebrows rise with every point he makes, and his voice has the resonance of an orator's. Two minutes before his time is up, an assistant director sitting beside him slides a stopwatch onto the table in front of him. Since his program has different sponsors in different parts of the country (it is Hamm's beer in the Midwest, and Hudson cars and Safeco insurance in the Far West) and all will start chattering at exactly twenty seconds past 7:57, New York time, Murrow does not have the slight leeway enjoyed by broadcasters with just one sponsor but must finish on the second. "I'd rather go too fast and have to ad-lib at the end," he says, "than go too slow and lose the punch by having to speed up."

From the studio, Murrow goes directly to a lavatory, where he washes the sweat from his face, wets and combs his hair, buttons his collar, and adjusts his tie. He returns to his office to pick

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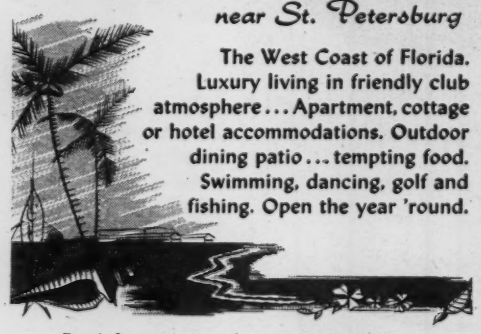

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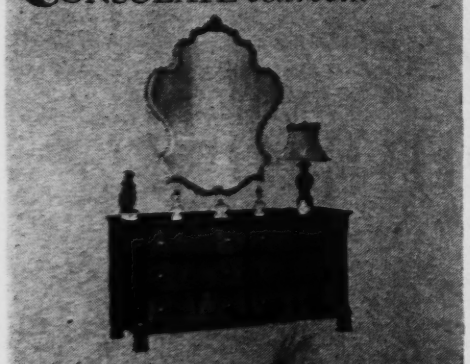

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up his coat, and then, with Zousmer and Aaron, takes the elevator to the ground floor of the building, where there is a bar-and-grill called Colbee's. Three stools at the far end of the bar are reserved for Murrow and his lieutenants, and so is a bottle of House of Lords Scotch. Murrow takes his Scotch with water and without ice, and he needs two, and sometimes three, drinks to ease his tension; Aaron and Zousmer know that it has begun to ease when he stops staring into his glass and says something to one of them.

BEFORE Murrow became so deeply involved in television, he and his wife went out to dinner two or three times a week, or had friends in. (The guests would be invited for eight and Murrow would arrive at eight-thirty.) Nowadays, he is more likely to snatch a bite with Aaron, who conceived the idea of "Person to Person," and spend the evening working on it with him, or to meet Friendly for dinner and talk over ideas for "See It Now" programs. Murrow spends the better part of two evenings each week preparing for his television shows and the better part of two more evenings putting them on. Although he seldom gets to bed before two o'clock, and often stays up past four, he is usually in his office by ten, with the papers already read.

Unless Murrow is planning some special stunt in which he will personally participate, the actual production of "See It Now" is pretty much in Friendly's hands until the Monday morning before it goes on the air. However, Murrow and Friendly map out each show at least a week in advance—and as much as several months in advance in the case of an occasional double-length show—and every morning they discuss the progress of the subjects (there are generally from two to four of them) that it covers. Friendly keeps in daily contact with the camera crews by telephone or cable. Of the five camera crews that work full time for "See It Now," four are stationed in this country and the fifth in Europe, but the boundaries of the territory they cover are elastic and at any moment one of them may be sent to some other part of the world on an assignment. Each of the domestic crews consists of a reporter, a cameraman, and a sound man, along with some twenty-five pieces of equipment, which are worth a total of seventeen thousand dollars; the European crew has the same makeup except that the nearest C.B.S. correspondent fills in as a reporter. In addition to its own crews, "See It Now" has an arrangement with "News of the Day," a newsreel company, that permits it to use the three newsreel crews the latter outfit maintains, in New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles. During a fairly typical week last summer, Friendly had one crew in South Carolina working on a hydrogen-bomb sequence, one doing a local story about an umpire, one in Washington, one in Luxembourg, and one getting ready to go to Korea. Film comes in from the crews all week long, and Friendly decides how it should be presented and, with the help of three cutters, trims it down to enough for an hour-long show. He then runs this off for Murrow, who criticizes and makes suggestions for its final cutting to half-hour length. In theory, this is done early Monday, but in practice it often breaks into Murrow's weekends. From Monday morning until the show goes on the air, the two men work over the script of Murrow's commentary and rehearse the show two or three times, taking only a few hours off for Murrow to prepare and deliver his "This Is the News" broadcasts and for both men to catch a little sleep. The preparation of the commentary is rather like that of the news broadcast. Friendly usually writes the first draft, Murrow rewrites it, and then they both polish it up during rehearsals.

Murrow is even more nervous before a television appearance than before a broadcast, and submits to having his face made up with much the same lack of enthusiasm that he displays while listening to the commercial on his radio show. He refuses to let the makeup man daub over a mole on his right cheek, which he seems to consider a kind of trademark, like the cigarette he is always smoking when he turns to face the camera.

IN June, 1952, shortly after Murrow had made one of his periodic remarks to Friendly about leaving radio and television for a nice, quiet teaching job, Friendly came up with a proposal that made him forget all about campus life. The United States Air Force, it seemed, was prepared to stage a sham atomic attack on New York City in order to demonstrate to the public why the nation could not be adequately defended from air attack without an organized ground-observer corps.

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Friendly suggested to Murrow not only that the attack would make a fine subject for "See It Now" but that Murrow should participate in it, and Murrow agreed. As the show was worked out between the Air Force, Friendly, and Murrow, three B-29 heavy bombers would approach the coast of Maine from the north, flying too low to be detected by radar. They would continue down the coast and across Connecticut, where civilian watchers would be primed to spot them as they gained altitude for the run over New York. Three two-seater jet fighters from Otis Air Force Base, near Falmouth, on Cape Cod, would intercept them and (theoretically) shoot down one, leaving the two others free to (theoretically) destroy New York. Camera crews on the ground would photograph the workings of the spotter system, the flight of the bombers, and the takeoff of the jets. In one of the bombers, flying from England, would be a camera crew and Howard K. Smith, who would temporarily desert his European post for the occasion. In one of the jets would be a cameraman. In another, with a microphone, through which he was to describe what he saw for the show's sound track, would be Murrow.

At ten-thirty on a Tuesday night Murrow left LaGuardia Field for Otis Base in a bucket-seated C-47, which had been flown down from Stewart Air Force Base, at Newburgh, to pick him up. He had made his evening broadcast, stopped at Colbee's for two Scotches and a ham-and-cheese sandwich, picked up a suitcase at his apartment, and taken a taxi to the airport. It was a warm evening, and when he got into the plane he was wearing a well-used hat and had a trench coat over his arm. Once in the cabin, he removed his hat and jacket, loosened his collar, and, as the plane started to climb, took small sips of whiskey from a bottle. He was sweating heavily.

An hour later, the plane landed at Otis Base in a Cape Cod mist and Murrow was met by his camera crew and two public-relations officers. After he had left his suitcase in a guest cabin, the two officers drove him and the camera crew and the two pilots of the C-47 to the Coonamessett Inn, a couple of miles from the base. There they met several jet pilots, including Captain Robert D. Rohlfs, with whom Murrow was to fly the next day. A woman at the bar carried her drink to the table where Murrow was sitting and asked, "Which one of you is this Edward R. Murrow I've been hearing so much

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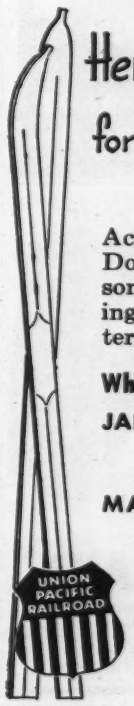

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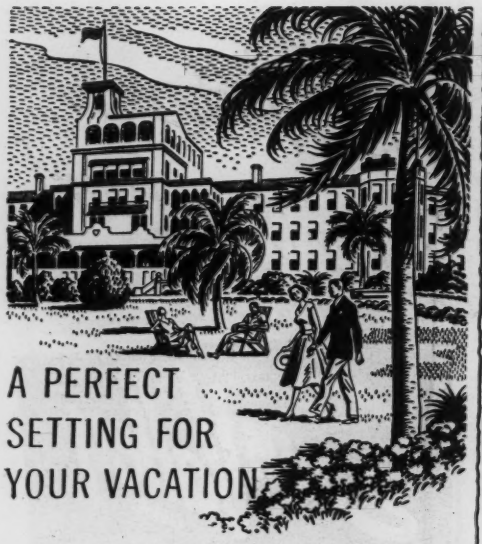

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about?" Murrow pointed to his cameraman.

The inn stopped serving drinks at one, and soon afterward the party drove back to the base and stopped off at the house of Major Ben Atwood, who began explaining to Murrow what he would hear during his flight. "You'll be sitting in the rear of an F-94, and you'll hear all the intercepts," Atwood said. "You'll also be able to talk to the pilot."

Murrow said, "The way we've set this up, there ain't going to be anything along the lines of what we usually call commentary. We don't want any 'Now we're going over Stamford. Now we're going over White Plains.' What we want is what normally goes on on the intercom."

Rohlfs said, "That would be obscene, sir."

Murrow said, "All I want from the pilot is if all he hears from the bombers is 'Bombs away,' that's all I want from him. All I want is what's said from the ground to the air—to the guy I'm flying with—that's all I want. If we can make it as actual and casual as it is in actual operating, that's the way I want it. When we get on the ground, we can patch it together. The whole idea is to say to the listener, 'This is what you would hear. This is what would happen if there's an air attack.' "

Atwood said, "If it runs as it should, there'll be very little chatter on the air."

Murrow said, "All right, but one thing we've got to avoid is either conversation or pictures that would not occur. This is not a show to show Murrow went up in a jet. That's the least important point. If the Russians turn up next Wednesday, Murrow may not be here."

The party broke up at three-thirty, and the two public-relations officers drove Murrow to the guest cabin, promising to call for him at seven-thirty. Murrow got to bed at four and woke up spontaneously at seven-fifteen. After breakfast at the officers' club with several of the pilots, he was escorted to the operations office, where he learned that the weather was moderately good, with a visibility of six miles and with thin, scattered clouds at twenty-five hundred feet over New York and thunderstorms in that area. At nine-fifteen, everyone who was to take part in the operation was assembled for a briefing by Lieutenant Colonel Frederick Ploetz. The three bombers, Ploetz announced, were then over Bangor at twenty-five hundred feet, flying a V formation. After passing Bridgeport, they would climb

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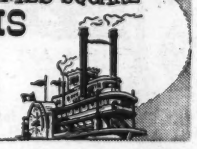
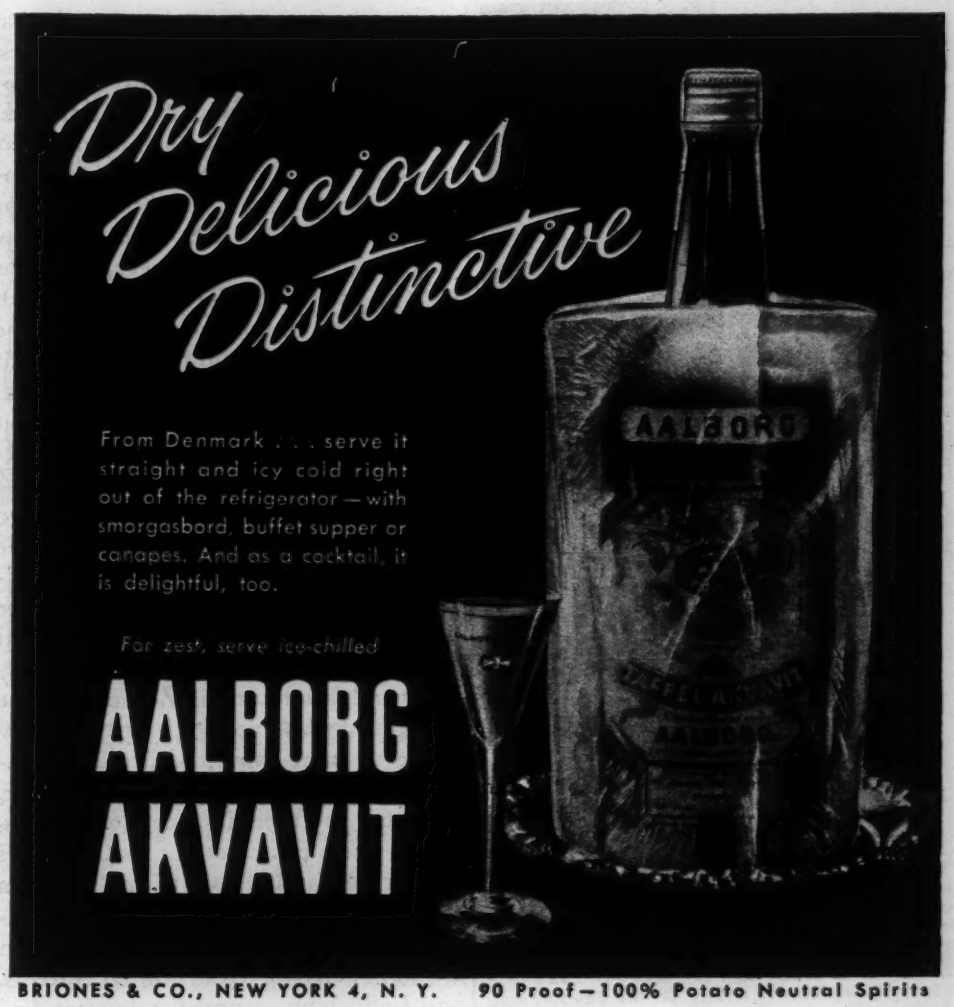


to five thousand feet, and would later go to eight thousand for the run over New York. The three fighters would intercept them over Bridgeport, and halfway down Long Island Sound, one of the bombers would drop out of formation; each fighter was to make one pass at it as it went down. The fighters would then make passes at the remaining two bombers until they reached downtown New York.

Murrow was given a heavy khaki flying suit, a Mae West, and an oxygen mask with a microphone fitted into it. When everybody was dressed for the flight, he and his camera crew and the three pilots were driven to the field, where the fighters were lined up before a low frame building. As a preliminary to photographing the action, Murrow and Rohlfs made a couple of practice climbs into their ship, during which Rohlfs had trouble with his parachute leg straps and Murrow with his breathing. "I'm getting too goddam old for this," Murrow grunted. With about half an hour to wait before takeoff time, he asked his sound man to bring over a portable microphone and, gathering the fliers around him, described the scene for the tape. He then sat on the steps of the building with the pilots and chain-smoked until the takeoff bell sounded, at exactly ten-thirty.

Murrow's plane did not get back to the field until two-fifteen. By then, the other two jets had long since returned. Murrow said afterward that his recollection of the early part of the flight was confused. "The first time we pulled out of a dive, I nearly blacked out," he said. "It was like an elephant on my shoulders." On the way back from New York, Rohlfs, finding that the plane's fuel supply was low, had headed for a field at Suffolk, Long Island, to replenish it, but as he was coming down there his hydraulic landing gear had stuck, and he had had to land on his emergency gear. Upon getting out of the plane at Otis, Murrow gratefully accepted a drink of whiskey. Presently, he took off his flying suit, had another drink, and ate a sandwich for lunch.

A few minutes after three, Murrow left Otis in the bucket-seater. Throughout the trip back to LaGuardia, he sat leaning forward in his seat, elbows on knees, smoking with every breath (he smokes about sixty cigarettes a day), and appeared to be studying the sweat that dripped steadily from the end of his nose. The plane landed at LaGuardia at four-thirty. Friendly met him at the airport with a car and drove him to the office. When Murrow got



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there, at five-fifteen, he found that Zousmer had already written the first part of his news broadcast, and proceeded to catch up with his schedule. After the broadcast, he had dinner near the office, and at one-fifteen, accompanied by Zousmer, caught a plane for Denver to hold a television interview with Dwight D. Eisenhower, who was then a candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination. During the ten-hour flight, he drank quantities of tea, coffee, and warm Coca-Cola, sweated most of it out, and slept about forty-five minutes. In Denver, he set his watch back two hours and slept those two hours in a hotel. For the next two days, he worked on the interview, made his usual "This Is the News" broadcasts, with Zousmer's help, and got one night's normal sleep—six hours. He left Denver by plane at ten-thirty Friday night and, after keeping Zousmer awake all night, talking politics, arrived in New York at nine-thirty Saturday morning. Going straight to his apartment, Murrow had breakfast, slept two hours, and at one o'clock got out his Chevrolet convertible and drove to his house in Pawling, where Mrs. Murrow was entertaining Sir Gladwyn Jebb, then Britain's delegate to the United Nations, and Lady Jebb. Immediately after dinner, he drove back to New York, making the seventy-five-mile trip in his customary hour and three-quarters. From eleven until three, he worked at his office with Friendly, editing film and writing copy, and then went to the apartment to get some sleep, so as to be fresh for the next day's television show.

Throughout that summer and fall Murrow kept up a gruelling schedule, and in December he spent Christmas week in Korea, where he prepared a half-hour television show. Upon his return, he landed in Seattle with an earache and a high temperature, and retired to a hospital for two days. No serious trouble developed, so he flew on to New York, but a month later he went to Presbyterian Hospital for a checkup. Nothing was found to be wrong with him but fatigue, and he was ordered to take a three-month vacation. After an argument, the doctors agreed that he might do anything he pleased, as long as he didn't have a deadline. Accordingly, in the latter part of May he temporarily gave up his radio and television shows, and began his vacation by flying with his wife and son to the Coronation. Leaving his family in England, he flew back to New York, editing film en route for a C.B.S. show on the

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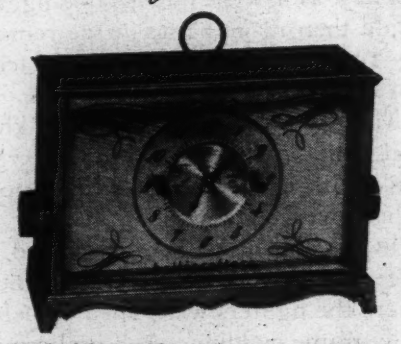

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Coronation, and shortly after he arrived here, he appeared on a two-hour television show commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the Ford. Then he flew back to England, where he and his family spent a fortnight in Cornwall and a week in London, after which they returned to New York by ship. After a week's rest in Pawling, Murrow flew to the West Coast, made a C.B.S. television show called "Television City" in Hollywood, a "See It Now" show on logging in Oregon, and a documentary movie about the Aluminum Company of America at the company's plant at Vancouver, Washington. While out there, he stopped in to see his parents, who now live in Bellingham, Washington, and his brother Dewey in Spokane. By the end of August, he was back in New York, where he worked with Zousmer and Aaron on plans for his fall program. The second week in September, his vacation over, he flew to Berlin to make the first "See It Now" show of the new season and to confer with the C.B.S. European correspondents in preparation for embarking on a new season of deadlines.

Those correspondents, most of whom not only would be uneasy in their jobs if anything should remove Murrow from his but, quite apart from that, regard him with an affection bordering on the filial, had worried a good deal about the state of his health, and worry had led to rumors. While he was on his prescribed vacation, a friend of his in Europe who had heard the rumors wrote an anxious letter to him at his New York office. Murrow replied, "This fall I shall merely have five radio news shows a week, plus two half-hour television shows, plus a few extracurricular activities. I hope the foregoing answers your question regarding health, although what it reveals about my sanity may be another question. As far as strenuous work is concerned, I can do no better than to quote you a comment by my mother, who said, 'It is better to wear out than to rust out.' As ever yours . . . "

Before the letter was typed, Murrow was aboard the plane for Berlin, and so it wasn't signed.

—CHARLES WERTENBAKER

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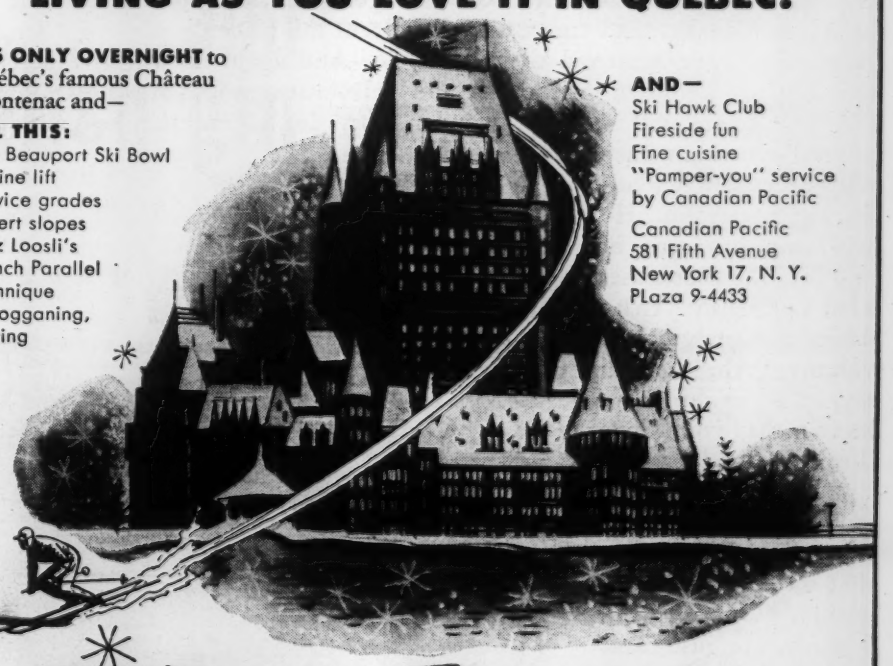

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FAR LESS THAN MEETS THE EYE

SOMEDAY, I dare to dream, a great play will be produced that will run something like this: The curtain will go up on a fashionable New York living room, gay with flowers and lined with books and ancestral portraits. The principal articles of furniture will be a big sofa in the center, equally suitable for conversation and amour, and, on the left, a handsome desk, upon which there will be two identical telephones, for this is the residence of a busy and important woman. On rise, a domestic will be active in the room, dusting things, straightening the books, and otherwise preparing the premises for the entrance of her mistress and her friends. As she goes about these innocent errands, a bell will suddenly break the silence. Without an instant's hesitation, without so much as a moment's pause for thought, this admirable woman will pick up the proper telephone, answer it, and speak briefly with the person on the other end. Almost before the audience has had time to recover from this miracle, her employer will come in, accompanied by a man who is still a comparative stranger to her but with whom she is soon to be closely associated both emotionally and professionally. After they have removed their coats, the lady will sit down on the sofa and the gentleman will start to wander around the room on a tour of casual but admiring inspection. He will stop in front of one of the bookcases and presently take down a chastely bound volume. "Ah," he will say, "I might have known that you'd love Trollope, too."

"Trollope?" the lady will murmur with that divine vagueness that so often goes with beauty. "Oh, *him*. But I don't. He just came with the house."

Undiscouraged, her companion will read aloud quite a lengthy passage from Trollope that has long seemed to him one of the glories of the English language, but her attention by this time will already be elsewhere. She will, in fact, get up and put a record on the phonograph, and in a moment the room will be flooded with pure and lovely sound.

"Ah, Chopin," he will say. "*Dear* Chopin."

"That's Gershwin," his hostess will reply, looking at him sharply and extinguishing the machine.

After a somewhat awkward silence, the heroine will be reminded of her social obligations to her guest. "Perhaps you'd like something to eat?" she will say. "Emma makes the most divine scrapple, even better than you can get in Philadelphia."

"Scrapple?" he will answer, with some horror. "Ugh. Can't bear the stuff. You got some cheese?"

So it will go. There will be a time, I think, when he will stand looking up at the portrait of a distinguished gentleman in the vesture of another day, and say, "Your father? You know, he has your eyes."

"But that isn't my father," she will answer. "In fact, I haven't the slightest idea who he is. How often, Elliott, am I going to have to tell you that I only rent this place?"

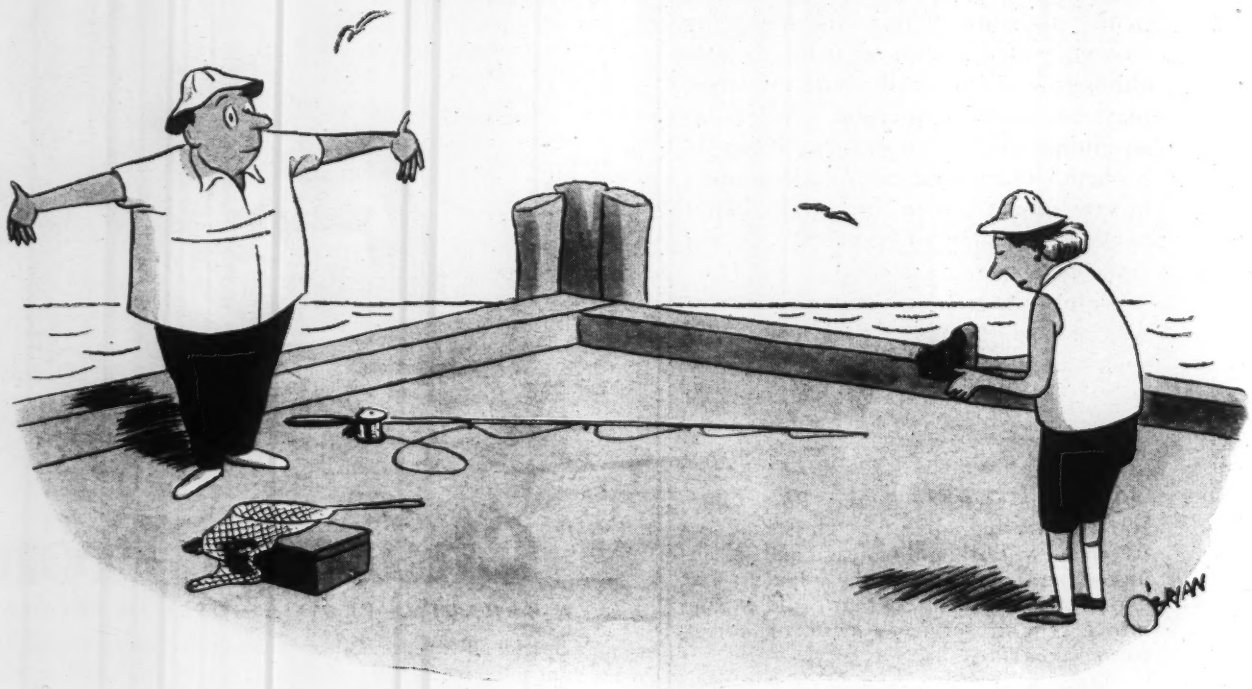
And again he will give her a fairly elaborate synopsis of her own family history, for it seems that he is a radio commentator and preparing to introduce her on his program. "I'll tell them," he will say, consulting a sheaf of notes, "that your father was our ambassador in Prague, and in 1938, when the Nazis—"

But she will interrupt him in some astonishment. "Where on earth did you get that stuff?" she will inquire.

"From *Who's Who*."

"Well, all I can say," she will inform him coldly, "is that you must have got the wrong Prescott. *My* father was an obstetrician. As far as I know, he never got east of Hoboken."

Altogether, it will be a fine and memorable play. Its resemblance to "The Prescott Proposals," by Howard Lindsay and Russel Crouse, which opened last week at the Broadhurst, will, however, not be particularly marked. The set in the current offering is just the same; the two telephones, the maid called Emma, the volume of Trollope, the phonograph playing Chopin (or Gershwin), the portrait, the scrapple, and the beautiful lady and her journalistic admirer are all present in it; and half the dialogue is almost precisely as I have reported it. Otherwise, though, everything is very different indeed. The maid, that is, invariably gets hold of the wrong telephone on her first try; the heroine adores Trollope, just as her suitor is passionately addicted to scrapple and cognizant of Chopin; the portrait, as it happens, *is* intended to represent her father, and he was, of course, our delegate to Czechoslovakia in 1938. I am not, I hope, arrogant enough to claim that my dream is superior to the reality conjured up by Mr. Lindsay and Mr. Crouse, but I think I am safe in saying that it would be rather more unusual. Whether or not it would be



quite as suitable as a vehicle for the lofty and resolutely non-frivolous talents of Miss Katharine Cornell is something else again.

The piece at the Broadhurst, as I'm sure you've already been advised, deals with a United States delegate to a conclave of the United Nations—a well-favored woman in the prime of life, dedicated primarily to the cause of freedom of speech. It is her misfortune that long ago, when she was a gay young thing around our embassy in Prague, she was deeply involved with a plausible rogue who was then a Nazi but subsequently shifted his allegiance to the Communists. This ghost from the past comes to haunt her at the opening of the play, when he turns up in her apartment to die of a heart attack—a circumstance that soon becomes known to the Soviet delegate, who is not reluctant to turn it to his own political advantage or to use it to ruin the heroine's career. How he is thwarted in his evil designs, and, indeed, brought to some semblance of natural humanity, I don't think I'll go into here, except to say that, by a coincidence that fetched me up in my seat as if walloped with a hammer and sickle, it turns out that he was once responsible for the destruction of his Russian mistress, whose amorous verses to him were regarded by the Party as deviationist, and consequently cannot bring himself to face the idea of another such betrayal. On the whole, "The Prescott Proposals" is a strangely elementary work, and, while two scenes showing complex wranglings in a committee room of the U.N. have their brisk, journalistic humor, I'm afraid that its ultimate effect is that of the treatment of vital matters in terms of dated, sentimental melodrama.

Though the play itself has somewhat the air of Mary Miles Minter hopefully made up to look like Eleonora Duse, Miss Cornell is still Miss Cornell, with all that this has come to imply in the way of poised nobility and worldly charm. Her associates are also very satisfactory as people of momentous affairs, especially Felix Aylmer, as the British representative; Minoo Daver, as an emissary from Pakistan; Ben Astar, as the grim Muscovite; and Lorne Greene, as the omniscient broadcaster. Donald Oenslager's sets and Main Bocher's gowns contribute their proper splendor, too. —WOLCOTT GIBBS

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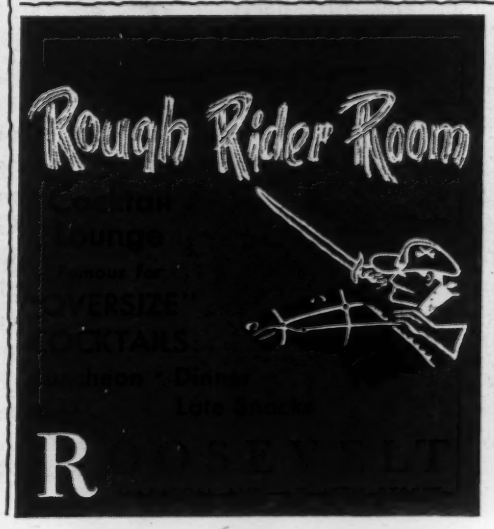

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March 19, 1954
Vol. 8, No. 12

Dear Subscriber:

WHY DOES THE COMMUNIST PRESS PRAISE EDWARD R MURROW SO HIGHLY?

No radio or TV commentator has received as much praise from the Communist Party (CP) press during the last few months as has EDWARD R MURROW. The Daily Worker runs an item on the "Best Bets" on radio and TV each day. MURROW's CBS-TV shows "See It Now" and "Person to Person" have been consistently plugged in this feature, which mentions only a few of the many programs presented each day. His radio news commentary on CBS has recently been getting the same favored treatment.

What is the reason for this? A few examples of what MURROW says and does on his broadcasts and telecasts provide the answer:

MURROW rapped the State Dept last May for not embracing CHURCHILL's proposal of direct talks between MALENKOV, Pres EISENHOWER and himself. MURROW made it clear that he believed "new tides" were running in Russia after Stalin's death (a belief since exploded) and that the President should not let the "hatred and hysteria" of the American people prevent a meeting.

The U S "had better find a better answer" than the one it had given for rejecting a talk with MALENKOV, MURROW said. Actually, the State Dept's answer was an excellent one: Moscow had broken scores of promises; MALENKOV had given no evidence of good faith - so it was foolish to talk with him.

Communists in all parts of the world were screaming for such a meeting. In fairness to them, it should be pointed out that their reasons for wanting one were much more intelligent than MURROW's - although they, naturally, would not reveal what those reasons really were.

MURROW attacked Attorney General BROWNELL on the HARRY DEXTER WHITE case. He said it had been pointed out that "in 1947 a Federal grand jury had studied the matter of Mr White — all the evidence — and had failed to return an indictment because it felt there was insufficient evidence to warrant such action". (Note the emphasis on "all the evidence".)

This statement was not true on Nov 9, 1953 when MURROW made it. In 1948 WHITTAKER CHAMBERS produced his "pumpkin papers", among which were notes in HARRY DEXTER WHITE's own handwriting. The grand jury never saw this evidence. MURROW knows that...but for some strange reason neglected to mention it. He repeatedly pooh-poohed the evidence against WHITE.

MURROW accused Pres EISENHOWER and BROWNELL of asserting that a dead man was a spy "without producing evidence". He said this practice, if pursued, may "be applied to you or to me" and would endanger our heritage.

The MURROW program that the CP has praised most highly was his "See It Now" telecast on the case of Lt MILO RADULOVICH, an Air Force Reserve officer who refused to resign his commission when asked to do so because it was decided he was not a good security risk (his loyalty was not questioned).

A 10th Air Force Security Board reviewed RADULOVICH's case. It recommended discharge. The Commanding General of the 10th Air Force concurred.

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A. E. Cullen, Vice-President; F. J. McNamara, Editor; L. F. Budenz, Contributing Editor.

Then MURROW went to bat for RADULOVICH in a very cleverly slanted program that produced no evidence that RADULOVICH had been judged wrongly.

A flood of letters descended on the Defense Dept in Washington. A short while later Air Force Sec'y HAROLD E TALBOTT said he did not think RADULOVICH was a security risk...and reversed the Air Force's earlier decision.

The organ of the CP-led Teachers Union hailed MURROW's program on RADULOVICH as "a signal service to our country". The party's organ on the motion picture industry, "Film Sense" (published by the Nat'l Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions), praised it as "an interesting example of TV's new awareness" and as proof that "the best of current television" is superior to the finest productions turned out by Hollywood.

The Daily Worker and its West Coast counterpart, the Daily People's World, joined in the hallelujahs. Two party writers, DAVID PLATT and MILTON HOWARD, turned out articles for the CP press praising the MURROW program.

MURROW's recent "See It Now" program on Sen McCARTHY offers examples of some of the devious techniques he uses to slant his presentations, while appearing to be very objective and fair. MURROW showed a hearing at which Sen McCARTHY asked a witness (REED HARRIS) these two questions:

"You know the Civil Liberties Union has been listed as a front for and doing the work of the Communist Party?"...."Do you know they since have been listed as a front for and doing the work of the Communist Party?"

The Senator's statement about the ACLU was correct. But MURROW wanted to make the Senator look bad. How could he do this? Simple. Just change the Senator's words. MURROW commented:

"Twice he (McCARTHY) said the American Civil Liberties Union was listed as a subversive front."

This was a completely false statement. Sen McCARTHY had not once used the word "subversive". But that word connotes listing by the Dept of Justice...and the phony insertion of it by MURROW paved the way for his next sentence, which was designed to (and actually helped) discredit the Senator:

"The Attorney General's list does not and has never listed the ACLU as subversive nor does the FBI or any government agency."

A neat implication that Sen McCARTHY had lied...by the use of a MURROW lie. The Truth: The ACLU was described as a Communist front in House Report #2290 of the 71st Congress, published in 1931...a year before the ACLU provided defense counsel for REED HARRIS. It was also listed as a front in Massachusetts House Report #2100 (1938), NY State Legislative Report #90 (1939) and in the 1943 and 1948 California Committee reports (on which Sen McCARTHY based his statements). CP leader EARL BROWDER testified in 1939 that the ACLU was a "transmission belt" of the Communist Party.

MURROW deplores "guilt by association". But he used "innocence by association" to try to explain away the fact that he was on the Advisory Council of the Moscow State University for its 1935 summer session and urged students to go there. A Pittsburgh newspaper on Feb 18, 1935, said the university taught "the violent overthrow of the entire traditional social order".

MURROW's reply: He was only one of twenty-five members of the Advisory Council of the Moscow State University summer session that year and most of the others were "distinguished" people. He then named some of them, using their "innocence" to prove his own.

MURROW failed to state that a number of well known fellow travelers were also on the advisory council. Also: He added that some of these persons "are now dead but presumably not yet immune from the Senator's attentions".

This was another underhanded attempt to put the Senator in a bad light. Sen McCARTHY had not named any one else on the advisory council. MURROW was the one who brought their names into the controversy.

MURROW says the project was cancelled by Russian authorities...but that does not change the fact he worked for its success.

MURROW didn't tell all about his promotion of study and travel in the Soviet Union. In 1933 he was on the Advisory Committee of the Bureau of University Travel which was then promoting "The First Russian Seminar". This was a more-than-two-month travel and study tour of the Soviet Union and the Near East, with most of the time spent in Russia — "under the management of Intourist...the official travel agency of the USSR".

The following are quotes from the brochure for this study trip:

"The Seminar is planned for those who wish 'not only to see but to understand'....Russia today offers to the world a new challenge....

"Those for whom the Seminar will be a success...those who will come away heavily laden with thought provoking experiences and unforgettable memories, will be those...who have entered into the spirit of the Seminar. This may be tersely worded as follows: 'We are interested in seeing and understanding. We desire something more lasting than the memory of deluxe accomodations. For these we do not even need to leave our American homes... but Russia has something to show us. Let us try to comprehend.'"

The obvious pro-Soviet tone here provides all the comment that is needed on MURROW's explanation that he served the Moscow State University in 1935 because he believed then, as he does now, that American students and professors can engage in "the clash of ideas with Communists anywhere under peacetime conditions, without becoming contaminated or converted".

COUNTERATTACK asks this question: When HITLER rose to power did MURROW promote sympathetic study and travel tours in Germany on the basis that Der Fuehrer offered a new challenge to the world, that he had something to show Americans and that we should try to "see and understand"?

OWEN LATTIMORE, a "conscious articulate instrument of the Soviet conspiracy" according to the U S Senate Judiciary Committee, wrote as follows of MURROW in his whitewash book, "Ordeal By Slander":

"I also owe a very special debt to men I have never met, or had never met before....I must mention at least Edward R Murrow. Even when the hysteria was at its height...he kept the record straight by repeatedly drawing attention to the fact that nothing had been proved against me. Later, by his program technique of using recordings, he gave me a national forum of my own, so that millions of people could hear me speaking for myself...."

Despite the obvious slant in MURROW's programs, he has been the subject of favorable articles in many magazines (Newsweek, Look, McCall's, etc).

CHARLES WERTENBAKER wrote a complimentary profile of MURROW that was published in "The New Yorker" magazine of Dec 26, 1953.

WERTENBAKER tried to have WHITTAKER CHAMBERS fired as foreign news editor of "Time" magazine - because CHAMBERS put anti-Communist material into the news he edited and kept pro-Communist material out.

WERTENBAKER's recently published book "The Death of Kings" is a fictionalized account of happenings at "Time" when WERTENBAKER was there. It is also a slick rehash of the HISS case in a "Time" setting and with "Time" personnel. There are many parallels to actual HISS-CHAMBEERS events in WERTENBAKER's account...which portrays the "HISS" of the story as an innocent man who is framed by the sinister villain (CHAMBERS).

MURROW plugged the New Yorker on his radio broadcast of last May 13 by quoting extensively from verse written for it by staff member E B WHITE. This verse was an attack on loyalty investigations.

MURROW always winds up his radio program with a quotation, usually from some famous person, which helps to drive home his point and gives a tone of wisdom and nobility to his words. One of his recent quotations sheds light on how acute and well-informed MURROW actually is.

He ended his broadcast of last October 27 this way: "Bertold Brecht, German poet — and an exile himself — once put it this way: 'A man can be free even within prison walls. Freedom is something spiritual. And whoever once had it, can never lose it. For while the body can be bound with chains, the spirit can never!'"

Worth noting about this quotation are these points:

1. BERTOLD BRECHT is a leading "cultural light" in the Communist world. As a refugee in this country he supported CP fronts, swore before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1947 that he was not and had never been a Communist - and then went to East Germany and became an active supporter of Moscow's puppet regime (which has given him awards). He wrote the CP song "United Front"...with his long-time colleague, HANNS EISLER.

2. The above quotation is utter nonsense in the context of today's problems...in spite of the pomposity with which MURROW quoted it (do the millions in Soviet labor camps, who once had freedom, have freedom today?)

3. The very idea of quoting a Communist on "freedom" is ridiculous.

It is not at all difficult to see why the CP has praised quite a number of MURROW programs. He has often handled issues involving Communism in a way that helps the party line and makes anti-Communists appear evil.

COUNTERATTACK stated of EDWARD R MURROW on Feb 22, 1952:

"He has defended OWEN LATTIMORE on the air and also those who have joined fronts, taking position that nobody should be blamed for that. Though not pro-Communist, he is confused on Communist issues and defends those involved in Communist causes."

MURROW talks on the side of the angels. He is for the highest democratic and humanitarian ideals. But in actual practice he is not above using slick devices he would denounce if used by others. He is a master at slanting his programs while imparting an aura of great objectivity to them.

MURROW preaches dangerous doctrine. He vastly underrates the domestic Communist Party menace. To do this is as dangerous as to misjudge the menace of Communism abroad. U S will be sunk if it loses to Communism in either place. Even on foreign issues, MURROW advocates a policy of dangerous softness in the face of Soviet intrigue...and he has become hysterical about the issue of Communism vs civil liberties here in the United States.

The great acclaim given to MURROW in many quarters in spite of his unsoundness on vital issues concerning Communism deserves serious thought. It points up the major weakness of the U S on all fronts in the battle against Communism. That weakness is lack of real understanding of Moscow's conspiracy. It is the greatest threat to U S survival.

EDWARD R MURROW, unfortunately, represents the dominant voice in all media of communications. Too few Americans are getting the unbiased news and the intelligent commentary on it they need so badly.

Yours faithfully,

March 19, 1954

COUNTERATTACK

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FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 36, N. Y. LOngacre 3-4608

July 24, 1953
Vol. 7, No. 30

Dear Subscriber:

MANY CLERGYMEN ARE DEFENDERS OF ONE OF THE OLDEST AND MOST OBVIOUS COMMUNIST FRONTS. The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born was cited as subversive and Communist by the Dept of Justice in 1948. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities in 1944 described it as "one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States". It has also been cited by the California Committee on Un-American Activities.

The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born is the successor to the Councils for Protection of Foreign Born, which were set up in the early 1920's by order of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party (then the Workers Party of America). In the Thirties these councils were united into one over-all front.

Rt Rev ARTHUR W MOULTON, retired Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Utah and a winner of a Stalin "peace" prize, is now chairman of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. The committee also lists Bishop EDWARD L PARSONS of California and Bishop WALTER MITCHELL of Arizona (both retired), along with eleven other clergymen, as among its sponsors.

The primary functions of this committee are to supply legal aid and to whip up propaganda campaigns for alien Communists who are arrested for deportation or are in trouble with the law on other counts. The committee's central office is in a building in NYCity owned by the millionaire Communist and identified Soviet agent, FREDERICK VANDERBILT FIELD. It has branch offices in many larger cities in the U S.

On April 22 Attorney General HERBERT BROWNELL JR asked the Subversive Activities Control Board to order the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and 11 other top Communist groups to register with the Dept of Justice as Communist front organizations.

The Communist press recently published the names of 81 "notables" who have defended the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born by signing a misleading whitewash statement about it. The statement smears the Attorney General and pledges that the signers will defeat his "attack" on the committee and thus help preserve the Bill of Rights.

Twenty-five, or 30%, of the listed signers of the Moscow-serving statement defending this well-known Communist front were clergymen. They were: Rev CARL J ALLURED, retired, Lansing, Mich; Rev WM T BAIRD, Chicago, Ill; Rev LEE H BALL, Irvington, NY; Rev CHAS B BLISS, West Brookfield, Mass; Rev J R CASE, Vergennes, Vermont; Rev MARK A CHAMBERLIN, Gresham, Oregon; Rabbi ABRAHAM CRONBACH of Cincinnati; Rev GEO A FISHER, Raleigh, North Carolina; Rev KENNETH RIPLEY FORBES, of the Episcopal League for Social Action (Philadelphia); Rev L A GROSS, Chicago; Rev FRANCIS C HAWES, Winterport, Maine; Rev CHAS C HILL of Detroit.

Also: Rev J SPENCER KENNARD, Columbia, South Carolina; Rev GEO C LEE, Polson, Montana; Rev BERNARD M LOOMER of the Univ of Chicago;

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J. G. Keenan, President; D. M. Stayne, Vice-President; F. J. McNamara, Editor.

Rev WARREN H McKENNA, Epping, New Hampshire; Rev CLARENCE PARKER, Chicago; Rev EDWARD L PELT; Rev TIMOTHY V PESHKOFF, Brooklyn, NY; Rev JOHN R SCOTFORD, former editor of the ADVANCE, Mt Vernon, NY; Rev WALTER A SMITH, Rio, Wisconsin; Rev ERNEST J TROUTNER, Redding, Calif; Rev WILLARD UPHAUS, co-director, American Peace Crusade; Rev HARRY F WARD, professor emeritus, Union Theological Seminary and Rev EVANS A WORTHLEY, Sterling, Colorado.

Educators made up the next largest group of defenders of this Communist front. Among the 19 professors and professors emeriti who signed the statement were such old stand-bys of the Communist front movement as ANTON J CARLSON of the Univ of Chicago; Prof G MURRAY BRANCH of Morehouse College, Atlanta; Prof EMILY C BROWN of Vassar College; Prof EPHRAIM CROSS of the City College of NY; Prof OLIVER S LOUD of Antioch College and Prof VIDA D SCUDDER of Wellesley College.

Communists are now waging a campaign to win amnesty for all Communist Party (CP) leaders convicted under the Smith Act. The National Committee To Win Amnesty For Smith Act Victims, the front set up to direct this campaign, is circulating petitions addressed to Pres EISENHOWER through the mails and distributing them at front rallies. The petitions urge the President to free all party leaders convicted of plotting against the U S.

A brochure listing 280 prominent persons who urged Pres TRUMAN to grant amnesty to the CP leaders is being distributed with the petitions. COUNTERATTACK revealed in its issue of Dec 12, 1952 that about 55% of these 280 persons were clergymen and educators...with the educators having a slight numerical edge on the clergymen. Of the five initiators of the appeal two were clergymen and two were educators.

The preceding statistics throw interesting light on the controversy over Dr J B MATTHEWS, former research director for the House Committee on Un-American Activities, who recently quit as staff director of the Senate Permanent Investigations subcommittee. Dr MATTHEWS resigned from his post because he felt that criticism aroused by an article he had written on Communist infiltration among Protestant clergymen for the American Mercury magazine would impair his value to the committee.

It is extremely important for all Americans to know that the Communist Party has concentrated on influencing clergymen for many years...because clergymen have great influence in their communities and their idealism makes them particularly vulnerable to the noble-sounding line of the CP's fronts.

RELIGIOUS LEADERS GIVE THEIR BLESSING TO COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA BOOK. In its issue of May 29, 1953, COUNTERATTACK warned its readers of a new publishing firm that had been set up to print and distribute Communist-line books. The firm is Cameron and Kahn, Inc.

ANGUS CAMERON, an identified CP member who was formerly editor-in-chief of Little, Brown & Co, and ALBERT E KAHN, one of the party's top propagandists, run the firm. This newsletter also revealed that one of the first books published by it would be a work by KAHN called "The Game of Death".

Two religious leaders have praised this book which was recently released by Cameron and Kahn, Inc, and is now on sale at bookstores.

Dr HENRY J CADBURY of Harvard, chairman of the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers), says the book constitutes "an additional argument to the many compelling reasons for seeking a prompt and honorable settlement of international differences. These remoter evil results of our policy... are listed and documented in a series of powerful chapters".

Bishop ARTHUR W MOULTON says the book "will awaken American parents to the dangers facing their sons and daughters" and warns that "only through being alerted to these dangers can we effectively combat them".

What does the book actually do? As its subtitle, "Effects of the Cold War on Our Children", hints, it advances specious arguments designed to arouse opposition to steps the U S has taken to rearm itself and its allies in order to discourage an attack by the Soviet Union...and to protect its citizens from injury and death in the event of such an attack.

Isn't it strange that two religious leaders should help sell a book that is an instrument in Moscow's psychological warfare against the U S, a book that outlines a program designed to help the Kremlin win control of what is left of the free world?

FELLOW MOSCOW TRAVELERS ARE NOW HEADED IN DIFFERENT DIRECTIONS. Both CLIFFORD T McAVOY, the recently chosen American Labor Party candidate for Mayor of NYCity, and STANLEY NOWAK, former Michigan State Senator, have been identified as Communust Party members. Both men have travelled along Moscow's path together by jointly supporting the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, American Council on Soviet Relations, Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder, the Progressive Party and the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (see pp 1&2). Each has also given his individual backing to many other Communist groups.

NOWAK served six terms as a State Senator in Michigan (1938-48). He became the Democratic Party floor leader in the State's upper house. Throughout his senatorial career he openly supported CP fronts and the party line. Prior to his election to the State Senate he was active in the labor movement...and served Moscow while holding various positions in the CIO's since-ousted CP-led Fur and Leather Workers Union and in its United Auto Workers and Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

He has been nat'l president of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, vice chairman of the Civil Rights Congress, nat'l sec'y of the American Slav Congress, Michigan chairman of the Int'l Workers Order and a leader in many other Communist deception agencies.

CLIFFORD T McAVOY was Deputy Welfare Commissioner of NYCity under Mayor LA GUARDIA. He "resigned" in 1941 after Communist charges had been brought against him. He is the son of former Tammany Hall leader JOHN V McAVOY, who served as justice of the (NY) City Court and the Supreme Court and Appellate Division of NY State.

McAVOY has been a college teacher and concert violinist. He speaks several languages and, like NOWAK, has been active in Communist trade union work. He became legislative and political action director of the then CP-run NYCity CIO Council after his ouster as Deputy Welfare Commissioner in 1941. In recent years he has served as an international representative for the CP-controlled United Electrical Workers Union.

But now the parting of the ways has come for NOWAK and McAVOY. NOWAK will stand trial on a deportation charge on July 30. The Govt charges that contrary to statements NOWAK made in his 1938 naturalization proceedings, he had been a CP member prior to that time.

There's no chance that McAVOY will be elected mayor of NYCity...but there's an excellent chance that NOWAK will be deported to Poland. Their days of jointly supporting CP fronts in this country will then be ended. McAVOY and his comrades will miss former State Senator STANLEY NOWAK.

PUSSYFOOTING BY U N AGENCY HELPS MOSCOW. The AFL urged the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) to investigate slave labor in all parts of the world in 1947. This move had a twofold purpose: (1) it was humane...to expose the cruel manner in which human beings are treated in some countries and to force alleviation of their condition by an aroused world opinion; (2) it was a political warfare move against Moscow which has from 10 to 15 million persons living in slave labor camps and would obviously be most embarrassed by such an investigation.

For years nothing was done by the Western powers, including the U S, to support the AFL's demand. Finally, an Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labor was set up by ECOSOC in 1951. Last month this committee issued its report, which left no doubt that slave labor is used on a much larger scale in the Soviet Union than anywhere else in the world. The report was placed on the agenda of ECOSOC for discussion at its current meeting in Geneva.

But the ECOSOC delegates have decided, against the opposition of the U S, to postpone consideration of the report until next spring.

Fear of offending the tyrants in Moscow was the reason behind this decision, according to observers in Geneva. ECOSOC's appeasement undoubtedly pleases the Kremlin, but it will not boost the prestige of the U N or ECOSOC with freedom-loving people on either side of the Iron Curtain.

LOU POLAN WAS WELL CAST IN "THE WEB". Each Sunday evening the manufacturer of Kent Cigarettes, P Lorillard & Co, presents a program called "The Web" on the NBC-TV network. On April 12 actor LOU POLAN played the part of a murderer caught in "The Web".

POLAN has also been entangled in "the web" of Moscow's fronts... and from all appearances he has no interest in getting out of it.

At the time of the CP's May Day Parade in 1947, CP member BARNARD RUBIN (who was thrown off the staff of "Stars and Stripes" in Japan by Gen MacARTHUR) revealed in his Daily Worker gossip column that LOU POLAN would "traverse the May Day Parade in an open, horse-drawn victoria".

POLAN had one of the leading roles in the propaganda play "Grocery Store" when it was staged in late 1950 by The Committee for the Negro in the Arts, the CP's Negro cultural front. He also played one of the leads in "Just a Little Simple", another 1950 production of this Communist front.

POLAN was also a featured performer in "German Culture for Peace" on April 19 of this year, according to the Communist press and literature circulated by the German-American, the Communist front publication which staged this affair. POLAN played in a scene from "Mother Courage", a propaganda drama written by the German Communist playwright, BERTOLD BRECHT.

Identified CP member PHOEBE BRAND and actor CLIFFORD CARPENTER, who has also marched in the party's May Day Parade, were POLAN's co-performers in the scene from BRECHT's Moscow-serving play.

WHAT CAN YOU DO TO COMBAT COMMUNISM? Write to:

WILLIAM J HALLEY, Pres, P Lorillard & Co (manufacturer of Kent cigarettes), 119 West 40th Street, New York, NY.

Ask him why his firm features a person in the Communist web on its TV program when so many capable actors who have never supported a Communist front are available and in need of work.

Faithfully yours,

July 24, 1953

Counterattack

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COUNTERATTACK

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FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 36, N. Y. LONGACRE 3-4608

September 25, 1953
Vol. 7, No. 39

Dear Subscriber:

$200,000 LIBEL SUIT AGAINST COUNTERATTACK HAS BEEN WITHDRAWN. On May 17, 1951, ALLAN SLOANE, one of the persons mentioned in "Red Channels", the Report of Communist Influence in Radio and Television published by COUNTERATTACK, brought a $200,000 libel action against the publishers of this newsletter. His attorney was ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS.

SLOANE recently engaged new counsel. Following a review of the case by this attorney, SLOANE withdrew his suit. No payment, settlement or retraction was made by COUNTERATTACK.

HOTEL, PRESS AND RADIO HELP IDENTIFIED COMMUNISTS AND FRONTERS. SHOLOM ALEICHEM was a writer of widely-read stories of Orthodox Jewish life under the repressive regime of the Czars. He was anti-Communist. "The World of Sholom Aleichem" is a dramatization of three Yiddish folk tales (only one written by SHOLOM ALEICHEM) now playing a return seven-week engagement at the Barbizon Plaza Theatre in NYCity (it had a three-week run there in May). It is being staged by Rachel Productions.

The NY press has given the production a tremendous build up through theater critics and theater news writers such as BROOKS ATKINSON of the NY Times, WALTER KERR and BERT McCORD of the NY Herald Tribune, WARD MOOREHOUSE of the NY World Telegram and Sun and ROBERT COLEMAN of the Daily Mirror.

MAXINE KEITH, who is featured on the BARRY GRAY program (midnight to 2 AM on radio station WMCA) on Sundays, has plugged the production and has had several members of the cast on the program.

The result? In a recent NY Times ad for "The World of Sholom Aleichem" it was announced that 18 of the production's remaining evening performances were completely sold out. The show is obviously going over big.

Now look at the people who are cashing in on the current run of "The World of Sholom Aleichem":

ARNOLD PERL, dramatization. PERL formerly wrote the script for "The Big Story" radio program. He has supported many fronts and taught radio and TV writing at the School for Writers run by the Nat'l Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions, top cultural front of the Communist Party (CP). He wrote a series of 13 propaganda TV scripts for the Communist-controlled United Electrical Workers Union (COUNTERATTACK, Jan 18, 1952, pp 1 & 2). The CP now says that PERL is a victim of the radio "blacklist". Last year he was radio and TV campaign manager for the CP-run Progressive Party.

ROBERT DeCORMIER and SERGE HOVEY, music. DeCORMIER was identified as a CP member in sworn testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in Feb, 1952. HOVEY has written music for productions staged at the CP's Jefferson School of Social Science and is a backer of fronts such as the Nat'l Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions.

ALINE BERNSTEIN, costumes. She has been a backer of at least 15

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of the Communist Party's major fronts and causes, including the Waldorf Peace Conference, League of American Writers, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship and the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy.

BERNARD GERSTEN, lighting. He was a member of the U S Initiating Committee for the 1951 Communist youth rally in East Berlin. The Communist press also listed him last year as a supporter of one of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee's activities.

HOWARD Da SILVA, staging; also plays one of the lead roles. Da SILVA was thrice identified as a Communist Party member in the 1951 Hollywood hearings. Other actors in the production are:

MORRIS CARNOVSKY: identified as a Communist Party member by two witnesses in the 1951 Hollywood investigation.

PHOEBE BRAND (Mrs MORRIS CARNOVSKY): also identified as a Communist Party member in the film industry hearings.

WILL LEE, who refused to say if he was a CP member when subpoenaed to testify before California Committee on Un-American Activities in 1948 and has since continued his support of Communist fronts.

JACK GILFORD, who has been supporting top CP fronts for 14 years — the American Peace Mobilization, Civil Rights Congress, Nat'l Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions, etc. GILFORD spent part of this summer entertaining at White Lake Lodge, a Communist mountain resort in NY.

RUBY DEE, who has had roles in several Communist front theatrical productions, has been billed as a speaker at a forum staged by PAUL ROBESON's Communist periodical, "Freedom", and has joined in CP-inspired appeals for clemency for the Rosenbergs. She played in the Hollywood films "No Way Out" and "The Jackie Robinson Story". Her husband, OSSIE DAVIS, is very active in Communist fronts and party-line theatrical productions.

SARAH CUNNINGHAM, who has played in productions of the Committee for the Negro in the Arts, the party's Negro cultural front. She is the wife of actor JOHN RANDOLPH, who has an extensive record of front activity.

GILBERT GREEN, who played a lead role in "The Fisherman", an agit-prop play produced early this year by the Communist-controlled International Fur and Leather Workers Union (GREEN was last on Broadway in CLIFFORD ODETS' play "The Country Girl").

MARJORIE NELSON, a member of the Actor's Concert Theatre (made up of DaSILVA, CARNOVSKY and other identified Communists and fronters) which entertained for the National Lawyers Guild last year. A supporter of the Progressive Citizens of America, she has appeared in a number of other theatrical productions widely advertised in CP press.

VINCENT BECK, who has played in a production of Communist SEAN O'CASEY's play "The Plough and the Stars", staged for the benefit of the Communist-controlled American Labor Party.

There are only two other actors in the cast. In other words, 88% of the cast is made up of identified CP members or supporters of fronts.

It is interesting to note that when the CP staged a big rally in defense of the since-executed atom spies last November, CARNOVSKY, Da SILVA, PHOEBE BRAND, and MARJORIE NELSON had roles in a dramatization put on at the affair — and RUBY DEE was one of the sponsors of it.

Rachel Productions was formed by Da SILVA and PERL for the purpose of staging "The World of Sholom Aleichem". The production is designed,

through its make-up and title, to give the impression that it is "Jewish theater" and thus win the support of unsuspecting Jewish individuals and groups. But not one person in the cast is a member of the Hebrew Actors Union (AFL) which is composed of performers in the distinctive Jewish theater field.

The crass hypocrisy of these Daily Worker favorites in making their slick bid for Jewish patronage is emphasized by the fact that on Sept 15, four days after the production opened, the Syracuse University Press published a 637-page study called "The Jews in the Soviet Satellites".

This book, sponsored by the American Jewish Committee, states that Communism inevitably breeds anti-Semitism. It also states that emigration of Jews from Russia and its satellites is "prohibited outright" or "frustrated by...impossible regulations" and then draws this ominous conclusion:

"Yet, a general exodus is the only way for Jewish survival."

But thanks to the NYCity press, MAXINE KEITH, and the management of the Barbizon Plaza Theatre (owned by the Barbizon Plaza Hotel), Da SILVA, CARNOVSKY and their friends have a hit on their hands.

WHO WILL WAKE UP BROOKS ATKINSON? On Sept 13 the NY Times drama critic, BROOKS ATKINSON, wrote one of his "thoughtful" pieces on the theater.

"Although the times are big, the plays are small", ATKINSON began. Then he went into a long dissertation on the momentous times we live in and the failure of dramatists to say "something great", to produce a play of classical proportions that would express the terrible conflict of this era.

"Today no one is immune from the wildness that has possessed the earth. Nor are there many literate people who are ignorant of it....just about everybody knows that something elementary and fundamental is going on and that it affects his well-being", ATKINSON wrote, after pointing out that the wars of Shakespeare's time "were hardly more than gang wars in comparison with the global conflicts between Communism and democracy today, or in comparison with the snarling unrest of subject people who want their freedom...."

But does ATKINSON really know what's going on? Just the day before this column of his appeared in the NY Times, his review of "The World of Sholom Aleichem" was published in that paper. The review was literally bursting with the praise for the production. ATKINSON used phrases such as "remarkable sensitivity", "superlative skill" and "great delicacy" to describe the acting. The premier was "a time for rejoicing", its best moments "fine theatre and splendid humanity".

ATKINSON followed this up with another long and highly complimentary column on "The World of Sholom Aleichem" in the influential NY Times drama section of Sunday, Sept 20 (the week after his "reflective" column). In his two reviews he paid individual homage to HOWARD Da SILVA, MORRIS CARNOVSKY, PHOEBE BRAND, SARAH CUNNINGHAM, WILL LEE, ARNOLD PERL, JACK GILFORD, ALINE BERNSTEIN, RUBY DEE, BERNARD GERSTEN, ROBERT DeCORMIER and SERGE HOVEY.

But there was not one word in either review that even hinted that a single member of the cast had ever had anything to do with the Communist Party or one of its fronts. ATKINSON, the New York Times drama critic (protector of the theater), certainly knows the facts about DaSILVA, CARNOVSKY and some others in this production, even though he may not be familiar with the records of the lesser known actors. Yet he chose to say nothing about this important aspect of the production.

Why did ATKINSON remain aloof in this way from the conflict which affects the "well-being" of everyone and from which "no one is immune"?

Perhaps the answer can be found in some of the words ATKINSON wrote in his Sept 13 column: "The vocabulary of democracy, which was fresh twenty-years ago, is like a politician's ritual today. 'The dignity of free men' and 'the American way of life' are shopworn phrases now. Since the vocabulary of Communism was bogus to begin with, it has been an opiate for years and could not inspire an automaton to blow his nose today."

This is unadulterated bunk. ATKINSON should watch CARNOVSKY, Da SILVA and some of their comrades perform at front meetings (as they do so frequently) and he would learn that the vocabulary of Communism is still able to do a lot more than get an automaton to blow its nose.

And many Americans and enslaved peoples still see a lot more than a "politician's ritual" in (ATKINSON's) "shopworn phrases" such as "the American way of life" and "the dignity of free men". ATKINSON should discuss this subject with the Korean and Polish pilots who have flown their MIGs to freedom, and with Dr MAREK STANISLAW KOROWICZ, of the Polish delegation to the U N, and JAN HAJDUKIEWICZ, Polish interpreter on the Neutral Nations Inspection Commission in Korea — both of whom have asked for asylum in the U S so they could enjoy the blessings of "the American way of life".

Why don't YOU drop a line to ATKINSON and try to wake him up to the fact that many people who truly appreciate the theater do not want to subsidize active Communists and fronters...and that they believe he should tell the whole story of productions such as "The World of Sholom Aleichem".

Make it clear to him that anti-Communists do not expect him to write a dishonest review of any show (from an artistic viewpoint) because it is produced by, or features, identified CP members, but that they do feel it is his responsibility to let the public know the FULL truth.

MISS BETTIS STATES HER CASE. On March 20, 1953, COUNTERATTACK gave facts on certain Communist fronts with which the name of dancer VALERIE BETTIS has been associated.

Miss BETTIS denies that she signed the Communist-inspired petition for WILLIE McGEE or acted as a hostess at a function of the Metropolitan Music School in 1951 — although her husband, in response to a telephone request from the school, had given it permission to use her name.

She admits having danced for the American-Soviet Music Society and the Spanish Refugee Appeal (of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee) in 1947 and 1948, but says that at the time she did so she did not know that these groups were Communist fronts and that she danced for them to advance herself in her profession. Her appearances for the benefit of the Spanish Refugee Appeal were made at the request of JOHN MARTIN, dance critic of the NY Times, who was chairman of both functions.

Miss BETTIS states that not only has she never had any sympathy for Communism but that she is absolutely opposed to it. COUNTERATTACK is pleased to publish her statement.

WHAT CAN YOU DO TO HELP FIGHT COMMUNISM? Write to:

JACOB SCHROEDER, President, Barbizon Plaza Hotel, 106 Central Park South, NYCity.

Ask him why the Barbizon Plaza Theatre was turned over to Rachel Productions for the dramatization of "The World of Sholom Aleichem".

Faithfully yours,

September 25, 1953

Counterattack

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TO Mr. Salant

FROM Mr. Ackerman 3.23.54

Selection of issues of 1951. Several of interest.

Incidentally, I lived through a good deal of this prior to January 1951, and can supplement and add background on some of the items appearing both before and after that date.

WCA

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COUNTERATTACK

Reg. U. S. Pat. Off.

FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LOngacre 3-4608

Letter No. 236
November 30, 1951

Dear Subscriber:

COMMUNIST PARTY (CP) PAYS ANOTHER TRIBUTE TO "COUNTERATTACK". The lead article in current issue of "Masses & Mainstream", the party's monthly propaganda magazine and directive for its more intellectual comrades, concerns COUNTERATTACK and Little, Brown & Co, the old Boston firm whose publishing record was exposed in this newsletter (Aug 31 and Sept 21, 1951).

CP raps Little, Brown in this article for being "intimidated" by a "red-baiting rag", firing ANGUS CAMERON, its editor-in-chief, and trying in a devious way to dissociate itself from its publishing record.

The unconvincing figure-juggling used by Little, Brown when it tried to answer COUNTERATTACK by sending a four-page memo to bookselling industry on Sept 17 (COUNTERATTACK, Sept 21, p 2), doesn't escape notice of CP. It criticizes Little, Brown's directors for their "distorted" reasoning and their "arithmetical and fantastic argument" in their bid for "absolution" for the acts they have performed. The article then states:

"No one who has known the history of Little, Brown over the past decade can read this brochure with anything but a feeling of sorrow and anger. Sorrow because a publishing house which has had a reputation for courage, independence of thought, and adherence to the Bill of Rights, no longer occupies such a position -- and anger at the spectacle of publishers allowing themselves to be intimidated in such a fashion."

Obviously, Little, Brown has been greatly appreciated by the CP... and COUNTERATTACK hurt the party when it told the truth about this firm and its top man, ANGUS CAMERON (the Communist Party magazine says he made a "valuable contribution to American literature" while at Little, Brown).

Look for increased Communist propaganda on the above lines...about "book-burning", "censorship of liberal authors", etc (some of it coming from gulliberals and dupes), and for more attacks on COUNTERATTACK.

BUT DOES LITTLE, BROWN DESERVE COMPLETE CENSURE FROM CP? The "Masses & Mainstream" rebuke to Little, Brown might give the impression that no more books by Communists or fronters will be rolling off the firm's presses. But that impression is evidently misleading.

MICHAEL BLANKFORT's new book "The Juggler", will be published by Little, Brown in February (it published his book, "The Big Yankee", in 1947). BLANKFORT formerly wrote for Daily Worker and the Communist magazine, New Masses...and was a department head (editor) of the Sunday Worker. He has also contributed to "International Literature", organ of the International Union of Revolutionary Writers, which was directed from Moscow.

AND HOLLYWOOD WILL MAKE FILM BASED ON BLANKFORT'S NEW BOOK. Preparations are being made by STANLEY KRAMER to film "The Juggler". KRAMER recently bought out CARL FOREMAN's interest in his producing firm because

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J. G. Keenan, President; T. C. Kirkpatrick, Secretary-Treasurer; F. J. McNamara, Editor

FOREMAN, named as CP member in recent Congressional investigation of Hollywood was an uncooperative witness when called to testify.

But KRAMER, who taught at People's Educational Center (cited by Dept of Justice as Communist and subversive) in 1947, will pay BLANKFORT a tidy sum for his latest story.

And KRAMER is not the only Hollywood producer who is still featuring Communists or fronters in films. Here are a few recent and forthcoming pictures that feature actors, actresses, writers, etc, with front records:

NORMAN CORWIN wrote screen play for "The Blue Veil", current RKO release which is the first independent producing venture by JERRY WALD and NORMAN KRASNA. "G I Smith", a NORMAN CORWIN story, will reach the screen through good offices of Film Group, Inc, a firm headed by FORREST JUDD.

CORWIN (who also writes for U N radio division) has a long record of supporting Stalin's agencies in U S.

EDWARD CHODOROV, named as CP member in Hollywood investigation, wrote screen play for "Kind Lady", the recent MGM release starring ETHEL BARRYMORE. BETSY BLAIR, wife of actor-dancer GENE KELLY, is in cast.

BETSY BLAIR spoke at meeting of CP's key cultural agency, National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions, in Hollywood a year ago (five months after outbreak of Korean war). GALE SONDERGAARD, WALDO SALT, LLOYD GOUGH (all identified as CP members) and several staunch fellow travelers shared platform with her. Her speech was a typical Communist-line attack on loyalty oaths, "RED CHANNELS", and the Motion Picture Alliance for the Preservation of American Ideals (an organization of film actors and actresses, writers, etc, that has been fighting CP infiltration in Hollywood for years).

JEROME CHODOROV, also named as CP member in film probe (he is brother of EDWARD) is co-author with JOSEPH FIELDS of an as yet unproduced musical comedy, "The Girl In Pink Tights". N Y Times recently reported that MGM is considering making a picture of this comedy.

These are just a few examples. A much more complete breakdown will be found in the American Legion Magazine for December.

Dr J B MATTHEWS, former research director for House Committee on Un-American Activities, has written an excellent article, "Did the Movies Really Clean House?", for the Legion publication. Read this article and urge your friends to do the same.

MATTHEWS gives facts about big name actors and actresses with consistent fellow-traveling records who were not named as CP members in probe and are still being glamourized by Hollywoood.

Hollywood is cleaning out those identified as CP members who were uncooperative witnesses in recent investigation, but evidently a lot of public pressure will be required before it takes same stand with those who help Stalin's war on freedom by supporting his front agencies in U S.

"You can't aid a Communist front in any way without hurting your country," said EDWARD DMYTRYK, former CP member and one of the "Hollywood Ten", in his widely read Saturday Evening Post article.

Don't some Hollywood producers see the truth in this statement (it's been evident to so many people for years)...or don't they care?

A FEW MORE BOOK PUBLISHING-REVIEWING NOTES:

N Y Herald Tribune has reviewed ELIZABETH HAWES' book, "But Say It Politely" (see last week's COUNTERATTACK, p 4). Review was favorable...it didn't say a word about fact that book plugged the Communist line.

JOSHUA KUNITZ, front supporter and book reviewer for N Y Herald Tribune, got top-billing as speaker at culture festival staged by Women's Committee of Nat'l Council of American-Soviet Friendship this week.

LEON EDEL, U N "expert" for "Daily Compass", who slants his stories in favor of Moscow, is getting up in the world. Now he's reviewing books for N Y Times (another key book-reviewing paper). The Times describes him as a "journalist and critic". It doesn't tell WHOLE truth about EDEL.

STALIN'S AGENTS HAVE LAUNCHED BIG DRIVE FOR FIVE-POWER PEACE PACT. The American Peace Crusade (APC), now top propaganda front for CP, has begun what the party describes as a "whirlwind" drive for 1,000,000 signatures to a petition demanding a Big-Five peace conference (including Red China).

Campaign will be conducted on Congressional district basis. It will end on Franklin D Roosevelt's birthday, Jan 30, when the APC plans to present to PRES TRUMAN and Congress the "recorded will of the people" for a return to FDR's policy of "peace through collaboration of the big powers".

Stalin's World Peace Council now claims over 600,000,000 signers to its petition for a Big-Five peace pact.

Warn your friends, community groups and local newspapers about this drive launched by the American Peace Crusade (and supported by "Progressive" Party, various fronts and CP-controlled unions). The petition is as phony as the notorious Stockholm Peace Appeal of last year.

COMMUNISTS ARE USING IMITATION HOLIDAY SEALS FOR PROPAGANDA AND FUND-RAISING PURPOSES.

"Dear Congressman -- Make it a Happy New Year. Repeal the Smith Act!" This inscription appears on seals decorated with red and green bells, berries, holly leaves and ribbons which CP is mailing to "friends" in all parts of U S. Seals are clever imitations of traditional Christmas seals.

In Michigan, the "Freedom of the Press Clubs" of that state are selling the seals to raise money for Michigan edition of the Daily Worker (since indictment of several top CP leaders who are editors, etc, of party publications, Communist-directed "Freedom of the Press Clubs" have been formed in various parts of U S).

In New York, the "Self-Defense Committee" of the 17 CP leaders indicted for conspiracy on June 20 is mailing out blocks of these seals to raise defense funds. Recipients are urged to send the indicted conspirators a dollar for the blocks...and to use the seals on their Christmas and New Year letters and packages.

The atheistic Communists, who endorse class hatred, are trying to capitalize on the Christmas spirit of brotherly love to collect funds for their idol, Stalin...and to push their campaign against the Smith Act under which about 50 of their leaders have been indicted (and 11 convicted) for conspiracy against U S.

HOW CLOSE IS GUS HALL TO THE DISTRIBUTIVE, PROCESSING AND OFFICE WORKERS UNION? The convicted CP Nat'l Secy went on trial again last week... for contempt of court in jumping bail instead of starting his prison term for conspiracy. Superintendent of apartment house at 90 West 164th Street in the Bronx (NYCity) testified in trial that HALL had lived in Apt 5D of that building for two months prior to time he skipped bail and headed for Mexico.

This apartment is rented by ESTHER LETZ and her husband. If CP conspirator HALL (who lives in Cleveland) found refuge in the LETZ apartment while preparing to skip bail, there must have been a close bond between him,

ESTHER, and her husband. And this "bond" is one more bit of evidence of the close tie-up between the CP and the Distributive, Processing and Office Workers Union (DPOW).

ESTHER LETZ was a top official of this union for years...served as vice-pres and sec'y treas of Local 65, the predecessor of the DPOW's present District 65. She served on N Y State Committee of CP while directing Local 65's affairs. Much of her time is now devoted to a party labor front, the United Labor Action Committee, of which she is exec-sec'y. But she is still a member of District 65 and because of her standing in CP and close connections with its top leaders, has a voice in its affairs.

ESTHER LETZ and another member of DPOW who was a member of Communist trade union delegation that visited Stalin Russia earlier this year, took part in CP-engineered public meeting in NYCity this week. Purpose of meeting was to plug the glories of Stalin Russia and its satellites.

Yet TV station WPIX, NYCity, which is owned by the anti-Communist N Y Daily News, sold District 65 television time on Nov 9 and Nov 20. The union placed ads in NYCity newspapers on these days: "District 65, One of America's Great Unions, Is On The Air".

DAVID LIVINGSTON, Près of District 65 and former leader of Young Communist League, used program to plug the strike his union is now carrying on against Union News Co...and to urge TV audience to write letters to Mayor Impellitteri of NYCity protesting fact that police would not allow union to picket newsstands in subways.

Last week Stalin's World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) openly proclaimed a policy of infiltrating all non-Communist labor groups in order to sabotage Western rearmament and help Moscow conquer the world.

DPOW is not OPENLY affiliated with WFTU, but its control by CP is obvious (see COUNTERATTACK #222, p 2) and it follows WFTU's line.

Will WPIX continue to sell time to District 65 so it can carry out its campaign to place more U S workers under Communist control?

HOW MANY COMMUNISTS RECOGNIZED HARRY BELAFONTE ON "CAVALCADE OF STARS"? On Nov 16 HARRY BELAFONTE was a featured performer on the Dumont TV network show, "Cavalcade of Stars" (WABD, 10 PM, EST). BELAFONTE's face may have been new to many in TV audience, but it had undoubtedly been seen before by Communists and fellow travelers who watched this program.

He has been billed as entertainer for several functions of the Committee for the Negro in the Arts, the party's Negro cultural front, since start of Korean war. He has also been billed as entertainer for Communist-line Domestic Workers Union and for the DPOW (see above).

Members of CP's key cultural agency, the Nat'l Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions, have also seen BELAFONTE perform...as have Young Progressives of America, (youth branch of "Progressive" Party).

WHAT TO DO: Write To:

DANIEL W DIETRICH, Pres, Luden's Inc, 200 North 8th, Reading, Penna, whose company sponsored portion of program on which BELAFONTE appeared.

Ask him why Luden's can't find performers who are pro-American and anti-Communist to star on its program.

Yours faithfully,

November 30, 1951

Counterattack

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FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 3-4608

Letter No. 235
November 23, 1951

Dear Subscriber:

"RED CHANNELS" HAS DRAWN FIRE FROM A NEW QUARTER...A MAGAZINE THAT REPRESENTS BIG BUSINESS IN THE BROADCASTING INDUSTRY.

"Sponsor" is a magazine designed for sponsors of radio and TV shows. It contends that its aim is to look at all broadcasting issues "firmly, fairly and constructively"...and to give advertisers the information they need to get most effective use of airwaves as an advertising medium.

"Sponsor's" pages are filled with ads from major radio and TV networks and stations in all parts of U S. It has hit the advertising jackpot.

FRANK RASKY, a senior editor of "Sponsor", called COUNTERATTACK about two months ago. The publication, he said, was going to do an objective series of articles on problem of Communists in radio and TV and on COUNTERATTACK's book, "RED CHANNELS", the report on Communist influence in radio and TV. He said he would like to interview the newsletter's publishers.

COUNTERATTACK's directors met with RASKY. They talked with him for about two hours and answered all questions he asked. They gave him permission to return to check through COUNTERATTACK's files of press clippings on "RED CHANNELS", the JEAN MUIR case and similar incidents.

"Sponsor" then published its "objective" treatment of the Communist problem in broadcasting in its issues of Oct 8, Oct 22, and Nov 5.

The series was just one more smear of COUNTERATTACK...largely a rehash of material that had previously appeared in Communist-line publications.

It did not refute a single fact stated in "RED CHANNELS". It did not even state why "RED CHANNELS" was published.

It martyrized the WEAVERS quartet, and others with long records of support of Communist Party (CP) fronts...giving impression they were innocent victims of what Sponsor calls the "hysteria" in radio and TV circles.

Some misstatements in the series were so glaring that it is difficult to believe they were merely sloppy reporting. People were listed as having been wronged by "RED CHANNELS" even though they are not even named in the book and were dropped from radio programs before "RED CHANNELS" was published.

Because COUNTERATTACK's directors were so frequently misquoted in the series (and always in a way to make them look bad), others whom RASKY quoted at some length have been questioned by COUNTERATTACK.

REAVIS O'NEAL, account executive at Carl Byoir Associates (public relations firm), informed COUNTERATTACK he had been quoted out of context.

RALPH HARRIS, manager of LENA HORNE, said he had not given any statement to "Sponsor"...and had never heard of the magazine before.

General Foods Corporation informed COUNTERATTACK that "Sponsor" had "abused and misrepresented an off-the-record conversation" between RASKY and a company employe who, it was clearly understood, was not speaking for the company...and that the "Sponsor" article "did not accurately reflect either the facts it purported to report or the attitude of the company".

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But the smear of COUNTERATTACK by misquotation, false statements, innuendo, etc, is not the only important thing about this series. Another important fact is that "Sponsor" supposedly speaks with authority and reaches thousands of key personnel in the broadcasting industry with its message.

And Communists and fellow travelers would have free rein in radio and TV if networks, stations, and sponsors followed the magazine's advice on how to deal with problem of Communist infiltration.

"Sponsor" ended series with a so-called "constructive procedure" for keeping Communists off the air. The procedure is completely useless.

If charges against any performer are made by "responsible" sources, "Sponsor" says, the performer should be notified of accusation ("Sponsor" intimates that COUNTERATTACK subscribers, members of American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, etc, are irresponsible pressure groups). The performer is then asked for a "direct denial" that he is a Communist.

He is kept on air if he makes a denial in affidavit form. The accusers are then told to produce "positive evidence — not hearsay" to refute the affidavit. (Note the misleading use of words. Can "Sponsor" name ONE case in which a performer was taken off air on basis of "hearsay"?)

Can you imagine a single Communist being eliminated from the broadcasting industry through this "constructive procedure"?

A serious question arises as to why "Sponsor" suggested such an obviously ineffective method of ferreting out Communists when the magazine itself had showed clearly that it would be valueless (by pointing out in the series that any Communist will sign a false statement).

FRANK RASKY, senior editor of "Sponsor" who wrote the smear series, was formerly on staff of the now defunct "New York Star".

"N Y Star" was name given the newspaper "PM" after JOSEPH BARNES and BARTLEY CRUM took over its management in April 1948. The paper was predominantly pro-CP under both names, endorsed Communist candidates for public office, and was read by Communists and fellow travelers.

A special RASKY feature in the "Sponsor" series was a statement allegedly made by KENNETH M BIERLY, former associate of COUNTERATTACK, in which Mr BIERLY "repudiated" the newsletter.

"Sponsor" stated that the questions and answers as they appeared in this feature had been submitted to Mr BIERLY before publication "to positively verify their accuracy".

This statement is false, Mr BIERLY told COUNTERATTACK. He said that he objected to some statements attributed to him, that he made corrections in them, and that RASKY agreed to publish these corrections.

But the corrections were not made...and "Sponsor" falsely attributed to him an attack on COUNTERATTACK and "RED CHANNELS".

BIERLY actually stated that "RED CHANNELS" was 100% right in the way it was prepared and in the purpose for which it was prepared, but that he thought some people had misused it.

The publishers of "Sponsor" gave their endorsement to RASKY's series in an editorial entitled "Why We Dislike Red Channels".

Now COUNTERATTACK asks these questions of NORMAN R GLENN, Pres and Editor of "Sponsor".

1. Will you explain to your readers why FRANK RASKY refused to divulge, and tried to conceal, fact that he had been on staff of N Y Star when COUNTERATTACK asked him about his writing background?

2. Will you now tell your readers the truth...that the series you printed on COUNTERATTACK and "RED CHANNELS" contained completely false statements, misquotations, and advocated a plan that would actually widen the doors for Communist infiltration in the broadcasting industry?

3. If you don't do these things, how can you expect your readers, or anyone else, to believe anything "Sponsor" publishes...whether it's about Communism or any other subject?

The Sponsor series was plugged by FRED RAYFIELD, radio and TV columnist for the CP-line Daily Compass (RAYFIELD was a speaker at the recent "Conference on Equal Rights for Negroes" put on by the CP's top cultural agency, the Nat'l Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions).

But all business men would do better if they listened to what a veteran of the "police action" in Korea recently wrote to COUNTERATTACK. As a representative of a veterans' committee, he was asking for COUNTERATTACK's help in getting sponsors to feature pro-American entertainers.

"~~I have just returned from fighting Communism in Korea~~ and ~~I~~ am very depressed at the way the Communists are allowed to profit from American business in the United States.

"How many more of my buddies and American sons and daughters have to be killed or disabled before the American business man wakes up?"

This same veteran recently wrote to one of radio and TV's biggest sponsors that "if the boys over in Korea could actually see what's going on back home", they would put pressure on sponsors who feature Communists and CP fronters on their programs.

COUNTERATTACK thinks this veteran knows more about building good will, and about patriotism and loyalty, than "Sponsor" does.

WHO'S RIGHT...ELMER RICE OR HIS SPONSOR? Last week Pulitzer Prize winning playwright ELMER RICE quit his job with the Playwrights' Television Theatre, a group of nine author-members whose works are presented on the Celanese Theatre (ABC-TV, 10 PM, EST, every other Wednesday).

RICE said he could not condone fact that the advertising agency (Ellington & Co) for the program's sponsor (Celanese Corporation of America) was "blacklisting" actors for alleged "subversive" political opinions.

RICE claimed this "blacklist" practice is "an ugly blot upon American life and an ugly threat to American liberty." He said that most "blacklist" victims are people named in "RED CHANNELS"..."a vicious publication that destroys characters and careers by innuendo and veiled accusation".

"I don't care what the actor's political beliefs are, as long as he fits the part for which he is cast. Why, I'd be willing to use PAUL ROBESON if there was a place for him in the show," RICE was quoted as saying.

Now let's look at RICE's record and see how well qualified he is to judge what should...or should not...be done about Communists and fronters.

Here are some of the fronts RICE was member of, or whose functions he backed, in late Thirties and early Forties:

American Friends of the Soviet Union, American League for Peace and Democracy, American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, Artef (a theatre front), League of American Writers, Film and Photo League, Golden Book of American Friendship with the Soviet Union, Nat'l Council of American-Soviet Friendship, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Furriers Joint Council (CP-controlled union group), Nat'l Committee vs Censorship of the Theatre Arts...and congratulations to CP magazine, New Masses.

[redacted]

In more recent years RICE has backed fronts like the Nat'l Negro Congress (1947), American Relief for Greek Democracy (1947), Committee of 1000 (1948) and the Committee of Welcome for the Very Rev Hewlett Johnson (the Communist Dean of Canterbury) in 1948.

RICE fell for one CP front after another...and helped the CP in doing so...for years. His whole record on the Communist question is, at best, one of gullibility and confusion.

He says he is anti-Communist. A few years ago he backed resolution to exclude Communists from board of American Civil Liberties Union.

But now he still can't see anything wrong with hiring PAUL ROBESON or any other Communist for a radio or TV show...and paying such persons big money which they would use to support Stalin's cause...while Communists slaughter American prisoners of war in Korea!

The Communist-line press has gone all out in support of RICE. He is a hero, a martyr, a defender of its phony brand of "freedom".

Everybody connected with radio should be warned that ELMER RICE's policies, if accepted, will only help Stalin and his cause.

LITTLE, BROWN "SAYS IT POLITELY" THROUGH ELIZABETH HAWES. Facts on pro-Communist background of ELIZABETH HAWES were published by COUNTERATTACK in its issue of Sept 21...when it commented on the misleading, evasive answer which Little, Brown's directors had given to COUNTERATTACK's earlier documentation of this old Boston firm's publishing record.

Now Little, Brown has released ELIZABETH HAWES latest book, "But Say It Politely". Book was written in Virgin Islands where she is now living. Much of it is about the islands and their people...spiced with unfavorable comment on the U S.

ELIZABETH HAWES plugs the Communist "peace" line in this book and defends the notorious Waldorf "Peace" Conference of March 1949.

She follows Communist line on Korean war, plays up the party's phony racial (white against colored peoples) angle of it, says that one of her Virgin Island friends was "tickled to death" over the early, bloody defeats of the greatly outnumbered American troops on the Pusan beachhead, and that "millions of people around the world must have had the same reaction".

Naturally, the book got a very favorable review in CP-line "Daily Compass" which "blessed" Miss HAWES because she sometimes forgot to "say it politely". The title of the book is derived from a Virgin Islands expression. The "it" is "merde", a French word for human excrement.

Communists everywhere will be pleased that the old, "conservative" firm of Little, Brown has published this book in which the author urges that "excrement" be said to Americans who are fighting against tyranny.

WHAT CAN YOU DO TO COMBAT COMMUNISM? Write To:

HAROLD BLANCKE, Pres, Celanese Corp of Amer, 180 Madison Ave, NYC.

Congratulate him for stand his company took on ELMER RICE issue. Tell him you are opposed to secret, undemocratic blacklists, but that you heartily approve of a sponsor's screening performers...and refusing to hire anyone who is a Communist or a fronter for any brand of totalitarianism.

Yours faithfully,

November 23, 1951

Counterattack

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FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 3-4608

Letter No. 230
October 19, 1951

Dear Subscriber:

LAWYERS' FRONT GETS NEW PRESIDENT. Nat'l Lawyers Guild, described by House Committee on Un-American Activities as the "foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party" held annual convention in Chicago last weekend.

EARL B DICKERSON, former Pres of Chicago chapter of Guild, was elected nat'l President to succeed Prof THOMAS I EMERSON of Yale Law School. DICKERSON, who has long, continuing front record, was fomerly member of board of directors of CP's Abraham Lincoln School in Chicago.

Ex-Pres EMERSON, who is attorney for 16 of 21 CP leaders indicted for conspiracy in New York on June 20, is planning to write legal textbook in field of "political and civil rights". EMERSON has been active in Guild since it was formed in 1937. In spite of his then obvious front record, EMERSON was a top official of NLRB from 1937 to 1940, and went from there to key post in Dept of Justice (and held other big govt jobs until 1946).

ROBERT J SILBERSTEIN was reelected exec-sec'y of Guild...and Wm L STANDARD, an old-time Guild member with a front record, as treasurer.

STANDARD was general counsel for Nat'l Maritime Union (NMU) when it followed CP line. He was ousted by union chief JOSEPH CURRAN after CURRAN broke with Communists. STANDARD has also served as legal counsel for Federation of Greek Maritime Unions (a CP front) and was one of attorneys who defended IRVING POTASH and JOHN WILLIAMSON, CP Politburo members now in jail for conspiracy, when they staged hunger strike on Ellis Island while being held for deportation in 1948.

Two other Yale Law School professors, FOWLER HARPER and DAVID HABER, were convention speakers. Both are supporters of party fronts.

Guild will launch another nationwide attack on FBI, similar to one it carried on last year with help of JACOB MALIK, Stalin's top delegate in U N (see COUNTERATTACK 2/10/50 pp 2 & 3, and 2/17/50 pp 2 & 3).

It called on PRES TRUMAN to pardon CP leaders convicted of conspiracy under Smith Act and urged Congress to repeal this law. Guild also demanded repeal of Internal Security Act of 1950 and urged all lawyers to offer their services to persons accused of crimes involving "political beliefs, opinions or associations" (a whitewash description of Communist conspirators indicted for ACTIONS, and NOT for "beliefs, opinions or associations".)

NEW NATIONWIDE FRONT FOR NEGRO WORKERS WILL BE SET UP on Oct 27-28 at founding convention of National Negro Labor Council in Cincinnati.

COUNTERATTACK revealed over a year ago, on occasion of CP's National Trade Union Conference for Negro Rights in Chicago, that Stalin's fifth column in U S would launch nationwide chain of Negro Trade Union (or "Labor") Councils. Purpose was to sell Negroes idea that solution to their grievances would be found in these Communist-led groups and to enlist them in Stalin's "peace" propaganda drive.

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J. G. Keenan, President; T. C. Kirkpatrick, Secretary-Treasurer; F. J. McNamara, Editor

Negro Labor Councils have been established in 23 key U S industrial cities since then. Convention of Nat'l Negro Labor Council will unite these 23 groups into a country-wide organization run by CP to stir up racial grievances, create discord in labor, and help sabotage U S defense production.

Over 15,000 notices of convention have been sent to Negroes in labor movement. New front has backing of CP-led unions ousted from CIO and of Communist-dominated locals of non-CP unions...but responsible trade unions have urged their members to stay away from it.

Pittsburgh Courier, Negro weekly newspaper, has denounced the forthcoming convention as part of Communist strategy to create a segregated "Black Belt" (separate Negro nation) in the South, and warned that support of this front would destroy all gains made by Negroes in labor movement.

GEO MORRIS, CP's labor expert, says launching of the Council will mark "a new and higher level in the struggle for Negro rights".

"UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO STUDENT PAPER IS CONTROLLED BY COMMUNISTS". This was the headline in item printed by COUNTERATTACK two and one-half years ago (4/22/49, p 3). But U of Chicago authorities did nothing about facts published in this article.

Now they are finally acting. Why? Because ALAN KIMMEL, editor of the student paper, the "Maroon", sponsored and took part in Stalin's World Youth Festival for Peace in Communist zone of Berlin last August.

ROBERT M STROZIER, dean of students at Univ of Chicago, wrote KIMMEL two weeks ago that this action "demonstrates your lack of qualification to edit a free and independent newspaper".

Dean STROZIER suspended KIMMEL as editor...and ordered Maroon not to resume publication until student government acted on his recommendation that Maroon's editors be elected by student body at large instead of by the Maroon staff, as has been customary (STROZIER had first made this recommendation in May, when KIMMEL was elected editor).

But Communists were not ready to give up control of paper without fight. Campus protest meeting was organized.

Rev JOHN B THOMPSON, Dean of Rockefeller Memorial Chapel at Univ, agreed to sponsor rally. THOMPSON has followed CP line for over a decade and is now a leading backer of one of party's major "peace" fronts.

Prof ANTON J CARLSON of the Univ, a co-chrmn of CP's American Peace Crusade and backer of many fronts, and Prof MALCOLM SHARP of Univ law school (who also has front record), volunteered to speak at meeting.

Maroon staff met and voted to publish their paper "underground" (off the campus), if necessary.

Student govt passed resolution condemning KIMMEL's misuse of his office. It also branded Dean STROZIER's action a "clear and unmistakeable" violation of its rights, but agreed to investigate his proposal and submit recommendations on it to student body by December.

Two and one-half years ago, when COUNTERATTACK said CP control of Maroon was "plain", it also stated:

"The university authorities shrug such matters off. But they're important to students, parents & public. They should be fully investigated."

Dean STROZIER's action is very late and there's now less chance of its being successful because it is so late...but at least he has acted.

Usual method of electing editors of college papers (by vote of staff) explains how CP gets control of such publications. Communist caucus

on campus sends many students to work for paper. Some do minimum amount of work required to stay on staff...so they can vote for editor and other key officers who direct paper's policy.

They are kept on even if their work is inadequate, if paper is under CP control. Their comrades cover up for them if they have side jobs, a lot of classwork, or party and front activities (demanded of most of them) that prevent them from devoting much time to their work on paper.

Best way to break CP control of college papers is to change method of election of editor in manner proposed by Dean STROZIER...put it up to vote of full student body.

College officials who have tolerated Communist control of student publications for any length of time (as Univ of Chicago officials did), must realize that a strong campaign will be waged against any such move. Large part of student body, after being fed CP line for many years, will fall for all the old smokescreen cliches about "student self-government", "violations of rights", "thought control", etc, raised by Communist caucus on campus.

Best way to combat this is with facts. Before taking action, authorities should prepare evidence showing Communist and front activities of members of the paper's staff; they should document manner in which paper followed CP line, gave help to Communists, Communist fronts and causes, etc. If they show conclusively that paper has been under CP control, the opposition campaign of Communist caucus will lose much of its effectiveness.

DID COUNTERATTACK DO GRAVE INJUSTICE TO WESTINGHOUSE? Three weeks ago (issue of Sept 28, p4) COUNTERATTACK stated facts about PAUL PETERS who, it said, was one of script writers for "The Little Black Bag". This was a play recently presented on "Studio One", a TV program sponsored by the Westinghouse Electric Corp.

COUNTERATTACK subscribers who wrote protest letters to Westinghouse received reply from GWILYM A PRICE, Pres of corp, saying that Westinghouse felt COUNTERATTACK had done a "grave injustice" to the firm.

PRICE said LOIS JACOBY, not PAUL PETERS, wrote script for show... that PETERS was commissioned to write it, but that it was not considered acceptable when he had completed it...so Miss JACOBY then rewrote it with WORTHINGTON MINER, producer of "Studio One".

COUNTERATTACK's statement that PETERS wrote script was based on program release issued by CBS, the network which telecasts "Studio One". COUNTERATTACK double-checked this release by telephone call to CBS (a week after show was presented)...and was told PETERS and JACOBY wrote script. Script was also attributed to PETERS in trade publications AFTER the program had been telecast.

But PRICE's letter, in its attempt to "clear" Westinghouse, evaded real issue. Whether PETERS co-authored script, or whether it was completely rewritten after he submitted it (and was paid for it), is secondary.

The main issue is this: Why was PETERS, with his long, openly pro-Communist record, chosen to write script for program in first place?

PRICE's letter did not answer this question. It did imply that PETERS' script would have been used if WORTHINGTON MINER, producer of Studio One, had liked it. Just why does PRICE feel COUNTERATTACK has done Westinghouse a "grave injustice"?

EDITORS OF BOSTON NEWSPAPER SHOULD GET TO KNOW STAFF MEMBERS BETTER. CORNELIUS DALTON is a columnist for Boston Traveler who has done excellent job of exposing Communist activity in U S.

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REFERENCE

Comedian HENRY MORGAN is a listee in "RED CHANNELS", the book published by COUNTERATTACK that documents Communist influence in radio and TV.

"RED CHANNELS" states truth about MORGAN's CP front affiliations... that he was a member of actors division of Progressive Citizens of America, CP's major political front before founding of Progressive Party...that he made collection speech at rally held by Veterans Against Discrimination of Civil Rights Congress (cited by Dept of Justice as a subversive affiliate of the subversive Civil Rights Congress)...that he spoke by recording for rally of another front, the Stop Censorship Committee.

Nat'l Ass'n of Manufacturers recently chose HENRY MORGAN as master of ceremonies for Constitution Day Americanism rally in Elmira, N. Y.

Here's how Boston Traveler editorialized on the incident:

"Red Channels, an outfit that has rung many sour notes with false accusations of Communism, has charged that radio comedian, Henry Morgan, is a Red. This smear had made Morgan hot."

Boston Traveler then went on to compliment NAM...said it evidently investigated charges against MORGAN and found them unfounded...and that in refusing to participate in a "smear" it had struck a blow for "fair play".

Now you would think that before writing something like this, Boston Traveler would check with its columnist, CORNELIUS DALTON, to see what facts were about "RED CHANNELS" and its listings on HENRY MORGAN.

But it obviously didn't check. DALTON could have told the editors that "RED CHANNELS" did NOT call MORGAN a "Red"; that it did NOT make a SINGLE false charge of Communism; that it is a book, NOT an "outfit"...and that it is NOT a "smear" to print the truth about a person's activities in behalf of Communist fronts.

If it had checked with DALTON, it would not have printed an editorial that contained glaring misstatements about "RED CHANNELS" and added up to a completely unjustified smear of COUNTERATTACK.

Because Boston Traveler is undoubtedly interested in "fair play", as it said in its editorial, it should surely do something now to correct the false impression of "RED CHANNELS" and COUNTERATTACK it has given to thousands of its readers.

...

STATE DEPT REFUSES PASSPORT TO CORLISS LAMONT. Two weeks ago, COUNTERATTACK published facts on Communist record of CORLISS LAMONT (Oct 5, pp 3 & 4). Though his grandfather was a minister, this Columbia U lecturer has written that task of liquidating Church in U S could not be undertaken "too soon or too energetically" because it was interfering with the "workers" struggle to destroy Capitalism.

COUNTERATTACK also pointed out fact that LAMONT had predicted U S would have Communist form of govt by 1960 and had said "We will use violence if necessary" to reach that goal.

This week State Dept refused LAMONT a passport to travel to Stalin Russia and several European nations. His presence abroad, it said, "was deemed contrary to the interests" of U S.

Does Columbia Univ still believe that LAMONT's teaching in its classrooms is not "contrary to the interests" of Columbia students?

Yours faithfully,

October 19, 1951

Counterattack

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FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42nd STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LOngacre 3-4608

Letter No. 227
Sept. 28, 1951

Dear Subscriber:

COUNTERATTACK RECEIVES BILL OF RIGHTS DAY CITATION FOR AMERICANISM. The 162nd anniversary of Bill of Rights was commemorated in annual ceremony sponsored by Bill of Rights Commemorative Society and Wall Street Post of American Legion in NYCity this week.

Americanism Medal of N Y Society of the Founders and Patriots of America was awarded to COUNTERATTACK at the ceremony by GARDNER OSBORN, Gov of Society, who praised COUNTERATTACK for its "magnificent work" in publishing facts all Americans could use in fight against totalitarian Communism.

Gov EARL WARREN of California and columnist GEO SOKOLSKY were principal speakers at celebration. SOKOLSKY was also recipient of the Bill of Rights Defense Medal awarded by the American Legion Post.

Capt EDWARD V RICKENBACKER, president of Eastern Airlines, and the Rev JAMES W FIFIELD, Jr, of the First Congregational Church in Los Angeles, were also awarded citations.

BAIL-JUMPING LEADERS FORCE COMMUNIST PARTY (CP) TO DROP FIGHT AGAINST ANTI-COMMUNIST LAW. When N Y State's highest court upheld constitutionality of Feinberg Law last year, CP promised to wage an all-out fight against this bill...and filed appeal with U S Supreme Court to test its constitutionality. Feinberg law makes it possible to bar from teaching positions members of organizations listed as subversive by State Board of Regents.

But now CP has backed down on its promise. ABRAHAM UNGER, one of the attorneys who defended 11 convicted CP leaders in their conspiracy trial, appeared in court on Sept 10 to sign stipulation withdrawing party's appeal.

ROBERT THOMPSON and WILLIAM NORMAN had signed appeal for CP. THOMPSON, Politburo member and chrmn of N Y State CP, jumped bail to escape jail after being convicted for conspiracy. NORMAN, known as "Wee Willie" Marron when he played professional basketball years ago, is an alternate Politburo member and exec sec'y of N Y State CP. He was indicted for conspiracy with 20 other key CP leaders on June 21.

But NORMAN flew the coop, too, and is now a fugitive from justice.

CP had to drop its appeal against Feinberg law because bail-jumping of THOMPSON and NORMAN (or MARRON) would make a CP court appearance embarrassing.

Fight against law will continue, however. N Y Teachers Union (of CP-controlled United Public Workers) has also appealed State court's decision to Supreme Court. And N Y State Senator FRED A MORITT, who has a front record, is also fighting the bill as attorney for five school teachers.

CP-LED UNION WILL USE CHARITY GIMMICK TO WHITEWASH ITSELF. Leaders of District 65 of Distributive Processing and Office Workers Union (DPOW) have hit on a new way of giving Americans impression they are fine, big-hearted friends of the poor and down-trodden.

Representatives of leading charities will be invited to attend rally

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at Madison Square Garden on Oct 23 that will mark end of Festival celebrating union's founding. Checks representing contributions of union's members will be presented to representatives of the charities at rally.

Letters or citations from the charities will be in order after presentations are made...and these citations will be useful to the union in the huge organizing drive that will be touched off by demonstration. They will help convince workers that union is not CP-controlled. How could union leaders who are Communists give money to Jewish, Catholic and Protestant charities when Stalin persecutes all religions?

District 65 is going all out to organize every business it can get its hands on in areas in which it is operating. Strategy is to concentrate on small shops and then to branch out into large plants after it is established in key areas. DPOW agents have been using violence to cow employers and workers into accepting the union in small plants.

Attendance at this Madison Square Garden rally is compulsory for all District 65 members under threat of fine. A big turnout is thereby guaranteed to demonstrate great "strength" and "unity" of union. In addition, union members of various faiths who are not yet convinced their leaders are tools of CP, will undoubtedly consider the charity collection and presentation as further evidence that their leaders just CAN'T be Communists.

But DAVID LIVINGSTON, pres of District 65, was in Young Communist League and led it when it paraded under name of American Youth for Democracy. NICK CARNES, District 65's vice-pres, was identified as a Communist in testimony given House Labor Committee in 1948 by T C KIRKPATRICK, managing editor of COUNTERATTACK. AARON SCHNEIDER and JACK PALEY, the district's other two officers, have records of affiliation with obvious CP causes such as May Day committees, Civil Rights Congress, support of Daily Worker, etc.

ARTHUR OSMAN, pres of DPOW (District 65's parent body), was listed as delegate to 1945 CP convention. JAMES DURKIN, sec'y-treas of DPOW, was called before Federal Grand Jury investigating false Taft-Hartley law non-Communist affidavits last week.

DONALD HENDERSON, former open CP member who is now admin-director of DPOW, failed to appear before same Grand jury. HENDERSON "resigned" from CP to sign Taft-Hartley law non-Communist affidavit in 1949.

He couldn't appear before Grand Jury because he was in jail. DPOW has been organizing Pasco Packing Co in Florida, largest citrus fruit cannery in U S. HENDERSON and nine other workers in the plant were sent to Dade County jail for 30 days last week because they violated picketing injunction.

DPOW...and its District 65...are obviously under CP control. But union's organizing drive is meeting with success in many parts of U S (it won election in Buckeye Cotton Oil Co in Memphis this week). And unless leaders of biggest charities and philanthropic organizations are alert, District 65 may use them to help this Communist union corral more workers.

Management should ACT now to inform its employees of nature of this union and its organizing drive. AFL and CIO should also get busy. Apathy on their part at this time will weaken free trade union movement in U S.

SECOND ANTI-"BLACKLIST" MEETING HELD BY CP'S CULTURAL FRONT. The NCASP (Nat'l Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions) held another anti-blacklist meeting last Friday in the President Theatre in NYCity.

Speakers were: ARNOLD PERL, radio and TV writer, who attacked the current investigation of Communism in Hollywood; LESTER COLE, one of the

unfriendly "Hollywood Ten" who has served jail term for contempt and has been identified as CP member; Broadway producer PETER LAWRENCE ("Peter Pan"), who gave a rousing speech for increased membership in NCASP.

COLE urged formation of nationwide association of "blacklisted" authors, actors, and producers.

HOWARD Da SILVA and J EDWARD BROMBERG, both identified as CP members, were at meeting. LEON BIBB of Television Authority was chairman.

Petition urging PRES TRUMAN to use his influence to stop all investigations by House Committee on Un-American Activities and other Govt bodies that are "undermining" U S Constitution by means of "smears, vilification and character assassination" was circulated at meeting. Petition said that signers shared the President's concern over effects current "witch-hunts" and "character assassinations" would have on democracy in U S.

Those at rally were urged to plug attendance at NCASP rally in honor of Dr W E B Du BOIS that is being held in Town Hall (of "Town Hall of the Air" fame) in NYCity Sept 28 (tonight). Rally is to "halt the defamers who call peace un-American" and will feature Du BOIS in his last public address before he faces trial as a "peace advocate". (As head of CP's Peace Information Center which handled U S distribution of Stockholm Peace Appeal, Du BOIS has been indicted for failing to register as foreign agent).

Scheduled speakers at rally are: L HOWARD BENNETT, Minneapolis lawyer and trustee of Fisk University; Dr LAWRENCE D REDDICK, director of Atlanta Univ Library; Bishop R R WRIGHT Jr, of A M E Zion Church in Atlanta.

HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD, prof emeritus at N Y Univ and backer and official of many CP fronts (he is sec'y of NCASP), will chair meeting.

HERE'S EXAMPLE OF WHAT CAN...AND DOES...HAPPEN TO THOSE WHO EXPOSE COMMUNIST ACTIVITY. All publishing houses send advance notices of forthcoming books to important book reviewers...especially to those who represent the big-time book-reviewing newspapers like N Y Times and N Y Herald Tribune. Notices of forthcoming books in these influential papers help sale of books when they are published.

RALPH de TOLEDANO co-authored "Seeds of Treason", the best-selling account of HISS-CHAMBERS case, with VICTOR LASKY. De TOLEDANO has written a new book, "Spies In the Parlor", which tells about Amerasia case and SORGE spy ring in Japan. Duell, Sloane and Pearce will publish it next April and sent announcement of this fact to leading book reviewers about two months ago. Copies were sent to N Y Times and N Y Herald Tribune.

But no word that this book will be published has appeared in either paper. This might be understandable if de TOLEDANO had never written a book before and if he were an unknown. But as co-author of one best seller and an editor of Newsweek, de TOLEDANO has standing...and both papers have recently published notices of forthcoming books by lesser-known writers. Why have they ignored "Spies in the Parlor"?

Could it be because de TOLEDANO recently wrote two articles for the American Mercury magazine which showed how Times and Herald Tribune in past years usually chose reviewers who plugged CP-line books on China and Russia... and slammed books on these countries written by anti-Communists? Are these papers still piqued because they were mentined prominently in the Mercury series of articles called "The Gravediggers of America"?

LITTLE, BROWN AUTHOR SAYS HIS HEART IS WITH CHINESE COMMUNISTS. State Dept withdrew passport of CP member HOWARD FAST last November because

his travels abroad were not deemed in "best interests" of U S. Now FAST is unable to accept invitation to take part in celebration commemorating second anniversary of founding of Chinese Communist Govt in Peking.

He has written to Chinese Communist leader KUO MO-JO complaining that State Dept has made him "a sort of house prisoner" of the U S and that he cannot accept invitation. But he has assured KUO that "my heart is with you in this mighty struggle for peace and for the future of mankind".

This Little, Brown author applauds killing of Americans in Korea.

KUO MO-JO has asked Stalin's World Peace Council to appeal to State Dept in FAST's behalf...FAST should be given passport in interest of "world peace" and to promote "friendship" between people of U S and China.

ONCE OPENLY REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST DOES SCRIPT FOR WESTINGHOUSE TV SHOW. Studio One is a weekly program (CBS-TV, Monday nights) sponsored by Westinghouse Electric Corp. "The Little Black Bag" was presented on Studio One on Sept 17. PAUL PETERS was one of script writers for play.

PETERS took part in the Congress of American Revolutionary Writers, which was held in 1935 for those writers "who have clearly indicated their sympathy with the revolutionary cause; who do not need to be convinced of the decay of capitalism, of the inevitability of revolution".

He was a contributor to, and edited drama section of, "Proletarian Literature in the United States", an anthology of Communist writings published by International Publishers, official CP publishing house.

PETERS was on advisory council of Book Union, which was founded by ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG, head of Int'l Publishers. TRACHTENBERG, long one of top CP leaders, is now under indictment for conspiracy. He described Book Union as an important part of the "publishing and distributing apparatus at our command" in speech at first congress of the League of American Writers (another front with which PETERS was affiliated).

PETERS has contributed to Sunday Worker and was contributing editor of Labor Defender, organ of Int'l Labor Defense, the "legal arm of the Communist Party". He was also contributing editor of New Theatre, organ of the CP theatre front affiliated with Int'l Union of the Revolutionary Theatre. He defended Stalin's Moscow purge trials.

People's Drama, CP's own theatre group, has recently been staging PETERS' latest play, "Nat Turner". The play is obviously CP propaganda and has been highly touted in Communist press. BOB LAUTER, film and drama critic for Daily Worker, said in his review of "Nat Turner" that "Peters does a fine job...has again made a genuine contribution to the people's theatre".

WHAT CAN YOU DO TO HELP IN FIGHT AGAINST COMMUNISM?

Write To:

GWILYM A PRICE, Pres, Westinghouse Electric Corp, 40 Wall Street, NYCity 5, New York.

Ask him why his corporation, with its huge financial resources, cannot find script writers with long pro-American records for Studio One.

Rev ROBERT I GANNON, acting Chrmn, Town Hall Inc, 123 West 43 St, NYCity. Ask him if he thinks Town Hall should turn its facilities over to a CP front so it can honor a man who has defied laws of U S. (see p 3).

Yours faithfully,

September 28, 1951

Counterattack

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FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 3-4608

Letter No. 225
September 14, 1951

Dear Subscriber:

WHY SO MUCH FUSS ABOUT WILLIAM OATIS? Ever since the arrest in April of Associated Press correspondent WILLIAM OATIS by Czech Govt on false charges of espionage, there has been a tremendous barrage of "free Oatis" propaganda in U S press. It has brought action.

After Czech Govt rejected State Dept request for OATIS' release, Congress (in spite of State Dept opposition) voted to sever all commercial relations with Czechoslovakia until he is freed. U S has asked U N to intervene in case. When Dr VLADIMIR PROCHAZKA, new Czech Ambassador, arrived in this country and said OATIS case was closed, PRES TRUMAN stepped in and said that it very definitely was NOT closed.

State Dept, whose wishy-washy attitude with Communist govts forced it to pay ransom to Hungary for release of ROBERT VOGELER, is still taking "feasible steps" to secure OATIS' release.

All this "free Oatis" propaganda and action is good and as it should be. But there is no doubt that it has been instigated chiefly by the press and its representatives...the American Newspaper Guild, American Newspaper Publishers Ass'n, American Society of Newspaper Editors, etc.

But what about all the other U S victims of Communist "justice"? How about the U S military personnel who have been imprisoned and murdered by Communist govts during past few years? How about ROBERT VOGELER...and DILL D KANADY, American business man recently arrested for second time in Shanghai? How about the 130 Protestant and Catholic missionaries now missing behind Communist lines in Korea...the 28, or more, Americans now in jail in Communist China? Why hasn't the press, as a whole, raised same furor over them?

OATIS is just one more American. He has no more fundamental rights and is entitled to no more consideration than any other citizen.

U S press, with few exceptions (such as Scripps-Howard and Hearst papers), has waited until its own ox was gored in person of OATIS before it raised strong protest against Communist violations of rights of U S citizens. If it had been as concerned in the past about rights of other Americans, U S policy might have stiffened enough by this time so that Czech Govt would not have dared imprison OATIS on phony charges.

And some press agencies and representatives have adopted a policy of peculiar tolerance toward Communists and Soviet agents.

Representatives of Tass, the Soviet news agency, have been officially described by Moscow as Kremlin agents. As such, they should be barred from Congressional press galleries under regulations granting admission only to those whose main source of income is from newspaper sources.

Standing Committee of Correspondents of Congressional galleries, which controls admissions, refused to accredit Voice of America personnel because they are U S Govt representatives.

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But Committee accredited Tass representatives in violation of these regulations. And no protest was raised by press...until OATIS imprisonment.

Tass agents enjoy same privileges as all bona fide U S newsmen. Its boss, MIKHAIL FEDOROV, attends PRES TRUMAN's press conferences. Its members, in addition to being accredited to Congressional galleries, have entry to White House and sit in on off-the-record press conferences at which information valuable to enemies of U S is often given. These Soviet agents are now given information withheld from American people for security reasons!

But until its self-inspired furor over OATIS, the press did not protest this fact.

Congressional resolutions have finally been introduced to bar Tass representatives from Congressional press galleries. National Press Club in Washington is considering expulsion of Tass agents.

But even if Tass reporters are barred from all Washington press conferences, this security measure will be ineffective unless American Newspaper Guild, CIO, ends toleration of Communists in its ranks (see COUNTERATTACK, Aug 10, p 2). If Tass is barred, how many Communist Guild members will turn over to Tass or other Soviet representatives the vital information they pick up at off-the-record press conferences?

Isn't it time for American Newspaper Guild to clean house?

SOME DIRECTORS OF MAJOR NETWORKS ARE "SICKENED AND DISGUSTED" WITH "BLACKLIST" OF COMMUNISTS IN RADIO AND TV, according to JOHN RANDOLPH.

RANDOLPH, who marched with military contingent in May Day parade this year, made this statement at midnight meeting of Theatre Division of Nat'l Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions in Nola Studios on Broadway last week. He said some directors had approached him, said that they would like to use him on programs, but couldn't because he was on "the list". RANDOLPH, a radio and stage actor, is in new Broadway play, "Paint Your Wagon".

LEON BIBB, a board member of Television Authority, key ruling body of actors in TV, was chairman of meeting.

Speakers were: PETER LAWRENCE, producer of last year's Broadway play "Peter Pan" and of forthcoming "Man, Beast and Virtue"; HOWARD Da SILVA,* defiant Hollywood witness identified as Communist Party (CP) member; MADELINE LEE,* who has a front record and is wife of actor-comedian JACK GILFORD* (see last week's COUNTERATTACK, p 4, for part of his record).

Also movie actor JOHN CARRADINE, and radio actors JOSEPH SULLIVAN, BOB SHERWOOD, FURMAN PHILLIPS, and SALEM LUDWIG, who has appeared in several CP front theatrical productions. J EDWARD BROMBERG,* also identified as CP member, was billed as main speaker but did not show up. Announcer JACK CURTIS was present at meeting but did not speak.

Major proposals made at meeting:

1. That another meeting of same type be held in near future and all present bring friends (proposal by PETER LAWRENCE).
2. That NY chapter go on record in support of Hollywood chapter in opposing investigation of Communism in Hollywood.
3. That there be a mass meeting of all entertainment unions to fight the blacklist (proposal by JOHN CARRADINE).

Suggestion that all existing unions in the industry be merged into one big union was most important development at meeting...and may indicate that CP is planning a major strategic policy move in bid for control and influence in entertainment industry.

* Listed in COUNTERATTACK's book, "RED CHANNELS".

American Federation of Radio Artists (AFRA) is definitely under anti-Communist control and "lost" to CP.

But there is a pro-Communist faction in AFRA and CP controls or has strong factions in other entertainment unions. Radio Writers Guild and some other groups follow CP line.

If Communists and fellow-travelers can conduct successful campaign (on phony basis of labor "unity", "strength", etc) for merger of all unions into one, they may be able to gain control of new all-powerful union which would dominate entire industry.

Top leaders of CP-line unions would get key posts in new union. Reshuffling might place strong anti-Communist leaders of AFRA and other unions into minority positions. CP would then run the industry.

THERE ARE LESSONS FOR ALL ANTI-COMMUNISTS IN LATEST INCIDENT OF "THE WEAVERS". The Weavers folk-singing quartet (PETE SEEGER,* LEE HAYS, FRED HELLERMAN and RONNIE GILBERT; see COUNTERATTACK #210 pp 3&4) was scheduled to appear at Ohio State Fair in latter part of August with HORACE HEIDT's orchestra. They were to be paid $3850 for 11 performances.

ROGER E SHERWOOD, chrmn of anti-Communist committee of Knights of Columbus in Middletown, Ohio, decided to ACT. He wrote for and received permission to quote facts COUNTERATTACK had published about Weavers.

He sent this information to Gov FRANK LAUSCHE of Ohio, to Columbus Dispatch, to State Deputy of Knights of Columbus, and to local American Legion, which brought it to attention of State Legion convention.

The Weavers' appearance at Ohio State Fair was cancelled.

Each one of the Weavers, individually, has been billed as an entertainer for units of CP. The group has entertained for many party fronts. The three male members had key spots in show put on by cultural division of CP in honor of 12 Politburo members after last year's May Day Parade.

Yet Weavers' cancellation was attacked by influential Ohio newspapers which, as usual, were overly solicitous about "rights" and "justice" in a case concerning individuals with Communist records.

Akron Beacon Journal admitted editorially that it knew nothing about People's Songs (a CP front) or circumstances under which WEAVERS sang for it, but opposed their cancellation on grounds that when entertainment is hired the only thing that matters is the entertainers' artistry.

Akron Beacon Journal would evidently support Stalin himself if he came to U S as part of an entertainment troupe after being thrown out of Russia...as long as he was a competent artist of some kind!

The Columbus Citizen questioned fairness of Weavers' dismissal, which it claimed had been based merely on "insinuations" that they had been connected with subversive groups. "Investigation", it stated, showed no apparent basis for this "discrimination" against Weavers. More substantial evidence should be produced, it said, or Weavers should be reinstated.

Evidence had been produced. But the Columbus Citizen, like many newspapers in similar cases, was taking a stand without first checking all the facts. A misleading editorial was the result.

Citizen later published on page one facts about Weavers' CP-front record written by FREDERICK WOLTMAN of NY World Telegram and Sun.

Lessons:

1. A single person, acting intelligently and determinedly, CAN get results...even in face of non-factual newspaper opposition.

2. You DON'T have to call anyone a CP member, Communist or fellow-

* Listed in "RED CHANNELS"

[redacted]

traveler to get results. The FACTS about The Weavers' activities published in COUNTERATTACK spoke for themselves and led to cancellation.

3. Newspapers sometimes pontificate on Communist question without knowing all the facts...and arrive at wrong conclusion. Look into cases yourself. Don't believe all you read in the press.

4. It is important to congratulate public officials for constructive steps they take in fight against Communism. Gov FRANK LAUSCHE of Ohio wrote to a woman who was thoughtful enough to commend him for his action:

"Ordinarily the letters which reach my desk are those of criticism and not of commendation. Hence, word of the character which you sent is most encouraging and welcome."

IS MILLARD LAMPELL "THE HERO" OF COLUMBIA PICTURES? A few years ago an exposure of the seamy side of college football in U S was written in novel form by MILLARD LAMPELL*. It was called "The Hero".

Columbia Pictures bought the novel for an undisclosed sum of money. It also hired LAMPELL to write script for film based on it (with producer SIDNEY BUCHMAN, who has a front record). The film had its premier in NYCity this week. It is called "Saturday's Hero".

LAMPELL has written for Daily Worker...and for Communist magazines New Masses, Mainstream, Masses & Mainstream (after first two were merged), and Jewish Life (published by Morning Freiheit...NOT to be confused with non-Communist "Orthodox Jewish Life"). He has sponsored CP's May Day Parade and many of its major fronts.

He and NORMAN CORWIN* (both of whom write for U N Radio Division) wrote radio play in defense of defiant Hollywood Ten last year. Sponsored by, and featuring, Communists and front supporters, it was offered free to all major networks. All turned it down.

He took part in annual conference of CP-controlled Teacher's Union (of United Public Workers) this year. A few months ago he signed a CP front statement calling on U S to withdraw its prosecution of Dr W E B Du BOIS and other Peace Information Center officers indicted for failing to register as foreign agents.

LAMPELL was a speaker at rally held by National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions in April to "Crack the Back of Counterattack".

West Point football scandal will undoubtedly help attendance at "Saturday's Hero". Columbia may have good reason to rejoice at box office returns. But will it rejoice at fact that LAMPELL will be a major beneficiary of it coincidental capitalizing on the scandal? Will he be "The Hero" of Columbia Pictures if the money really rolls in?

House Committee on Un-American Activities, if it has not already done so, should decide to call LAMPELL in second phase of its investigation of Communism in Hollywood that is scheduled to open next week.

WHAT CAN YOU DO? Write To:

Mr HARRY COHN, Pres, Columbia Pictures Corp, 729 Seventh Ave, NYC.

Ask him if he couldn't make a special effort to find novelists and screenwriters with long pro-American records to work for Columbia.

*Listed in "RED CHANNELS"

Yours faithfully,

September 14, 1951

Counterattack

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COUNTERATTACK
REG. U. S PAT. OFF.
FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM
55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 3-4608

Letter No. 224
September 7, 1951

Dear Subscriber:

COMMUNISTS SCORE VICTORY BY DELAYING U S DEFENSE PRODUCTION. While the Govt continued its roundup of key Communist Party (CP) leaders and some Americans were pooh-poohing the Communist menace, Stalin's U S agents staged a demonstration that showed great power CP has in U S.

They shut down 95% of U S copper production and forced idleness on 100,000 workers for a period of a week. Copper is in shortest supply of all strategic metals that are vital to U S defense production. A serious shortage exists. Continued...and expanded...copper production is necessary if free world is to be defended against Stalin's aggression.

Yet at one of most dangerous periods in U S history, CP is still so strong that it could close down the Kennecott Copper Co, Anaconda Copper Co, Phelps-Dodge, and American Smelting and Refining Co in first nationwide strike against the "Big Four" of the copper industry. About 20,000 tons of sorely needed copper were lost in first week of strike.

Communist-controlled Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union (MMSW) was agency through which CP scored this victory for Stalin. It held a vote early last month and called strike of its 58,000 members on Aug 27. Approximately 42,000 workers in various AFL unions were also thrown out of work.

PRES TRUMAN invoked national emergency provisions of Taft-Hartley law and obtained an injunction to end this crippling tie-up on grounds that it was exposing U S to grave danger. Kennecott Copper, which employs 9,400 of workers involved, reached agreement with the union at end of last week. But when injunction took effect this week, workers at the other three major copper producers were still out on strike.

And it is possible that Kennecott went beyond what Wage Stabilization Board can approve in settling issues. In addition, settlement provides for wage renegotiations on Jan 1...and thereby gives Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers opportunity to strike on this issue again in a short time.

Wage issue was original excuse for the strike, but it was only an excuse. Record of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union shows that it is more interested in promoting Communism than welfare of its members.

It was first union expelled from CIO for following CP line in 1950, when CIO started to rid itself of those unions which had clearly demonstrated that they preferred rule of Moscow to policies of CIO.

KENNETH ECKERT, Moscow-trained former CP member and former Mine, Mill and Smelter Worker official, told CIO trial board last year how CP ran this union. He had been one of group of four party members who made up union's steering committee. This committee made all major policy decisions for union. ECKERT and MAURICE TRAVIS, now Sec'y-Treas of union who was then exec-ass't to union Pres REID ROBINSON, were key members of committee.

JOHN WILLIAMSON, labor sec'y of CP now in jail for conspiracy, and GILBERT GREEN, also a convicted Politburo member who was chrmn of Illinois

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CP and is now a fugitive from justice, gave party orders directly to ECKERT and TRAVIS when ECKERT was a MMSW official.

"Better than 90 per cent of the staff and organizers were members of the Communist Party. It was never very confidential as to who were party members and who were not...they all follow the party line. Those who didn't were no longer on the payroll", ECKERT testified.

JOHN CLARK is now pres of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. Like his predecessor REID ROBINSON and other MMSW officials such as TRAVIS, he is an ardent advocate of CP line. At union's annual convention last September, he plugged Stalin's "peace" line in his keynote address:

"We want peace and we insist on the right to advocate peace", CLARK declared. He demanded an end to fighting in Korea and negotiations between PRES TRUMAN and Stalin to outlaw A and H-bombs. He opposed the Marshall Plan, attacked the Internal Security Act, "witch-hunt hysteria" and violations of "civil rights" in prosecutions of Stalin's agents.

Last month CLARK and other MMSW officials urged Supreme Court to grant a rehearing to the 11 convicted CP leaders and demanded repeal of Smith Act under which they were tried. CLARK and his cronies endorsed the Stockholm Peace Appeal last year. This May they endorsed CP-supported resolution of Sen EDWIN C JOHNSON (D-Col) calling for Korean cease-fire by June 25.

"Copper Strike Blazes Trail For Labor", CP press has stated in a headline that made it clear that more Communist-led strikes can be expected in vital industries in the future. Editorials in Daily Worker have hailed the strike as a militant fight to break through the "phony" wage-freeze formula set by Govt "in the name of 'defense'"...and as a battle against the profit-hungry Wall Street "war babies".

CLARK has followed CP line in statements on current strike. The whole thing is the fault of the "speedup" and long hours ordered by nation's "metal magnates" in their "insatiable greed for profits", he says.

Yet on Aug 19, the Denver Post printed a guest editorial by JOHN CLARK on his union's proposed strike! It turned over its pages to this man so he could use them as a cloak to cover up the real reason why he and his Communist associates have tied up a vital defense industry.

Foolish actions such as these are one reason the CP has so much power. Many people undoubtedly believe that JOHN CLARK must be a fine fellow if the Denver Post turns its editorial pages over to him!

When will PALMER HOYT, editor of Denver Post, wake up to fact that if the CP line opposed strikes at this time, not a pound of copper would have been lost to U S in last two weeks...even if MMSW union members were working under conditions of extreme economic duress?

COUNTERATTACK pointed out strong hold CP-led Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union has in vital defense plants two months ago (July 13, pp 3 & 4). A week earlier COUNTERATTACK urged that Nat'l Labor Relations Board be given discretionary power to determine which unions are CP-controlled and to deprive such unions of NLRB's facilities in all negotiations (July 6, p 4).

When Senate Internal Security Subcommittee issued its report on CP-led American Communications Ass'n several weeks later (Aug 5), it made a similar recommendation...that any union found to be CP-controlled "by an appropriate Govt agency" be deprived of certification as a bargaining agent.

Is Congress going to wait for more disastrous Communist-run strikes in vital industries before it acts?

WHY DID CP MOVE ITS NAT'L HQ TO HARLEM? Last week the Communist Party's Nat'l Committee (Politburo) announced the conspiracy's hq had been moved from nine-story building on 12th Street in downtown NYCity it had occupied for 20 years, to a building at 29 West 125 Street, in Harlem section.

New office is merely a "front". Important mail will never be delivered there. Key conspirators will not meet there to issue directives for subversion of U S. Important party operations will be directed from some other secret headquarters the party has established.

But Politburo hopes that this move will help the conspiracy. By locating their new "Hq" in Harlem, party's commissars hope to impress Negroes with their "solidarity" with them. They are also trying to convince whites that the conspiracy is closely identified with Negroes.

CP has made major effort for many years to win large numbers of Negro adherents. Its effort has largely been a failure. There are proportionately fewer Negro than white Communists.

But with new CP "Hq" in a Negro section, incidents that take place there...possible arrests by FBI, trailing of party officials, increased CP activity, etc...will have effect of identifying Negroes with CP in public eye.

If CP can convince uninformed whites that many Negroes are Communists, it will have helped Stalin's cause. Because of present strong anti-Communist feeling, an erroneous impression of this type would tend to increase anti-Negro feeling. This, in turn, might have effect of driving more Negroes to accept line of CP, which poses as their friend and protector.

WHAT CAN YOU DO TO HELP FIGHT COMMUNISM? Your local library is one of most powerful opinion-making organizations in your community. But many libraries have inadequate collections of books on Communism. People who cannot afford to buy many books themselves have difficulty learning the truth about the international Communist conspiracy.

Americanism Commission of American Legion has prepared an excellent bibliography of books and pamphlets covering all phases of Communist activity. Bibliography can be obtained free of charge by writing to Nat'l Americanism Commission, Nat'l Hq, the American Legion, Indianapolis 6, Indiana.

Write for copies. Encourage patriotic, veterans', and civic groups to which you belong to donate books on this list to your community library. See that your library board gets the list to use when ordering books.

And bring to attention of all community groups recent articles written by FBI director J EDGAR HOOVER. A series of two articles on Communist "line" and propaganda, written for Int'l News Service, was published on Aug 27 & 28 by many papers subscribing to INS.

HOOVER warns that in next few months CP will probably cease much of its "open" activity and make a major effort to win over legitimate groups... fraternal, civic, veterans, etc, organizations not under party control or influence...to support of its line.

And he stresses importance of all Americans' keeping themselves informed on current party line so that its propaganda will be recognized wherever it is encountered and no matter how it is disguised.

Communist fanaticism and unswerving devotion to cause of Moscow were described by HOOVER in another article written for Newspaper Enterprise Ass'n and published in many papers in late July. Until all Americans fully understand this fanaticism and the danger it presents to U S security, the battle against Communism in this country will be far from won.

IS "RUBBER-FACE" GILFORD REALLY A FRIEND OF ARTHUR GODFREY? Actor-comedian JACK GILFORD is often called "the face with the four-way stretch". Several months ago (Mar 23, p 4), COUNTERATTACK stated that GILFORD's "RED CHANNELS" record indicated that his mind, too, had rubber-like qualities... he has been able to adapt it to three definite flip-flops in CP line.

His front record dates back 12 years...to time when he supported celebration for Daily Worker cartoonist WILLIAM GROPPER in 1939. During Stalin-Hitler pact (1939-41), GILFORD was a member of American Peace Mobilization which was formed by CP to sabotage U S defense effort.

GILFORD was billed as entertainer for top CP school in U S, the Jefferson School of Social Science, when it held its annual dinner in 1949. He sponsored the Waldorf "Peace" Conference, has been a speaker, etc, for Nat'l Council of American-Soviet Friendship and has plugged other party fronts, including Civil Rights Congress, CP's defense arm and bail agency.

Cause of Communists in entertainment field has been helped by GILFORD's backing of fronts like Stage for Action, People's Songs, Artists Front to Win the War and Voice of Freedom Committee.

CP's major cultural front, the Nat'l Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions held rally to honor GALE SONDERGAARD and HOWARD Da SILVA after they defied House Committee on Un-American Activities when called as witnesses in Hollywood investigation this year. Both refused to state if they are CP members. Both were identified as CP members by other witnesses.

GILFORD attended this meeting...and made financial contribution to collection taken at it.

GILFORD was billed as a speaker about a week later (April 4) at another rally held by this same front to "Crack the Back of Counterattack". Speakers included: MILLARD LAMPELL*, novelist and film, radio and TV writer, who has written for Daily Worker and other CP publications; ISIDORE RUBIN, teacher who was recently fired from NYCity school system for refusing to state if he is a CP member. Only illness prevented GILFORD from joining with these speakers in plugging cause of Communists in radio.

ARTHUR GODFREY recently did a brief tour of active duty with Navy, risking his life flying jet planes as his share in the U S defense effort. He is strongly anti-Communist.

But last Wednesday evening (Aug 29), while GODFREY was on vacation, his sponsors featured JACK GILFORD on the "Arthur Godfrey and His Friends" program (CBS-TV, nationwide hookup, Wednesday evenings).

The sponsors are: Liggett & Myers Tobacco Co (Chesterfields) and Toni Permanent Wave.

WHAT TO DO: Write To:

J W ANDREWS, Pres, Liggett & Myers Tobacco Co, 630 Fifth Ave, NYCity.

JOSEPH P SPANG, Jr, Pres, Gillette Safety Razor Co, 15 West 1st St, Boston 6, Mass (Gillette owns Toni Permanent Wave).

Ask them if they are not slandering ARTHUR GODFREY...and all loyal Americans who wear uniform of U S Armed Services...by describing JACK GILFORD as one of his "friends"?

* Listed in "Red Channels"

Yours faithfully,

September 7, 1951

Counterattack

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FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 3-4608

Letter No. 219
August 10, 1951

Dear Subscriber:

INDICTED LEADER REPEATS COMMUNIST THREAT TO HANG PRESIDENT TRUMAN AND OTHER U S OFFICIALS. This week one of 17 Communist Party (CP) leaders arrested in second roundup of top Communists by FBI, "indicted" PRES TRUMAN and other U S officials as well as all Federal judges and prosecutors who have been involved in legal proceedings against Communists.

The criminal charge against the President was made by CLAUDIA JONES, sec'y of CP's Women's Commission and alternate Politbureau member. After serving her prison term, if convicted under the Smith Act, she will face deportation or another jail term as an alien Communist.

She set no definite date for the trial and execution, but the Communist readers of her Daily Worker column know when they will take place... on the day when, as the leaders of the conspiracy still confidently predict, the "progressive" and "peace-loving" people of the world (the Communists) defeat the "fascist warmongers." When that day comes, the fascists (U S and allied leaders) will be brought before the bar of justice...just as the Nazi leaders of Hitler's regime were...and tried as war criminals.

"Tears of unrepressed anger", according to CLAUDIA JONES, flowed from her eyes as she read "We Accuse", a pamphlet now being distributed throughout the world by the Women's International Democratic Federation, Stalin's global women's front. The pamphlet is the official report of a delegation from this front that recently visited North Korea and China.

CLAUDIA JONES wrote that in between her "frequent incarcerations" in the "filthy" Women's House of Detention (NYCity) she read this pamphlet as part of her "basic reading". In other words, she was telling her readers that this pamphlet contains official Communist teaching, that it is a basic CP text that they should study and follow. She stated in her column that "every word" of the pamphlet was an "indictment" and made it clear that the following is the official Communist line:

Communists accuse the "interventionists" (U S "intervened" in Korea, is official CP line) of the crime of bringing death to thousands of women, children, workers and peasants in Korea. They "demand" retribution for this wholesale slaughter, and the bringing of the "criminals" responsible for it "before the bar of mankind's wrath".

And indictment is not limited to interventionists in Korea, CLAUDIA JONES says, it applies to all "imperialist jailers of fighters for peace and progress and thought...in our own land as well as throughout the world".

So PRES TRUMAN will have company on execution day...the company of the Federal judges and prosecutors who have been involved in court cases against Communist leaders in U S, or against FREDERICK VANDERBILT FIELD and his colleagues of the Civil Rights Congress Bail Fund, and other "peace-loving" devotees of JOSEPH STALIN, the real war criminal.

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J. G. Keenan, President; T. C. Kirkpatrick, Secretary-Treasurer; F. J. McNamara, Editor

CLAUDIA JONES, the indicted conspirator, can still openly call for the death of the President of the U S and other national leaders at the hands of Communists...while the St Louis Post Dispatch, NY Post, Madison (Wis) Capital Times and other starry-eyed "liberal" papers cry that her indictment (and that of her "comrades") under the Smith Act threatens "civil liberties" in the U S and paves the way for fascism!

HOW MUCH WEIGHT WAS CARRIED BY PROTEST OF AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD (CIO) IN CASE OF WILLIAM OATIS? The American Newspaper Guild, with 24,000 dues-paying members, is only national union of journalists in U S. At its annual convention in June, this anti-Communist union passed a resolution condemning the Czech govt's arrest of Associated Press correspondent WILLIAM OATIS on charges of espionage.

Guild President HARRY MARTIN took the resolution, and a strongly worded letter of his own, to the Czech embassy in Washington last month.

Czech Charge d'Affaires JAN VINAR not only refused to pass the resolution on to his govt, but threatened any member of U S press who goes to Czechoslovakia by telling MARTIN bluntly that the Czech regime knows "how to deal with" any American newspaper man who tries to throw monkey wrenches into its machinery. He then accused American reporters of "lying" about Czech govt ...and abruptly broke off the interview by stalking out of the room.

MARTIN was undoubtedly enraged. But what could he have replied if VINAR had simply stated that in throwing OATIS in jail on trumped-up charges the Czech govt was acting on "political conviction"?

The Guild condones other ACTIONS by Communists of the same stripe as VINAR on the basis of their "political conviction". Under this shibboleth it welcomes Communists as members and officers of the Guild. The fact that these Guild members betray the free press (which Guild is sworn to uphold) by writing falsified reports for Communist and pro-Communist press apparently doesn't faze the Guild. It is all excused on grounds of political beliefs.

Staff members of the Daily Worker and People's Daily World (whose editors have been indicted or convicted as conspirators), the Nat'l Guardian and Daily Compass, as well as publications of Communist-led unions, are organized under the Guild. Their shop officers are Guild officials.

When San Francisco local of the Guild voted to expel the People's Daily World unit, the Guild's executive board ruled that its action was illegal because it violated the union constitution, which states that no one shall be barred from membership because of his "political conviction".

Delegates to recent Guild convention listened to a first-hand report of how Communists (such as those they have in their union) destroyed free press of Central and Eastern Europe. Guild members covered trial of the leaders of the Communist conspiracy in U S. They have seen the conspiracy in action in all parts of the globe. They have all the facts.

But the Guild still insists that Communists are just members of a bona fide "political party".

And it apparently doesn't realize that in protesting conviction of OATIS it has no leg to stand on as long as it condones conspiratorial CP activity of its own members on basis of their "political conviction".

When is the Guild going to drop its foolish, ivory-tower attitude toward Communists and adopt a resolution barring totalitarians of all kinds (who are enemies of the free press) from its ranks? Once it has done this, its protests will carry more weight with all believers in freedom...even if not with Czech Charge d'Affaires JAN VINAR.

WILL THIS BE DRAMATIC WORKSHOP'S LAST MOVE? Last week the Dramatic Workshop and Technical Institute moved from its former quarters to new and larger quarters in the Capitol Theatre building on Broadway in NYCity.

The move was important. It demonstrated that an institution which plugs the CP line and uses entertainers who are Communists and front supporters can flourish and expand even in time of a shooting war against Communism.

It is important to keep Communists and fellow travelers out of entertainment media by protesting their appearances on the stage and in films, radio, and TV. But root of the problem of pro-Communist entertainers is largely in schools where they get their artistic "education". That is why COUNTERATTACK is publishing following facts about Dramatic Workshop:

ERWIN PISCATOR is director of Dramatic Workshop. He is a former contributing editor to the "New Theatre", official organ of League of Workers Theatres of the U S A (American section of Int'l Union of the Revolutionary Theatre, which had its headquarters in Moscow). This magazine was openly Communist and revolutionary. Its January, 1935, issue was printed in Moscow with the assistance of PISCATOR, who was then well known in Communist theatrical circles in Germany. He came to U S as a political refugee in 1939.

Since being in U S he has supported fronts such as the Artists Front to Win the War, the Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee, the German American Emergency Conference and the New Writing Foundation.

JAY GORNEY and his wife SANDRA run the musical play department of the Dramatic Workshop. SANDRA GORNEY has written for the Daily Worker and the People's Daily World (West Coast CP newspaper) and has been an instructor at the People's Educational Center, party school in Los Angeles.

JAY GORNEY and E Y "YIP" HARBURG* wrote the famous depression song, "Brother Can You Spare A Dime", in 1932. GORNEY sponsored the Waldorf "Peace" Conference, has supported the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Stop Censorship Committee, Nat'l Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions, Progressive Citizens of America...and has backed CP-endorsed candidates for public office.

GORNEY, in writing music for Hollywood and Broadway, has collaborated with HENRY MYERS and EDWIN ELISCU...both of whom have assisted in production of Dramatic Workshop musicals. Both MYERS and ELISCU have supported a professed Communist for public office. ELISCU has also taught at CP school, the People's Educational Center, and has backed fronts.

MORRIS CARNOVSKY is listed as a faculty member of the Dramatic Workshop. He defied House Committee on Un-American Activities when called as a witness in its probe of Hollywoood a few months ago. Several other witnesses identified him as a CP member.

COBY RUSKIN* has staged musicals for Dramatic Workshop. RUSKIN signed a plea for 11 convicted CP leaders sponsored by Civil Rights Congress (party's bail fund and defense arm) and has supported other fronts.

IRVING CAESAR, HENRY FONER and IRA WALLACH have contributed songs and sketches to Dramatic Workshop musicals.

"I love the Chinese Reds just like I love the American revolutionaries", CAESAR said on radio program last December. And after babbling along in support of Chinese Communists at some length, he told the program moderator "And the whole world agrees with what I say outside your United States." Note that CAESAR used word "your" in referring to U S.

FONER lost his license as substitute teacher in NYCity schools for falsely denying activity in Young Communist League.

*Listed in COUNTERATTACK's book, "RED CHANNELS"

CBS
REFERENCE

WALLACH pledged his support in 1948 to Soviet cultural leaders in their battle against drive for war instigated by America's "ruling class". WALLACH's latest book, "Hopalong-Freud", was chosen by CP as one of ten best published last year. It is now prominently displayed (in the midst of official party books) in the window of bookstore at CP nat'l hq in NYCity.

Director ERWIN PISCATOR stresses importance of what he calls the "epic theatre" in the Dramatic Workshop...and explains that this makes the theatre "an educational institution in which the only criterion is the search for truth". This professed belief of PISCATOR's is revealing when taken in conjunction with his front record and the Communist-line message of some plays and musicals produced by his Dramatic Workshop.

Dramatic Workshop celebrated its 10th Anniversary last year with a Mardi Gras Ball in the Penthouse Ballroom at 13 Astor Place, the "Little Kremlin" of NYCity, which is a favorite Communist gathering place. The Workshop's teachers are organized by the CP-controlled Teachers Union.

Wouldn't you think that after several years of "cold" war and a year of shooting war against Communists in Korea, the Dramatic Workshop would be in disrepute because of records of its officials and instructors?

But it has an income of about $250,000 a year, leases two theatres in NYCity, runs a summer theatre at Lake Placid, and has a play subscription plan for which many thousands register (it claimed 20,000 in 1949 and claims 8,000 registered so far for Fall season). The Workshop has film, radio and TV departments in addition to its drama and musical play departments.

NYTimes and Herald Tribune, as well as other leading N Y newspapers, give it favorable publicity. It has a charter from the University of the State of New York, and is accredited by Veterans Administration for training under G I Bill of Rights. Originally an adjunct of the New School for Social Research, it broke away in 1949...but courses taken at Dramatic Workshop are still accredited toward B.A. degrees at the New School.

And Dramatic Workshop gets free advertising in NYCity schools. High school division of the city has approved the posting of its literature on bulletin boards. This action has undoubtedly encouraged many young students to learn the "truth" at ERWIN PISCATOR's "educational institution".

WHAT TO DO: Write to:

1. CARL R GRAY JR, Administrator of Veterans Affairs, Wash D C, and to your Congressman and Senators. Remind them that under the G I Bill of Rights, veterans of the war against Communism in Korea (some of them wounded by Communists) who do not know facts about the Dramatic Workshop may soon be turning your tax money over to the Dramatic Workshop...to help support and publicize people like IRVING CAESAR, who has openly indicated his sympathy with Chinese Communists; JAY and SANDRA GORNEY, who have supported CP officials and fronts or written for CP press; MORRIS CARNOVSKY, who has refused to state if he is a CP member...and others of their kind.

Demand that they do something NOW to stop flow of U S Govt funds into organizations like the Dramatic Workshop.

2. MAXIMILIAN MOSS, Pres, Board of Education, NYCity. Ask him why city school system encourages students to patronize Dramatic Workshop.

Yours faithfully,

August 10, 1951

Counterattack

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COUNTERATTACK

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FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 3-4608

PLEASE RETURN TO
CBS REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

Letter No. 217
July 20, 1951

Dear Subscriber:

PEABODY AWARD CHAIRMAN, EDWARD WEEKS, "ANSWERS" COUNTERATTACK. On May 11, COUNTERATTACK published facts which showed that certain persons who have received George Foster Peabody Awards for "meritorious public service" in the radio and TV field had Communist front records or had confused or biased views on the Communist question. It also pointed out the fact that persons with similar records had written for the Atlantic Monthly and that one Peabody Award citation contained a false statement.

COUNTERATTACK subscribers wrote to EDWARD WEEKS, Peabody Award Chairman and editor of the Atlantic Monthly, asking for an explanation.

WEEKS' reply was a fine example of artful dodging and an attempt to smear COUNTERATTACK. The letter-writers' charges, he said, were evidently based on COUNTERATTACK's "unsupported evidence".

But he did not cite a single instance of "unsupported evidence" in the newsletter. He did not challenge a single fact stated by COUNTERATTACK.

In an effort to bulldoze COUNTERATTACK's subscribers he listed the members of the Peabody Awards Advisory Committee and then, rising to great heights of righteous, lordly indignation, asked: "Are you suggesting that these individuals have conspired to give pro-Soviet citations?"

WEEKS stated that RAYMOND GRAM SWING (recently given a key post on the Voice of America) was "indicted" by COUNTERATTACK and implied that the alleged "indictment" was based SOLELY on a letter he wrote in behalf of HANNS EISLER in 1939. He also stated that COUNTERATTACK's inference (he meant implication) that SWING is now pro-Soviet was a "despicable lie".

The truth: COUNTERATTACK did not "indict" SWING nor did it imply that he is now pro-Soviet. It simply reported facts about him. And WEEKS' implication that SWING's letter in behalf of EISLER was the only reason for his being mentioned is completely misleading. The letter was just one of a number of facts about SWING published in COUNTERATTACK.

WEEKS also stated that through "ingenious typography" EISLER was "made to seem associated with" both the Atlantic Monthly and the Peabody Awards. That statement is sheer and absurd invention.

In writing of Wm L SHIRER, WEEKS completely evaded the issue of his record of affiliation (as speaker, sponsor, etc) with Communist fronts, just as he did in SWING's case. WEEKS wrote that SHIRER was an "ace commentator", his "Berlin Diary" was a Book of the Month Club selection, his detestation of tyranny a proven fact, so "of course we honored him".

And he stated falsely that in trying to "smear" SHIRER, COUNTERATTACK also "spatters" The Churchman, "a Protestant publication of good standing".

The Churchman and its editor, Rev GUY EMERY SHIPLER, were openly pro-Soviet until a short time ago. SHIPLER led the delegation of seven Protestant clergyman who went to Yugoslavia in 1947 (before Tito's break with

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Stalin) and whitewashed Tito's Communist dictatorship. The Churchman still publicizes CP fronts and features book reviews written by supporters of Stalin's "peace" campaign. It publishes sermons of, and defends, the Rev Wm HOWARD MELISH, front supporter, whose father was ousted as rector of his church because he insisted on keeping the son on as assistant rector.

Yet WEEKS says The Churchman is a publication "of good standing".

Communist ANNA LOUISE STRONG's articles on Russia and Poland published in the Atlantic Monthly completely followed the CP line. They were distorted, misleading...contained inaccuracies and misrepresentations.

WEEKS tried to excuse his publishing these articles by stating that "what COUNTERATTACK is really saying is that from 1942 to 1945 the Atlantic treated Soviet Russia as an ally".

Does WEEKS really believe that principles of a free press should be thrown out the window to whitewash dictatorships because they happen to be our wartime allies? That Communist falsehood should be presented as truth, even though it misleads the American people? If a third World War comes and Spain enters it as an ally against Stalin, will the Atlantic Monthly start publishing distorted articles about the glorious democracy that exists in Spain, in spite of fact that Franco's regime is not democratic?

WEEKS then delivered what he probably thought was a crushing blow against COUNTERATTACK. After saying the Atlantic's "credentials" were known to all and he had been on the staff 27 years, he asked: "Who are the proprietors of COUNTERATTACK? What are the credentials of those who write for it?" The information he seeks has long been public knowledge. The proprietors of COUNTERATTACK are former FBI agents and the editor is a former Army intelligence officer. Their names appear in each issue of COUNTERATTACK.

WEEKS ended his letter with a reference to the "carefully contrived mixture of truth and falsehood" in COUNTERATTACK and its "blackguardism".

Why didn't WEEKS cite an example of the "falsehood" he claims COUNTERATTACK publishes...just as COUNTERATTACK pinned down the falsehood about "RED CHANNELS" in the Peabody Award? And why didn't he answer COUNTERATTACK's statement concerning this false Peabody citation, instead of stooping to the smearing level of the Daily Worker?

THE PRO-CHINESE COMMUNIST BOOK REVIEWING LOBBY IS EXPOSED in the July issue of The American Mercury. The exposure, the first of a series of articles entitled "The Gravediggers of America", is written by RALPH de TOLEDANO, associate editor of Newsweek and co-author of "Seeds of Treason".

De TOLEDANO presents some shocking statistics in his study of the major books on China published in U S since the time of Munich: Thirty-one of the forty-two were pro-Chinese Communist, two sat on the fence, and only nine of the books were critical of Communism.

More startling is his analysis of the reviews of these books in the three most powerful organs in the reviewing field...the N Y Times, N Y Herald Tribune and Saturday Review of Literature: Seventy-three reviewers were pro-Chinese Communist, twelve were of the "on-the-one-hand" brigade, and only seven were known to hold anti-Communist views.

De TOLEDANO shows how OWEN LATTIMORE, AGNES SMEDLEY, JOSEPH BARNES, EDGAR SNOW, MARK GAYN, the late RICHARD LAUTERBACH and others who favored the Chinese Communists monopolized the reviews of books on China...how they plugged and praised one another's books and how they ganged up to tear apart any book on China that was not sympathetic to MAO's "agrarian reformers".

All COUNTERATTACK subscribers should read this article...and the

second article in the "Gravedigger" series which appears in the August Mercury. Also written by de TOLEDANO, it deals chiefly with reviews of books on Russia that appeared in the same publications. Reprints of both articles are available from the American Mercury (251 West 42nd Street, NYCity).

These articles, in combination with IRENE KUHN's "Why You Buy Books That Sell Communism" (published in the American Legion magazine of Jan, 1951 and still available from the Legion office, 580 Fifth Ave, NYC, at 10¢ per copy), present a fairly well-rounded picture of the great influence that Communists and their sympathizers have attained in the publishing fields.

THE AMERICAN MERCURY WASHES ITS HANDS OF CEDRIC BELFRAGE. For the past several months the American Mercury has been in a rather anomalous position. While publishing anti-Communist articles such as that on the pro-Chinese Communist book lobby...and an excellent article on Soviet atomic espionage in its April issue...it also ran light articles by CEDRIC BELFRAGE.

BELFRAGE came to U S from England years ago. During the Thirties he started plugging Communist fronts and causes...and has never let up. He is editor of the National Guardian, party-line weekly newspaper that is actually the voice of the CP-controlled "Progressive" Party. The Guardian, like its sponsoring party, adopted the Communist stand on the Korean war.

BELFRAGE held post of press control officer for Psychological Warfare Division of SHAEF (EISENHOWER's Hq) in spite of his front record. And after the war the Guggenheim Foundation granted him a fellowship to write an account of how the German people could be educated to and for democracy through the organization of a free German press!

ELIZABETH BENTLEY testified that BELFRAGE gave her information for transmittal to Soviet agents while he was in employ of the British Intelligence Service (this was before he received his U S Army commission).

He was called as a witness before the Federal Grand Jury which investigated Soviet espionage in 1948. Inasmuch as all Grand Jury hearings are secret, his testimony has never been released.

The pro-Communist China Monthly Review, published in Shanghai, has been sending to BELFRAGE's paper, the Nat'l Guardian, lists of American prisoners of war (POW's) captured in Korea who have allegedly signed Chinese Communist peace appeals or have given "peace" statements to Chinese officials.

The China Monthly Review gets its lists of American POW's from the Chinese People's Peace Committee for World Peace and Against American Aggression (the Nat'l Guardian changed this name to the softer-sounding Chinese People's Committee for World Peace).

BELFRAGE began publishing these lists, along with home addresses of the listees, in the April 18 issue of the Nat'l Guardian. He is still publishing them. To date, he has named well over 800 POW's (U S Govt has listed only about 150 because Communist Korean and Chinese regimes have refused to cooperate with Int'l Red Cross in exchanging POW data).

Communists and fellow travelers telephone, write to, or visit the parents or relatives of the POW's listed in BELFRAGE's paper. They express sympathy, tell them the Chinese front that supplied the names has agreed to forward one letter a month to each listed POW (also that it will try to locate unlisted men reported as "missing" by U S Govt)...and then they try to induce the POW's relatives to sign phony "peace" appeals concocted by U S fronts to help Stalin and his Chinese and Korean puppets.

The Administration insists that Korean war is a "police action". So nothing can be done to stop BELFRAGE from publishing his POW lists for

the benefit of the CP even though his doing so has been aptly described as a "contemptible Communist scheme". If Korean war were recognized for what it really is, BELFRAGE could be prosecuted for dealing with the enemy.

JULIEN STEINBERG is the new managing editor of the American Mercury. He is staunchly anti-Communist...edited the book, "Verdict of Three Decades", one of the most effective indictments of Communism ever published.

And he says the Mercury's previous anomalous position will be ended, its split personality corrected. BELFRAGE will no longer grace its pages.

Only the Communists and fellow travelers will weep.

THE PROFESSOR'S PROBLEM. Prof LINUS PAULING, director of the Gates and Crellin Laboratories of the California Institute of Technology and former Pres of the American Chemical Society, is a world renowned chemist. He developed the theory of chemical resonance that made possible the explanation of certain chemical phenomena that had previously been unexplainable. This theory is generally accepted by the world's leading chemists.

Prof PAULING has also been a devotee of a certain "cause". He has shown his allegiance to it for many years by his ACTIONS in espousing its line and numerous sub-causes sponsored by it...and, oddly enough, by refusing to tell an official investigating committee whether or not he was a member of the action agency of this cause (which has a peculiar code...you can prove your loyalty to it by refusing to admit membership and activity in it).

Now one of the highest agencies of the cause has denounced Prof PAULING's greatest scientific achievement, his theory of chemical resonance. The Institute of Organic Chemistry of the Academy of Sciences, USSR, says the theory is a mere illusion, that PAULING cherishes perverted concepts and is guilty of bourgeois thinking in propounding it.

What will Prof PAULING do? Will he stand by his theory and vigorously denounce the Soviet Academy for trying to dictate the workings of his mind? Or will he meekly accept the denunciation and reject his theory?

A free man would have no difficulty making his choice...even if it meant he would be ostracized by the other members of the "cause".

CARNEGIE HALL WILL BE SCENE OF A COMMUNIST FRONT RALLY on July 25 when the National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions holds a meeting to "Restore Free Speech" in the U S.

Featured speakers will be I F STONE, "good friend" of the CP and columnist for the Daily Compass (see last week's COUNTERATTACK, pp 1&2), and Dr HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD, professor emeritus of N Y University who has followed the party line for many years.

Rally is part of CP's propaganda campaign for repeal of the Smith Act and to secure a retrial for convicted CP leaders.

WHAT TO DO: Write, Wire or Telephone:

ROBERT E SIMON, Jr, Pres, Carnegie Hall, 7th Ave and 57 St, NYCity.

Ask him why Carnegie Hall, built by and for those interested in great artistic achievement, has turned its facilities over to a Communist front that prostitutes art by using it as an instrument for the defense of convicted Communist conspirators.

Yours faithfully,

July 20, 1951

Counterattack

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COUNTERATTACK

Reg. U. S. Pat. Off.

FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 3-4608

PLEASE RETURN TO
CBS REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

Letter No. 213
June 22, 1951

Dear Subscriber:

ARREST OF MORE COMMUNIST LEADERS EMPHASIZES UNREALISTIC ATTITUDE MANY PEOPLE STILL HAVE TOWARD STALIN'S U S AGENTS. One of the key Communist Party (CP) officials arrested by FBI this week to be tried on charges of conspiracy against the U S Govt was CLAUDIA JONES, sec'y of the party's Women's Commission. At Nat'l Convention last December she was elected one of the nine alternate members of the Politburo who will take over as aboveground rulers of the CP when its 11 convicted leaders are sent to jail. Last December she was ordered deported from U S as a Communist alien.

Yet she spoke on Roosevelt College (Chicago) campus just a few weeks ago under auspices of the Labor Youth League (really the Young Communist League) at a memorial meeting for WILLIE McGEE, a Negro recently electrocuted for rape. This meeting was part of the Communist conspiracy to stir up racial agitation (about one-fourth of students at Roosevelt College are Negroes) and to sell the Communist line to students.

There were protests against her appearance. The faculty debated the issue...and decided it in her favor. "Free speech" had to be upheld.

So CLAUDIA JONES praised Roosevelt College faculty for its action in her column in official CP newspaper last weekend. She boasted that "Communists have spoken there many times in the past"...and claimed that although most of her listeners were anti-Communists, many were "neutralized" by her talk and that the campus "seethed" with discussion the next day.

When the American Youth for Democracy (AYD), predecessor of Labor Youth League, petitioned for recognition at Roosevelt College some years ago the student body organization voted to refuse it recognition. But College Administration officials "requested" the student group to reconsider its decision. AYD was recognized...under pressure of the administration.

Dean EMERY W BALDUF has said that some Roosevelt College officials later regretted their action because AYD members were never satisfied and made "too much noise". Fact that AYD was an important part of CP conspiracy evidently didn't bother them...but fact that its members were noisy did!

Now CLAUDIA JONES says that Dean BALDUF stated at the meeting she addressed that he was not averse to changing the college rules to prohibit similar speaking engagements in the future. He and other Roosevelt College officials should certainly do this. The contention that CLAUDIA JONES represents a "political party" is pure hokum. It has been completely undercut by recent Supreme Court decision.

And she did not lecture in interests of "free speech"...did not admit that CP, of which she is a leader, is a conspiracy against the U S; that the Communists have no use for Negroes...except to use them for Stalin's benefit. She lied and tried to win adherents to the CP as a "political party" sincerely interested in workers, Negroes and youth. Is it the function of an institute of "learning" to provide a platform for a CLAUDIA JONES?

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J. G. Keenan, President; T. C. Kirkpatrick, Secretary-Treasurer; F. J. McNamara, Editor

WHY DO OFFICIALS OF INDIAN GOVT HELP COMMUNIST SUBVERSION OF U S? Last Friday Pres TRUMAN signed the bill providing for a loan of $190,000,000 to India for purchase of 2,000,000 tons of U S grain to offset the threat of famine in that country. But prior to and during the time Congress was debating this bill, Indian officials in the U S had been helping the CP in its plans to weaken and destroy America.

S K SHASTRI, while Director of Information for Indian Embassy, addressed a meeting of the N Y branch of Nat'l Labor Conference for Peace last September. The Nat'l Labor Conference for Peace, staffed, directed and supported by Communists and fellow travelers, is Stalin's major weapon for psychological sabotage of U S industrial workers.

SHASTRI praised leaders of Communism in Asia as being alert and vigorous and lauded the "great revolutionary" Communist regime in China as the "real representative" of the Chinese people.

Dr AMIYA CHAKRAVARTY, adviser to Indian U N delegation and fellow at Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton, has aided several fronts:

He took part in the "Crisis Conference" held in Washington on May 10 under auspices of Committee for Peaceful Alternatives. During same month he addressed a meeting of the CP-controlled American Labor Party (NY branch of Progressive Party) in NYCity. In March he addressed a dinner held by the China Welfare Appeal, the front that has been sending "Friendship Cargoes" to Communist China and is the American branch of Mme SUN YAT SEN's China Welfare Institute (controlled by Communist govt of China).

On same day that Chinese Communists launched their attack on U S and U N troops in Korea, CHAKRAVARTY addressed a N Y meeting of Committee for Peaceful Alternatives, attacked U S for its policy in Korea and said Tibet (since "liberated" by China) would be much better off under Chinese Communist rule. He praised North Korean Communists by saying that American troops in Korea could hardly believe the great improvements that had been made under their regime.

Dr BHARATAN KUMARAPPA, Indian delegate to U N social commission, has attacked U S in speeches which, though not given before party fronts, have helped CP propaganda line. U S is "the most violent nation in the world" he said in speeches at Dallas, Austin and San Antonio in February... and he added that Western imperialism, not Communism, was the chief enemy in the Far East. Univ of Houston canceled a scheduled speech by KUMARAPPA because of his statements. Ripley House, a branch of the Houston Settlement Ass'n, followed suit. Indian Govt later expressed regret for his remarks.

Madame PANDIT, Indian Ambassador to U S and sister of NEHRU, spoke at a rally of the Council of African Affairs in 1946. This front, headed by PAUL ROBESON, has been cited as subversive by the Dept of Justice. In 1949 she...and NEHRU...were listed as honorary members of the China Welfare Fund. Madame SUN YAT SEN was chrmn of this front. ROBESON, CLIFFORD ODETS, MURIEL DRAPER and JOHANNES STEEL were some of its supporters.

Indian officials have the right to express their nation's recommendations for the appeasement of Stalin...and to try to sell their ideas to American diplomats. That is part of their job.

But they are abusing their privileges when they give open assistance to groups that are fronts for the Communist Party in its efforts to undermine the U S for eventual overthrow by Stalin.

And Indian Govt is betraying the free world when it suppresses news of vital importance as it did last November. This is what happened:

M SIVARAM was correspondent in China for Press Trust of India last fall. All his dispatches sent from China were censored. After leaving China he sent his first uncensored dispatch from Hong Kong on Nov 19...just one week before Communist China launched her Korean offensive.

"Communist China has completed preparation to throw half a million crack troops into the battle for Korea, even at the risk of a major war", SIVARAM reported. He described the mass movement of Chinese troops into Manchuria that had been going on for weeks...the other preparations that made it evident that China was preparing for all-out war in Korea. His information came from first hand observation and from reliable sources in Peking.

A Chinese-Soviet agreement to halt "imperialist aggression" had been made a month earlier. Assurances of the help of Moscow for Chinese forces in Korea had been received by the Chinese govt.

SIVARAM's was the most valuable and objective report that had come out of China. Its publication in India could have had tremendous influence on events in Korea. It might have saved the lives of thousands of U N troops.

But Press Trust of India suppressed the report. Reuters, the British news agency, agreed to the suppression. It was published only in Australia where it drew little attention. One week later the Chinese Korean offensive took the U N troops by complete surprise.

Indian attitude toward Communism...and toward the party's fronts in U S...is undoubtedly influenced to a considerable extent by the so-called "liberal" American publications read by its officials.

Both NEHRU and Madame PANDIT sent congratulatory messages to "The Nation" magazine on occasion of its 85th Anniversary last December. NEHRU said The Nation has "consistently stood for good causes and the advancement of democratic freedom all over the world". Madame PANDIT hoped The Nation would continue its "good work in the cause of democracy and peace".

Sir BENEGAL RAU, Indian representative to the Security Council, wrote an article for The Nation's 85th Anniversary issue.

NEHRU has said he has time to read only one or two American publications. Obviously, The Nation is one of them and many of his associates undoubtedly follow his example in reading it.

And the Nation has been peddling the CP line in columns of some of its writers for years. It has featured ALVAREZ DEL VAYO, who is admittedly pro-Communist and pro-Russian...also MAXWELL S STEWART, formerly of the Moscow Daily News, ANDREW ROTH of the Amerasia case, CAREY McWILLIAMS of numerous party fronts, etc. FRIEDA KIRCHWEY, the editor and publisher of The Nation, has plugged appeasement of Stalin.

NEHRU and other Indian officials should realize that The Nation line on Communism is not representative of the feelings of most Americans... and that if India wants to build good will in the U S, its representatives should stop giving aid to the enemies of America.

"M" AND THE CP-LINE MUTUAL ASSISTANCE ASSOCIATION. Columbia Pictures' remake of the picture "M" had its premiere at NYCity's Globe Theater last week. The film demonstrates very effectively how Communists and front supporters in the entertainment field through some mysterious (?) process seem to crop up in numbers in certain films, stage and radio productions. Here is the record of several people connected with the picture "M":

JOSEPH LOSEY, director: Sponsor of Waldorf "Peace" Conference; signed Supreme Court brief for JOHN HOWARD LAWSON and DALTON TRUMBO of the Hollywood Ten (both have been identified as party members).

WALDO SALT, script writer: identified as CP member in current Hollywood probe; refused to answer questions when called to testify.

HOWARD DA SILVA*, actor in film: same as SALT (above).

KAREN MORLEY, actress in film: identified as CP member by several witnesses in current investigation; has so far avoided subpoena to testify; reported to be hiding out in Mexico or South America.

MARTIN GABEL* and LUTHER ADLER* also have roles in the film.

"Sirocco", another Columbia picture released last week, features ZERO MOSTEL* and LEE J COBB*.

MOSTEL has entertained at CP functions according to testimony given to a Senate investigating committee. He made his first night club appearance in NYCity's Cafe Society which launched many Communist and pro-Communist entertainers when owned by BARNEY JOSEPHSON...who has been identified as a Communist and is the brother of Comintern agent LEON JOSEPHSON. MOSTEL was formerly a member of the American Youth for Democracy. He has supported the Hollywood Ten, the party's May Day parade, and a number of fronts.

COBB won praise of CP press when he refused an important role in the anti-Communist film, "The Iron Curtain", in 1948. Ten years ago he was a supporter of the American Peace Mobilization, which opposed U S defense measures during the Stalin-Hitler pact. More recently he sponsored the Waldorf Peace Conference, Progressive Citizens of America, etc. He is still listed as a sponsor of the China Welfare Appeal.

Communist regime in China is plugging this front in U S. "People's China" is a monthly propaganda magazine sponsored by Chinese Govt. A recent issue of this publication was mailed to U S with a special supplement... a pamphlet containing a speech recorded for the China Welfare Appeal by Madame SUN YAT SEN, now an official of Communist China. The speech was played at a meeting of China Welfare Appeal in N Y last Nov 18. It described China as a nation that would struggle to maintain peace "at all costs", a nation disturbed by the "club swinging measures" taken against peace in some U S circles. Eight days later Madame SUN's "peaceful" armies attacked in Korea.

WHAT CAN YOU DO TO HELP FIGHT THE COMMUNISTS?

CP has attacked the film "I was a Communist for the FBI" more viciously than any other film produced in years. A campaign of vilification, carried out in the party press and through its fronts, has attempted to brand the picture as anti-Semitic, anti-Negro, anti-peace, etc. Communist perjurer MORRIS U SCHAPPES, in a typical cheap Communist smear statement has written that the name of JACK WARNER, the "Jewish plutocrat" who produced the film, will be "spat upon by the masses of the Jewish people".

But Int'l Ladies Garment Workers Union (AFL) has distributed over 120,000 reduced-rate tickets to "I Was a Communist for the FBI". Garment Workers Union, headed by DAVID DUBINSKY, is composed largely of Jewish members and is strongly anti-Communist.

The picture tells the truth, hits the Communists where it hurts, and merits your support.

Go to see it...and do your part to defeat CP's efforts to suppress the truth about its conspiracy by smearing this film.

*Listed in "RED CHANNELS".

Yours faithfully,

June 22, 1951

Counterattack

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FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 3-4608

Letter No. 210
June 1, 1951

Dear Subscriber:

IS THE PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE "SQUARE" WITH ITS PUBLIC? Eight weeks ago (Mar 30, pp 3 & 4) COUNTERATTACK published facts about the long pro-Communist record of MAXWELL S STEWART, editor of the Public Affairs Committee which has distributed 17,000,000 pamphlets in schools, unions, etc, throughout the country. COUNTERATTACK also stated that the Committee had decided to retain STEWART as editor after it had received a thoroughly documented report (117 pages) on his Communist front activities.

COUNTERATTACK subscribers wrote to MARK STARR, chrmn of the Public Affairs Committee, and asked for an explanation of its action. They received a reply signed by STARR and ERLING M HUNT, acting sec'y of the Committee, which was so misleading that public correction of it is necessary.

The letter stated that the Committee began an investigation of STEWART's record "a year ago" when the charges against him first came to its attention (another letter circulated as a reply to criticism of Committee said the charges had been known to Committee for "the past several months").

Fact: On Aug 1, 1949, the Chairman of Education and Promotion for the Committee wrote a letter of resignation and said the "principal reason" for her resignation was the fact that STEWART was, in effect, directing the Committee's program. She also stated that she would "love" to stay with the Committee under different circumstances, but that she had been receiving "almost daily" criticism of STEWART for about two years and his "sustained reputation" as a fellow traveler was a definite drawback to Public Affairs Committee's work in educational, press, business and civic circles.

The STARR-HUNT letter also stated that the investigation of STEWART satisfied the board that he "is not now, and never has been, pro-Communist".

Fact: The board as a whole was NOT satisfied...and one of the dissatisfied parties, Dr J FREDERIC DEWHURST of the 20th Century Fund, resigned in protest against its decision.

And how could the Committee say STEWART was "never" pro-Communist when he has a documented record of over 50 instances of affiliation with Communist fronts through all major changes in the party line, has written obviously Communist-line material for Communist magazines, has worked for an official Soviet govt newspaper in Moscow and, on same platform with former CP Gen'l Sec'y EARL BROWDER, has attacked "American imperialists" for giving help to CHIANG KAI-SHEK in his battle against the Communists?

The Committee sent a copy of one of its latest pamphlets, "What About Communism?" by Prof ARTHUR M SCHLESIGNER, Jr, to all those who wrote letters of protest. It did this in an obvious effort to whitewash itself. But what is the whole story about this pamphlet on Communism?

In the fall of 1948 the Committee, after receiving repeated inquiries from church groups, schools, etc, ordered STEWART and several other

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officials to confer on the subject of a pamphlet on Communism. Newspaperman FREDERICK WOLTMAN, who has won a Pulitzer Prize for his articles in NY World-Telegram on the subject, was proposed as its author.

Editor STEWART delayed conferring on the pamphlet. Finally in Sept 1950...two years later...it was published. And the author was not FREDERICK WOLTMAN, but ARTHUR M SCHLESINGER, Jr (an anti-Communist), of Harvard.

The pamphlet is an unrealistic "ivory tower" treatment of Communism. It discusses the Communist Party (CP) in this country as though there is still some question about whether or not it is a political party like the Democratic or Republican parties, whether or not the CP leaders advocate violence, whether or not Communists are agents of a foreign govt, etc. It treats the Communist hokum on these questions as a sincere position...and ignores the available facts which make the questions ridiculous.

Some statements in the pamphlet are misleading. At least one is incorrect and is contradicted by other statements in the pamphlet. The Public Affairs Committee's claim that its pamphlets represent "the best available knowledge on a given subject" is certainly open to doubt.

Some questions for the Committee: Why did the STARR-HUNT letter inform COUNTERATTACK subscribers that STEWART had written the foreword to SCHLESINGER's pamphlet on Communism when there was no foreword? Who are the "20 to 30" experts on Communism who checked SCHLESINGER's pamphlet?

Where and when has STEWART, as the letter stated, written "much that opposes Communism and the Communist Party line"?

Why did the letter refer to "rumors" about MAXWELL S STEWART? COUNTERATTACK had stated only facts about him and the Committee.

Why did the letter state that it was helping to replace "wrong assumptions with objective facts" in the search for truth...when it was inaccurate, misleading and suppressed facts the public has a right to know?

Why doesn't the Committee release the 117 page report on MAXWELL S STEWART that it paid $2500 for? Is it because the documented facts about STEWART are more damaging than the so-called "rumors"?

DON'T LOAD ARMS FOR OUR ANTI-COMMUNIST ALLIES, said State Dept employe EDITH CAMERON WALL when she spoke with JOSEPH P RYAN, pres of Int'l Longshoremen's Association (ILA) last year.

She had visited the ILA office to discuss "manpower problems". She showed credentials from State Dept and a letter from Sec of Labor MAURICE TOBIN. She saw union records. The longshoremen were loading military equipment for shipment to France under the North Atlantic Pact.

Then she asked RYAN if he would not change his policy on loading the ships and call a sympathy strike in U S ports for benefit of French CP-led dockers. When asked whose views she was expressing, she replied that they were "only" her own...not the State Dept's.

RYAN checked with the State Dept. It informed him that Miss WALL was a "highly regarded statistician". In reply to later protests over the incident, the State Dept said that Miss WALL had merely asked some "tactless questions" and that it was dismissing the case with "complete satisfaction" after investigating it "thoroughly".

But RYAN, the only (known) person to whom Miss WALL had made her strange remarks was never visited by a State Dept investigator.

Today Miss WALL is in New Delhi, India...as assistant labor attache to the American Embassy. It looks like a promotion.

No wonder RYAN says his men have lost confidence in State Dept!

NO MILITARY AID TO SPAIN, SAYS CP. Moscow does not want Spain strengthened or admitted to North Atlantic Pact...that would obviously make Stalin's job of taking over Western Europe more difficult.

So CP is whipping up anti-Franco sentiment and its major front on Spanish questions,the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, has sent an open letter to Pres TRUMAN asking that he bar military aid to Spain. Copies of the letter were sent to Sec ACHESON and Ambassador GRIFFIS in Madrid.

CP had help of 238 "notable" Americans who lent their names to this effort to help Moscow by weakening defense of Western Europe.

The "notable" signers of the letter included: PAUL ROBESON; Communist-perjurer HARRY BRIDGES; HUGH BRYSON, pres of Marine Cooks and Stewards Union, who has been identified as a Communist by CP press; EDGAR SNOW, until recently an editor of Saturday Evening Post; writers VINCENT SHEEAN, DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER and KAY BOYLE; Communist HOWARD FAST; playwrights ARTHUR MILLER, JEROME CHODOROV and CLIFFORD ODETS (identified as a CP official in sworn testimony); artists RAPHAEL SOYER, ROBT GWATHMEY and ROCKWELL KENT, who has been named as a Communist by several former party members.

Also: Rt Rev ARTHUR W MOULTON, retired Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Utah, who was recently awarded one of Stalin's "peace" prizes...and the following clergymen who frequently back CP causes: Rev JOHN B THOMPSON of Rockefeller Memorial Chapel, Univ of Chicago; Bishop FRANCIS J McCONNEL (ret) of NYCity; Rt Rev EDWARD L PARSONS (ret), Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Calif; Rabbi J X COHEN, NYCity, and Rev JOHN HOWLAND LATHROP of Brooklyn.

H T TSIANG IS BACK IN HOLLYWOOD. Just a year ago H T TSIANG, a Chinese actor and playwright, was in NYCity...playing in a special production of one of his Communist-line plays for benefit of CP's Jefferson School.

DAVID PLATT, film critic for Daily Worker, had announced TSIANG's return to N Y from Hollywood for the party faithful, and said that he would produce and act in performances of his two plays, "Canton Rickshaw" and "Hanging in Union Square" (the play later presented for Jefferson School).

TSIANG also entertained for the Labor Youth League (formerly the Young Communist League) while in N Y. With PEARL SOMNER, a bright light in the CP's drama circuit, he starred in presentations of his plays at the Malin Studios, which are frequently used for Communist front affairs.

He taught acting at the "Television Theatre", a dramatic group endorsed by CP. PEARL PRIMUS, the dancer identified as a Communist in sworn testimony before a Senate committee, also taught at this school.

TSIANG eventually went back to Hollywood...to act in a picture called "Smuggler's Island" which was released last week. The film was produced by TED RICHMOND and directed by EDWARD LUDWIG for Universal-International.

THE "WEAVERS" ARE GOING PLACES. The "Weavers" are a folk-singing quartette composed of PETE SEEGER*, FRED HELLERMAN, LEE HAYS & RONNIE GILBERT.

They have recently been featured on TV programs, in nightclubs, hotels and theatres in various parts of U S...Ciro's in Hollywood, the Shamrock Hotel in Houston, the Thunderbird in Las Vegas, the Nicollet Hotel in Minneapolis, the Blue Angel in NYCity and the Riverside in Reno...the Capitol Theatre in Wash, D C, the Orpheum in Omaha, the Strand in NYCity...the Milton Berle TV show, the Faye Emerson show and the Colgate Comedy Hour.

The Weavers were originally sponsored by People's Songs, a now defunct front. They achieved fame in pro-Communist circles during Wallace campaign. One of their popular records was first published in "People's Songs", publication of the front that first sponsored the Weavers.

* Listed in COUNTERATTACK'S book, "RED CHANNELS".

After the CP-inspired riots at Peekskill, N Y, in 1949, the Weavers made a record, "The Peekskill Story", for People's Artists (successor to People's Songs) with PAUL ROBESON and Communist HOWARD FAST. All royalties from this record were turned over to People's Artists, which provides entertainment for CP conventions, May Day parades and other party functions.

PETE SEEGER is now listed as a contributor to People's Artists publication "Sing Out" (CP press says it "provides songs for struggle"). He promoted this magazine when Weavers were at Shamrock Hotel in Houston.

Cultural Division of CP held special performance for 12 CP leaders in the "little Kremlin" at 13 Astor Place, NYCity, after the 1949 May Day Parade. SEEGER and HELLERMAN were in the cast. The script was written by LEE HAYS, who also acted as Master of Ceremonies. Actor BOB REED reviewed the affair for the Daily Worker a few days later and wrote:

"New songs and film strips walloped the enemies of the people in what the singers called 'Aesopian language'...This reviewer has never seen a show which stirred its audience more".

REED, a CP member, died about a year later (May, 1950). Top CP functionaries like V J JEROME and JOHN HOWARD LAWSON attended the funeral services...as did the Weavers...to sing the "songs that REED loved".

Weaver LEE HAYS delivered the eulogy...and urged the Communists in attendence to "love one another. And to hate our enemies...and believe in, and to live by, the finest cause in the world - the liberation of mankind".

When three CP-led unions, the United Office and Professional Workers of America, the Food and Tobacco Workers, and Distributive Workers Union, merged to form the Distributive, Processing and Office Workers Union (DPOW) last October, the Weavers entertained the delegates attending the founding convention of this new and powerful Communist labor group.

This took place after Korean war started...and after the Weavers' manager had visited COUNTERATTACK (because of facts about Weavers published last June when they made their TV debut) and said that he would refuse any future engagements for Communist front groups.

When Weavers gave a concert at NYCity's Town Hall last Dec 23, the CP press gave them a nice advance plug. They netted over $3000.

The Weavers started a four-week engagement at the Empire Room of Chicago's famous Palmer House on May 31. And on Sunday, June 3, they are scheduled to appear on the Dave Garroway program, which is packaged (and cast) by NBC for its TV network. Congoleum-Nairn is the sponsor.

WHAT TO DO: Write to:

CONRAD HILTON, Pres, Hilton Hotel Corp (Palmer House), 5th Avenue at 59th Street, New York City.

F J ANDRE, Pres, Congoleum-Nairn, 1950 Belgrove Drive, Kearney, N J.

JOSEPH H McCONNELL, Pres, NBC, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, NYCity.

Ask them why they feature the Weavers as entertainers.

And write to your Congressman and Senators. Demand that a thorough investigation of the State Dept's "investigation" of Miss Wall be made (See p 2). Tell them that the State Dept's wordy explanation of the incident is completely inadequate. It leaves too many questions unanswered.

Yours faithfully,

June 1, 1951

Counterattack

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FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42nd STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LOngacre 3-4608

Letter No. 207
May 11, 1951

Dear Subscriber:

ARE GEORGE FOSTER PEABODY RADIO AND TELEVISION AWARDS SLANTED? The George Foster Peabody Awards were set up eleven years ago with the assistance of the National Association of Broadcasters, to recognize "the most disinterested and meritorious public service rendered each year by radio and television"...and to honor the memory of George Foster Peabody, deceased banker and trustee of the University of Georgia.

The awards are administered by the Henry W Grady School of Journalism of the Univ of Georgia and by a National Advisory Board headed by EDWARD WEEKS, who has been editor of the Atlantic Monthly since 1938.

WEEKS is a popular lecturer for women's organizations and other groups...but the Atlantic Monthly has followed a strange course under his direction. This old, respected publication, which once numbered as contributors such famous literary figures as HAWTHORNE, LONGFELLOW, WHITTIER, etc, maintained an objective stand on world events until about 1942. Then it published a series of articles on Stalin Russia and later on Poland that ran on and off until 1945. Here are some of the writers Atlantic Monthly chose to inform American people about the Communist dictatorship in this series:

ANNA LOUISE STRONG, openly pro-Moscow propagandist who was editor of the Moscow Daily News in Russia and is the widow of a Soviet official. She tried to join Communist Party (CP) in Russia but was refused...she is still blatantly pro-CP and sings praises of MAO TSE-TUNG.

RAYMOND GRAM SWING, radio commentator. He has supported functions of Communist magazine "Soviet Russia Today" and Committee of One Thousand. Nat'l Council of American-Soviet Friendship was cited as subversive in 1947 ...in late 1948 SWING was still listed as one of its sponsors. In 1939, SWING wrote a letter to Sec of State CORDELL HULL urging him to extend visas of HANNS EISLER and wife to U S and said: "I would not presume to call it (EISLER's case) to your attention if I did not believe Mr EISLER was worthy of an asylum in this free country. I believe there is some prejudice against him in your Department because he has composed music for workers' choruses".

HANNS EISLER composed official Comintern song. He is brother of GERHART EISLER...and was deported in 1948 as an alien Communist.

In his radio broadcasts, SWING often followed an appeasement line and defended Russian policy. He wrote in Atlantic Monthly that people of U S "can choose whether to work with the Soviet Union as a partner or whether to surrender to memories and fears." In other words, Stalin Russia had done nothing to impede U S - USSR cooperation and friendship...the only deterrent was the attitudes of the American people.

MAX LERNER, now a columnist for New York Post, who was formerly an editor of late and unlamented Communist-line newspaper, PM. LERNER's present (if sometimes confused) non-Communism was not always so evident...he

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J. G. Keenan, President; T. C. Kirkpatrick, Secretary-Treasurer; F. J. McNamara, Editor

was mildly critical of Stalin Russia but advocated giving in to many Moscow demands to avoid another war. LERNER's confusion is probably a hangover from days when he wrote for "Soviet Russia Today", called for closer cooperation with Soviet Union and supported many of CP's leading fronts...committees for defense of EARL BROWDER and HARRY BRIDGES, the American League for Peace and Democracy, American Youth Congress, American Student Union, Nat'l Federation for Constitutional Liberties, League of American Writers, etc.

Since 1945 the Atlantic Monthly has featured additional articles by ANNA LOUISE STRONG and RAYMOND GRAM SWING...also articles by WILLIAM L SHIRER and by persons such as OWEN LATTIMORE and GORDON KAHN.

KAHN has been identified as a CP member in curent Hollywood probe.

WM L SHIRER, radio commentator and writer, has been sponsor, speaker, etc, for the Voice of Freedom Committee, American Relief for Greek Democracy, Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, its successor, the Progressive Citizens of America, etc.

After Sec of State MARSHALL refused to accept award of the year given by the pro-Communist "Churchman" magazine in 1948, SHIRER spoke at the dinner, said he was proud to meet people "who are not scared of cheap Red-baiters", and critized MARSHALL for refusing the award.

SHIRER has claimed that U S State Dept, not Stalin Russia, blocked lifting of the Berlin Blockade. He questioned value of U S effort to save Greece from Communism by asking if that country was not "a bottomless pit".

The same odd line that has marked Atlantic Monthly under WEEKS' editorship is evident in Peabody Awards. Here are some of the earlier winners of awards from the advisory board headed by EDWARD WEEKS:

NORMAN CORWIN*. Drama Award, 1941 (CBS). Corwin has an extensive record of support for CP fronts and causes.

CECIL BROWN. Award for news reporting, 1941 (CBS).

BROWN attacked the 1947 probe of Communism in Hollywood...said it demonstrated that "hysteria and fear" were threatening to destroy "basic American and democratic rights". And at the same time he criticized the U S for propping up the "anti-democratic" Greek govt and "anti-democratic" Germans. U S policy, as exemplified in Truman Doctrine for aid to Greece and Turkey, the Marshall plan, etc, BROWN said, was publicized as a program for peace...but it was based on intimidating Stalin Russia and, to date, policies of intimidation had never kept peace. U S policy was a war policy.

When Supreme Court handed down its recent ruling on the Attorney General's list (see last week's COUNTERATTACK) BROWN predicted that the order would throw outfits like COUNTERATTACK into a tailspin (but it didn't). He described COUNTERATTACK as the outfit that published "RED CHANNELS", a book that smeared radio people.

RAYMOND GRAM SWING (See p 1). News Commentary award, 1944 (ABC).

ARCH OBOLER. Drama Award. 1945 (Mutual). He is director and producer of "Five", new film about aftermath of atomic war. OBOLER was on staff of "Direction" (cited as "Communist initiated and controlled" publication), a supporter of Hollywood Writers Mobilization, Artists Front To Win the War.

WILLIAM L SHIRER* (See above). News reporting, 1946 (CBS).

HENRY MORGAN*. Drama award, 1946 (ABC). He has a front record.

WMCA (NYCity). Educational Program award, 1946...for its Communist-line "New World a-Coming" series.

CBS Views the Press. News Award, 1946. DON HOLLENBECK was the commentator for this program. Here are just a few examples of his line:

* Listed in COUNTERATTACK's book, "RED CHANNELS".

He knocked the comic book "Is This Tomorrow?", which portrayed what U S would be like under Communist rule (CP quoted him approvingly). He helped WALLACE by hinting that Henry really didn't want Communist support...and criticized N Y Herald Tribune for not giving WALLACE a big enough display. He praised WALLACE's magazine, the New Republic...and plugged GEO SELDES' CP-line newsletter, "In Fact" (while gently slapping its wrists).

HOLLENBECK attacked FREDERICK WOLTMAN, writer for NY World Telegram who won Pulitzer Prize for his articles exposing Communism, because WOLTMAN exposed the Methodist Federation for Social Action as a CP front. He said no one who exposed Communism should get a Pulitzer award...and implied that WOLTMAN, a capable and accurate reporter, was a liar...but did not challenge any of WOLTMAN's specific facts about the Federation.

CP praised HOLLENBECK as one of the "better news commentators" on one occasion. At another time, it lauded his "excellent survey of the newspapers". His program had definite bias...but it received a Peabody award for "outstanding reporting and interpretation of the news" in 1946.

"Studio One". Special drama citation, 1947 (CBS). This program had many performers with Communist front records on it.

CBS Documentary Unit. ROBT HELLER* and ROBT LOUIS SHAYON*. Educational award, 1947. NORMAN CORWIN* and PETER LYON* were also in this unit.

"Actors Studio". Award for television art, 1948 (ABC). Another program that featured many people with CP front records. This was first TV program on which JEAN MUIR* appeared.

Peabody awards for 1950 were announced on April 26. Again, there were some odd choices:

1. "Pursuit of Peace" (Document A-777), U N Radio program by NORMAN CORWIN*. Award for contribution to international understanding.

2. IRA HIRSCHMANN, Pres, station WABF-FM, NYCity. HIRSCHMANN is a former department store executive who was personal envoy of Pres ROOSEVELT on War Refugee Board, held a high UNRRA post, was recipient of the "One World Award" for 1949, and is now head of the New Friends of Music and Metropolitan Broadcasting and Television, Inc.

Here is part of HIRSCHMANN's front record: Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee; Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions; Progressive Citizens of America; American Council for a Democratic Greece; American Relief for Greek Democracy; Nat'l Wallace for President Committee, Nat'l Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions, Waldorf "Peace" Conference; Voice of Freedom Committee; China Welfare Appeal; Civil Rights Congress (Washington Crusade in support of 11 convicted CP leaders).

While on Bd of Higher Education of NYCity he attacked his board colleagues because they called the American Youth for Democracy (successor to the Young Communist League) a CP front. He also defended the right of Communists to teach in the schools.

He was not reappointed to board in 1949 after resolutions demanding his ouster (because of his "pro-Communist activities") were sent to then Mayor O'DWYER by American Legion, VFW and Catholic War Veterans.

The CP publicly bemoaned the loss of the "progressive" HIRSCHMANN to the NYCity educational system.

HIRSCHMANN protested American "meddling" in Italian elections of 1948. In the same year he was on the nominating committee for the CP controlled "Progressive" Party convention.

His book, "The Embers Still Burn" (published in 1949), plugged the line that Stalin Russia was always right and the U S was always wrong. It

* Listed in "RED CHANNELS".

revealed that HIRSCHMANN disliked intensely all DP's who were refugees from Communist dictatorship...that he had subtly suggested that UNRRA should not aid Polish DP's so that they would be forced to return to CP Poland.

The Communist press praised this book highly because it exposed "American imperialism in Europe and the entire world".

HIRSCHMANN's station, WABF, is, with one exception, the ONLY station in NY State that is NOT cooperating with the state civil defense radio information program (the other exception is a station near Canadian border, which for mechanical reasons, cannot carry the program).

Yet HIRSCHMANN and his station received a special citation from the Peabody Award committee for 1950.

And a special Peabody Award citation for 1950 was given to ROBERT KINTNER, Pres of ABC, and two of his associates because:

"At a time when radio stations and networks were either firing or refusing to hire writers and actors on the basis of the unsupported innuendoes contained in a publication known as 'Red Channels', (they) refused to be stampeded into either action". The citation praised KINTNER for publicly stating his faith in GYPSY ROSE LEE after an American Legion official protested her appearance because of facts stated in "RED CHANNELS".

This Peabody Award citation contains an outright lie. It is an excellent example of the code of conduct of certain pseudo-liberals...there must be excess proof of any charge of pro-Communism, but any anti-Communist individual or organization can be smeared without factual basis.

There is not a single "unsupported innuendo" about GYPSY ROSE LEE in "RED CHANNELS". The book states only facts.

KINTNER's action would have been praiseworthy and deserving of a citation if, after charges had been made, he had conducted a thorough, impartial investigation of GYPSY ROSE LEE's reported CP front activities (and her present activities) and then taken action on the basis of his findings.

But KINTNER did not do that. When GYPSY ROSE LEE issued a statement denying any Communist ties, KINTNER abnegated his responsibilities and tried to shift them to someone else. He called on the Legion official to prove the charges against GYPSY ROSE LEE. Without investigating, KINTNER completely accepted GYPSY ROSE LEE's statement and rejected the facts published in "RED CHANNELS". And for this, he and two of his associates were cited by Peabody group for "their courageous stand in resisting organized pressures and their reaffirmation of basic American principles".

WHAT CAN YOU DO? Write to:

1. JOHN E DREWRY, Dean, Henry W Grady School of Journalism, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.

2. EDWARD WEEKS, Editor, the Atlantic Monthly and chairman of Peabody Award Committee, 8 Arlington Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

Ask them what reason they have for issuing a citation that contains a complete falsehood...and why such a large number of individuals they have "honored" by their awards have front records or obviously biased or confused attitudes about Communism.

Yours faithfully,

May 11, 1951

Counterattack

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FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 3-4608

Letter No. 206
May 4, 1951

Dear Subscriber:

WHAT WILL BE EFFECT OF SUPREME COURT ORDER ON THE SUBVERSIVE LIST? This week's Supreme Court decision that three fronts on Attorney General's list should have received a hearing before being listed will not effect present Communist front listings as far as Govt's loyalty program is concerned.

Justice Dept and Loyalty Review Board officials will continue to consider the affiliations of individuals with the three Communist Party (CP) fronts affected by the order in deciding future loyalty cases. The three fronts are the Int'l Workers Order, the Nat'l Council of American-Soviet Friendship and the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee.

Supreme Court decision did not order Attorney General to strike these fronts from his list. It merely reversed a lower court which had held that the Attorney General had the right to list fronts without first granting them a hearing. Now a hearing must be given.

But these groups are so obviously CP-controlled there is little doubt that Att'y Gen will prove his case and that they will remain on list.

Other fronts cited by Attorney General that are still extant can now demand, and get, court rulings demanding their right to a hearing. But they, too, will still be considered in loyalty problems UNLESS the Attorney General fails to prove his case against them.

Court findings favorable to Att'y Gen'l in such trials will have effect of conclusively and permanently branding groups concerned as subversive.

Supreme Court order on listings emphasizes the wrong stand, the ineffectiveness, of the Administration in dealing with Communist problem.

Three years ago, Rep (now Sen) RICHARD M NIXON incorporated into the Communist control bill which he originated in the House, a provision that all front groups should have the right to a hearing before being ordered to register with Govt. Rep (now Sen) MUNDT co-sponsored the bill with NIXON. These registration provisions of the Mundt-Nixon bill were later incorporated into the Internal Security Act of 1950 which was passed by Congress last September (COUNTERATTACK supported both bills).

But Pres TRUMAN, Attorney General McGRATH and other Administration officials opposed both of these bills. While listing organizations as fronts without granting a hearing, they were denouncing legislation which carefully protected right of all organizations to a full hearing.

Under Internal Security Act of 1950 which the Administration opposed, the Subversive Activities Control Board is now holding hearings to determine whether the CP must register with the govt as a foreign-controlled organization. When this hearing is completed, the Board will hold hearings on other organizations to determine whether they should register as Communist "action" or "front" groups.

When this board hands down its decisions, people will have far more

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J. G. Keenan, President; T. C. Kirkpatrick, Secretary-Treasurer; F. J. McNamara, Editor

confidence in them than in the Attorney General's listings. If this law had been passed several years ago instead of last September, official and convincing citations of the CP as a unit and its various fronts would already be in effect. Valuable time would not have been lost.

You should be thankful to those Congressmen and Senators who, over Administration opposition, passed the Internal Security Act of 1950.

N Y TIMES RADIO CRITIC JACK GOULD BEMOANS "CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE" SURROUNDING THE "BLACKLIST" OF RADIO AND TV PERFORMERS. The campaign of the CP and its chief "anti-blacklist" fronts, the Voice of Freedom Committee and Nat'l Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions, to protect Communists and pro-Communists in broadcasting industry, received a shot in the arm recently from a column written by N Y Times critic JACK GOULD.

GOULD said that "blacklist" of performers has gone underground and become more widespread since the dismissal of JEAN MUIR from the "Aldrich Family" program; that the innocence or guilt of individuals is of no concern to many, if not most, employers; that performers' basic and fundamental rights have disappeared and that the fact that an individual is listed in "RED CHANNELS", COUNTERATTACK's report on Communist influence in radio and television, means that he will not be hired by any but a few employers.

The broadcasting industry, GOULD claims, is condoning totalitarian methods, has adopted a program of commercial expediency that is playing into the hands of the Fascist and Communist enemies of democracy, and has become an appeaser in the battle for civil liberties.

"It is time the story came out", says GOULD...the industry must end the "conspiracy of silence" that is surrounding its undemocratic practices.

COUNTERATTACK has not urged a complete and automatic boycott of any person listed in "RED CHANNELS". The book indicates that some listees might have been induced to support fronts although they were not pro-Communist. And it has spurred some of them to clarify their stand publicly.

But COUNTERATTACK also opposes GOULD's misleading article on the "blacklist" which, though probably sincere, is unjust to the broadcasting industry and makes inaccurate statements about COUNTERATTACK and "RED CHANNELS".

GOULD claims that "displaced" radio artists are being denied opportunity to earn a living. This is what MILLARD LAMPELL* falsely claimed at recent "Crack The Back of Counterattack" meeting sponsored by the Nat'l Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions (COUNTERATTACK, April 13, p 3).

But a performer who has made himself unacceptable to the public by his past or current ACTIONS has no "right" to a part on any show. And HE has blackballed himself...the industry hasn't done it. So it is up to HIM, not the industry, to clear himself with the public. When plenty of performers with good records are available, why should the industry jeopordize its name (and success) by hiring those with questionable records?

Broadcasters, sponsors and advertising agencies DO have a right to protect their business by putting on shows staffed with performers who will sell their product. That is what they are in business for. They cannot be expected to hire people the public won't accept.

GOULD ignored this fact completely. Isn't he concerned with industry's rights as well as those of past or present CP front supporters?

Contrary to GOULD's claims, many "RED CHANNELS" listees are still appearing on radio and TV programs...and industry is giving even those with convincing pro-Communist records a chance to tell their side of the story.

Broadcasting industry has finally evolved a plan to solve problem raised by JEAN MUIR case. According to this plan, performers accused of pro-Communism can file with American Federation of Radio Artists (AFRA) a statement giving their side of case. American Ass'n of Advertising Agencies will make this statement available to sponsors interested in hiring the performer.

This plan is unsatisfactory because it eliminates the questioning of a prospective employe by his potential employer. Communists and pro-Communists will not hesitate to file lying or "whitewash" statements with AFRA. How, then, can an employer form a reasonable judgment of any case unless he can question the performer and his statement?

But GOULD attacks this inadequate plan as unjust because it "invokes the unhealthy precedent" of an individual being required to prove his innocence. He implies that performers are being branded as guilty without cause ...and then being forced to prove their innocence.

This is erroneous. Have charges been made against anyone whose name has not been used by party fronts and causes?

And GOULD is completely wrong in stating that "RED CHANNELS" was published because COUNTERATTACK decided to "take matters into its own hands" because it was "impatient with the way the Government was handling the issue of Communists and those suspected of Communist leanings".

COUNTERATTACK has ALWAYS held that Communist infiltration of broadcasting was a major concern of industry itself...that over and above what Govt does, the industry should do everything possible to solve the problem.

COUNTERATTACK's reasons for publishing "RED CHANNELS" were clearly stated in book's introduction. It was also published because industry was doing little or nothing to fight infiltration of potential Communist saboteurs; because industry (like Hollywood) was paying big salaries to CP members and front supporters who were financing CP and its agencies; because industry was deceiving many people by featuring such performers when a large part of public, if it knew the truth about their Communist activities, would refuse to listen to, or view, any program on which they appeared.

Why has GOULD never protested the industry's "conspiracy of silence" concerning the blacklisting of anti-Communists by CP members and their industry fellow travelers? It is common knowledge in the industry that this blacklist has existed for years. COUNTERATTACK has pointed it out in the past. LOUIS BUDENZ, former CP official, in an article in American Legion magazine on the CP's plans for infiltrating radio (he was on the commission which directed this operation) stated that most pro-Communist work today consists of "destroying and removing informed and troublesome anti-Communists".

RADIO HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK:

1. LEE J COBB*, star of ARTHUR MILLER* play, "Death of a Salesman", made his TV debut this week on the "Somerset Maugham Theatre", an NBC network show (Mon 9:30 PM, EDT) sponsored by Bymart, Inc (Tintair hair dye).

COBB was praised by CP press for refusing to play in anti-Communist film "The Iron Curtain". During Stalin-Hitler pact he sponsored American Peace Mobilization, formed by CP to sabotage U S defense preparations. Since then he has supported other CP fronts, including League of American Writers, Int'l Labor Defense and the notorious Waldorf "Peace" Conference.

WALTER BERNSTEIN*, who adapted COBB's starring vehicle, "The Moon and Sixpence", for this program, has supported CP's Jefferson School, its May Day Parade, several of Stalin's recent "peace" conferences, has written for the Party's "cultural" magazine "Masses and Mainstream", etc.

* Listed in "RED CHANNELS"

2. ARNOLD PERL* writes "The Big Story", another NBC-TV feature that is sponsored by Pall Mall cigarettes (Amer Cigarette & Cigar Co).

PERL is now an instructor for radio writing class at "School for Writers" run by Nat'l Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions, CP's leading cultural front. PERL taught at this school last year, has been highly praised by CP for his documentary writing, and has supported other fronts.

3. JACK GILFORD* was featured on MILTON BERLE's NBC-TV network program, the Texaco Star Theatre, on May 1. GILFORD was scheduled to speak at recent Nat'l Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions meeting to "Crack the Back of Counterattack", but was physically indisposed and could not show up. His impressive front record was given in COUNTERATTACK, Mar 23, p 4.

4. May Day Parade was honored by presence of radio actors. When the conspiratorial Communist Party staged its annual parade in NYCity this week at least five radio actors played supporting roles:

JOHN RANDOLPH, a speaker at above-mentioned CP front meeting called to destroy COUNTERATTACK, was one of the parade leaders. He marched in uniform with party's military contingent and carried an American flag.

CLIFF CARPENTER, ROBERT DONNELLY and JOSEPH CONWAY, all of whom regularly play in radio shows though they are not big-time actors, marched with the cultural and professional section of the parade.

And director-actor PAUL MANN* was hopping along the line of march snapping pictures of CP's demonstration of strength.

BURGESS MEREDITH'S STAND ON COMMUNISM. Radio, stage and screen director, producer and actor BURGESS MEREDITH is one of the persons listed in "RED CHANNELS", the report on Communist influence in radio and television published by COUNTERATTACK.

MEREDITH has submitted the following statement to COUNTERATTACK:

"Readers of Counterattack, because of reference to my name in Red Channels may wish to know my real opinions. Any time my name was used with my permission by any organization referred to in Red Channels it could only have been that I took at face value announced purposes of such organization.

"For I am not now and never have been a member of the Communist Party, a Communist fellow-traveler or sympathizer. I am now, and always have been, opposed to the Communist Party. I am unconditionally opposed to any form of totalitarianism, whether it be of the right or left."

This statement made by MEREDITH is further proof of COUNTERATTACK's contention, made in the introduction to "RED CHANNELS", that many prominent actors and artists have been inveigled into lending their names to Communist causes although they did not believe in, sympathize with, or recognize the true nature of the cause they were advancing.

WHAT CAN YOU DO TO HELP BEAT THE COMMUNISTS? Write To:

1. PAUL M HAHN, Pres Amer Cigarette and Cigar Co, 111 5th Ave, NYC.
2. MARTIN L STRAUSS, II, Pres, Bymart Inc, 677 5th Ave, NYCity.
3. H. T. KLEIN, Pres, The Texas Co, 135 E 42 St, NYCity.

Let them know what you think of the kind of stars they are featuring on their radio programs.

Yours faithfully,

May 4, 1951

Counterattack

* Listed in "RED CHANNELS".

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COUNTERATTACK
FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM
Reg. U. S. Pat. Off.
55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 3-4808

Letter No. 203
April 13, 1951

Dear Subscriber:

"YOUR CRIME IS WORSE THAN MURDER", said Federal Judge IRVING R KAUFMAN when he sentenced JULIUS and ETHEL ROSENBERG to death last week for betraying their country by giving Stalin the secret of the atom bomb.

Judge KAUFMAN said he had searched his conscience to find some reason for mercy, that he had deliberated for hours, days and nights...that "every nerve, every fibre of my body has been taxed"...but he could find no reason for leniency unless he betrayed the solemn and sacred trust placed in his hands by the people of the U S.

But did the people of the U S fully understand the implication of this trial...and the reason for the extreme penalty imposed by Judge KAUFMAN on the defendants? Judge KAUFMAN implied that they didn't:

"It is so difficult to make people realize that this country is engaged in a life and death struggle with a completely different system...I believe that never at any time in our history were we ever confronted to the same degree that we are today with such a challenge to our very existence."

And that afternoon...while civil defense officials were pleading, with poor results, for more people to help prevent needless slaughter and chaos in case Stalin dropped the ROSENBERGS' "gift" on the U S...while the Red Cross was calling for more blood for wounded Americans in Korea...ETHEL ROSENBERG sang "One Fine Day" and "Good Night, Irene" in her prison cell... and her husband vocalized "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" in his.

Two days later, in his Saturday sermon at Temple Israel (NYCity), Rabbi WM F ROSENBLUM praised Judge KAUFMAN's decision...and said:

"However, equally guilty with these atomic spies, though they are rarely brought before the courts, are the men in our arts, science and even the clergy, who are constantly making appeals for appeasement of those foreign nations which any schoolboy knows are just waiting for a propitious moment to unleash their weapons against us."

And during these same few days, some members of our "arts, science and even the clergy" who had aided the CP's appeasement fronts were protesting their innocence, saying that they didn't know, that they were moved by ideal istic desires for "peace", etc. Others of their kind were still giving their complete support to the party's appeasement campaign.

GIs died in Korea. Cocktails were served in Washington. An open Communist Party (CP) official, running for public office in Los Angeles, got 40,000 votes. Former Gov M E THOMPSON of Georgia quit as consultant ($53.48 per day) for Office of Price Stabilization because for 12 weeks he had been given nothing to do. Russia and its satelites had 10,000,000 men under arms.

Millions of Americans were doing nothing to combat the Communist Party, its fronts and its thousands of fellow travelers in the U S.

They still didn't know what Judge KAUFMAN was talking about.

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J. G. Keenan, President; T. C. Kirkpatrick, Secretary-Treasurer; F. J. McNamara, Editor

BUT STALIN KNEW...AND WAS PAYING OFF OTHERS WHO KNEW. The day after Judge KAUFMAN gave his decision, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, as agent for Stalin, rewarded seven "peace" partisans for their great contribution to Moscow's cause. The rewards were stipends of 100,000 rubles ($25,000) and gold medals bearing Stalin's image.

Moscow's propagandists said that these awards were for "outstanding services in the struggle to consolidate peace". This means that recipients of the awards have given yeoman service to Stalin's plot to sabotage the free world by doing all they could to prevent the build-up of military strength needed to stop Communist aggression, or the use of that strength after it has been acquired...that they have actually helped pave the way for Soviet world conquest.

Those rewarded by Stalin were: Communist Prof FREDERIC JOLIOT-CURIE, recently ousted head of the French Atomic Energy Commission; the Communist Dr HEWLETT JOHNSON, "Red" Dean of Canterbury; Mme EUGENIE COTTON, the French leader of Stalin's international women's front, the Women's Int'l Democratic Federation; Mme SUN YAT SEN, an official of the Communist govt of China which is murdering thousands of her countrymen (this woman who has lately been making violently anti-American speeches was for years praised by the "best" U S papers as a great "liberal" and humanitarian...even though she was then the leading fellow traveler in China); PAK DEN-AI, Pres of the (Communist) Democratic Women's Union of (North) Korea; Gen HERIBERTO JARA, former Mexican Navy Minister and Ambassador to U S...and Rt Rev ARTHUR W MOULTON, retired Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Utah.

Bishop MOULTON, the only American to receive Stalin's new award, has aided every major move of Communist "peace" offensive in U S...and most of the Cominform's int'l "peace" activities. Here is part of his record: Waldorf Peace Conference (1949), panel chrmn; World Peace Congress (Paris, April 1949), sponsor; Permanent Committee of World Congress for Peace, one of eight U S members; American Continental Congress for Peace (Mexico City, Sept 1949), sponsor; Second World Peace Congress (Warsaw, Poland, Nov 1950), member U S sponsoring committee; Stockholm Peace Appeal, signer; Mid-Century Conference for Peace (Chicago, May 1950)...staged by the (Nat'l) Committee for Peaceful Alternatives (to the North Atlantic Pact)...sponsor; American Peace Crusade, initial sponsor and signer of call to its recent Peace Pilgrimage to Washington; World Peace Council, member (this Council was formed at the Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw; there are strong indications that, if Stalin pulls U S S R and its satellites out of the U N, the council will be built up as an anti-U N, Moscow-dominated world govt body).

"It is gratifying to be cited as working for peace", Bishop MOULTON said when notified of the "honor" bestowed on him by Stalin. He then added that he could not accept the money proffered by Moscow, that the only reward he wanted for his efforts was "peace".

"REPORT ON THE COMMUNIST 'PEACE' OFFENSIVE", issued by House Committee on Un-American Activities last week, is a well-rounded study of the phony "peace" propaganda campaign that has been devised by Moscow as a smokescreen to conceal Stalin's aggressive actions.

COUNTERATTACK subscribers are already familiar with the names and activities of the fronts and many individuals which are cited in the report as having played vital roles in the Communist peace offensive.

But you should still write for...and study...this report. It gives a clearer picture of the magnitude of Moscow's propaganda effort than it is

possible to give in a newsletter. And the report contains factual information on the following fronts and individuals involved in the "peace" hoax that have been exposed by COUNTERATTACK during the past few years:

Fronts: Committee for Peaceful Alternatives; Mid-Century Conference for Peace; Ass'n of Internes and Medical Students; Nat'l Labor Conference for Peace; Waldorf Peace Conference; Peace Information Center; Stockholm Peace Appeal; Labor Youth League; American Peace Crusade; Nat'l Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions; American Women for Peace; Veterans for Peace.

Individuals: Prof PHILIP MORRISON of Cornell; Prof LINUS PAULING of the Calif Institute of Technology; JOHANNES STEEL, ex-radio commentator who is now a columnist for the daily "Compass"; LEON WOFSY, leader of the Labor Youth League; ABBOT SIMON, the U S strategist for CP's Stockholm Peace Appeal drive; W E B DU BOIS and ELIZABETH MOOS of the Peace Information Center; MARCEL SCHERER of the Nat'l Labor Conference for Peace.

A "PEACE" PARTISAN LOSES HIS JOB. The Rev Dr WILLARD UPHAUS of Chicago has been ousted as the exec-sec'y of the Nat'l Religion and Labor Foundation (New Haven, Conn), which was formed to create better understanding between religion and labor, to resist totalitarianism of all kinds and to promote civil liberties and economic justice.

Rev UPHAUS attended Stalin's Second World Peace Congress without the approval of the Foundation (his expenses were paid by a CP front), attacked the U S at the Congress and then went to Moscow as a guest of the Soviet delegation. Since his return to U S he has been active in Communist front "peace" meetings.

"CRACK THE BACK OF COUNTERATTACK". This was the name of a rally (see enclosed reproduction of broadside announcement) recently held in NYCity under auspices of Nat'l Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions (NCASP), the CP's principal "cultural" front.

Speakers at rally were: DAVE BLOCK (not "BLACK" as in the enclosed announcement), former art director of Lawrence Studios (COUNTERATTACK, Nov 24, 1950, pp 1-2); ISIDORE RUBIN, one of eight teachers recently ousted from NYCity school system for refusing to state whether or not he was a CP member; MILLARD LAMPELL*, novelist, radio and TV writer; JOHN RANDOLPH, radio and stage actor. Comedian JACK GILFORD* (COUNTERATTACK, Mar 23, 1951, p 4) was also scheduled to speak but a painful immunization shot (mumps) kept him away.

BLOCK said that COUNTERATTACK was in the smear business for profit.

RUBIN claimed that the influence of COUNTERATTACK was felt even in the NYCity school system...that witch-hunting and thought control practices in the U S today were analogous to the situation in Germany under Hitler.

MILLARD LAMPELL, who has written for Daily Worker and other Communist publications, said the "blacklist" in Hollywood was complete, conditions in radio were very bad...but there were still opportunities in TV.

The fight against the "blacklist" should not be waged on "constitutional" grounds, LAMPELL stated, but on the basis of a man's "right" to work and to support his family.

LAMPELL was trying to confuse issues. The courts have decided that no man has a "right" to a certain type position (teacher, etc) or to be employed by the govt or a particular firm or individual. LAMPELL knew, therefore, that the fight could not be conducted on "constitutional" grounds.

So he switched the "line" to an emotional, smokescreen appeal for a man's right to feed his wife and children.

* Listed in COUNTERATTACK's book, RED CHANNELS.

But no film, radio or TV artist has been denied this right. They can get any number of jobs to support their families. Producers, sponsors ...and govt agencies...have merely refused to hire (or have fired) some people who are unacceptable to the public which buys their products or who are dangerous to the security of the country.

LAMPELL called for a "common front" of all working people, said that actors should not stand alone, but should unite with others like "the Electrical Workers", who had been blacklisted for several years.

This was a reference to CP-led United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union which was expelled from C I O last year and has been refused recognition in U S Atomic energy plants for security reasons.

JOHN RANDOLPH, a really rousing speaker, urged all attending to fight the "blacklist" vigorously. The advertising industry, he said, should stand its ground and not give in to pressure.

He praised LOUIS UNTERMEYER for standing firm...and called for a letter-writing campaign to "Stopette" (deodorant) and JOSEPH REAM, V-Pres of CBS, demanding UNTERMEYER'S reinstatement on the "What's My Line" TV show.

He rapped movie actor JOHN GARFIELD for weakening. He had tried to talk to GARFIELD...but GARFIELD said that no one would fight with him, that it was like beating your head against a stone wall and he was tired of it.

"I'll fight with you, Julie", RANDOLPH said he replied...and then he stated that dancer SONO OSATO and theatrical producer-director MARGARET WEBSTER had also tried to talk to GARFIELD...with no results.

RANDOLPH also ripped into JEAN MUIR. She, too, had taken the wrong stand...had tried to deny some of her affiliations and excuse others. But she had invited him to speak at a meeting for the Hollywood Ten in her apartment. He spoke there. He knew where she stood...and he wanted the opportunity to testify about it in court.

RANDOLPH supported the American Peace Mobilization during the Stalin-Hitler pact. Last year he marched in CP's May Day Parade in NYCity.

A few weeks ago he was listed as a speaker at a rally in defense of Dr W E B DU BOIS, indicted leader of the Peace Information Center. Other speakers at this meeting were Prof EDWIN BERRY BURGUM of NY University, a lecturer at CP's Jefferson School; CEDRIC BELFRAGE, editor of the Nationl Guardian, voice of CP-controlled "Progressive" Party; LOUIS BURNHAM, editor of the new Communist Negro monthly, "Freedom".

RANDOLPH also spoke, and attacked "RED CHANNELS", at an NCASP meeting held last Sept to honor Communist HOWARD FAST (on his release from prison) and ADRIAN SCOTT, one of the Hollywood Ten who was then about to go to prison (the numbers of SCOTT's CP cards, photostats of which were produced in 1947 Hollywood investigation, were 47200, 46832 and 35394).

"Courage, we are on the winning side, prison can't hurt us", was the message FAST delivered at this meeting.

Again last November, RANDOLPH spoke at another NCASP "pre-election" rally for CP-backed candidates of the American Labor (Progressive) Party.

And within the last month or two, RANDOLPH has been on several radio and TV programs. Why does he complain about a blacklist?

Yours faithfully,

April 13, 1951

Counterattack

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what important art studio
was put out of business
within one week after it was

BLACKLISTED

by "Counterattack"?

what well known art director
was recently

BLACKLISTED

by "Counterattack"?

how have people in radio, theater,
television, music and literature met
the threat of being

BLACKLISTED

by "Counterattack" and "Red Channels"?

to hear the answers and spread the fight
you are called to a meeting to

CRACK THE BACK OF COUNTERATTACK

Date: Wednesday, April 4th **Time:** 8 P.M.
Place: Hotel Sutton, 330 East 56th St. N. Y.

Speakers will include:
Dave Black, Art Director, "How it feels to be smeared"
Jack Gilford, Comedian, "No time for comedy"
Isidore Rubin, Teacher, "Blacklist in the Schools"
John Randolph, Actor, "The fight in Theatre"
and
Millard Lampell

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FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 3-4608

Letter No. 202
April 6, 1951

Dear Subscriber:

IS THE U S COMMUNIST PARTY (CP) STILL A GRAVE SECURITY THREAT? In an interview with the "U S News and World Report" last week, F B I Director J EDGAR HOOVER revealed that the CP now has approximately 11,000 fewer avowed members than it had 15 months ago.

There are 43,217 CP members in U S, according to the latest F B I count. In January of last year there were 54,174.

Many newspapers, in reporting HOOVER's statements, mentioned this drop in the number of professed Communists...a drop which seemed to indicate that the party had recently "lost" over 20% of its strength.

But they failed to report significant factors (some mentioned in the HOOVER interview) which indicate that this "loss" has really strengthened the party for the most important work now cut out for it.

These are the important considerations which indicate that the CP is as dangerous today as it ever has been:

1. CP and Stalin know that in the foreseeable future, the people of U S will never vote Communists into power, that only military conquest can make America Communist. Because of the threat of a possible war between U S and Stalin Russia, the CP's most important present task is to prepare for sabotage...aid to the Red Army in the event of world conflict or invasion of this country. The party's open, aboveground "legal" agitation and propagandizing (as well as that of its fronts) are today of secondary importance.

Many party members have purposely gone underground because of this. They are now harder to keep track of and can work much more effectively for the CP. They are NOT a loss to the party. On the contrary, they are a source of strength rather than of weakness.

2. CP, like Communist parties in all parts of the world, has been conducting a purge of all those whose wholehearted loyalty (or reliability) it has reason to doubt. It has gotten rid of its weak sisters, those who might fail it in a time of crisis...and has strengthened itself by doing so.

3. CP always loses some members in times of a clash between Stalin Russia and the U S. It has lost some members because of Korean war...just as it lost members in 1939 because Stalin signed a pact with Hitler.

But many of these people come back to the party when the crisis passes. They are still ideological Communists, strongly attracted to Moscow and the CP in this country...but they feel they can't go quite so far as to openly ally themselves with Stalin in a war against the U S. Yet during such a war, they may impulsively swing back and help Stalin's underground.

4. Some members have dropped out only because of fear of prosecution or losing jobs under federal, state and local anti-CP legislation. They, too, are still Communists, loyal to Moscow rather than to the U S, and a grave menace to this country if and when a showdown comes.

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5. The CP still has an estimated 10 fellow travelers for each and every party member...and these people are still doing the party's work.

HOOVER stressed the fact that the CP, its members, fellow travelers and sympathizers are still "the most important single menace to our internal security", that the Communists are "exceedingly active" today and that a definite threat of sabotage exists.

And the threat of Communist sabotage emphasized by HOOVER was spotlighted by an incident that took place in Appleton, Wisconsin, last week.

This city of 34,000 people was technically "wrecked" by "saboteurs" in an hour and a half. In that brief time, 50 men planted demolition and fire "bombs" in every manufacturing plant and utility, "killed" nearly all county and municipal officials...and ran into only one night watchman while carrying out their work. The city was taken completely by surprise.

Fortunately this was a mock raid, executed without warning by Army Reservists carrying dummy weapons and explosives, and directed by WILLIAM E SHUBERT, the city's Civil Defense Director.

But suppose it had been just one of hundreds of surprise raids executed simultaneously by the CP in every major city (many of which have hundreds of party members), and timed to coincide with a major Soviet offensive?

These are the states that are most seriously threatened by Communist sabotage. According to the current F B I count, they have the greatest numbers of still-avowed Communists:

N Y - 22,575	N J - 1,571	Mich - 750
Calif - 4,550	Ohio - 1,060	Minn - 701
Ill - 3,105	Wash - 807	Conn - 580
Penna - 2,322	Mass - 759	Ind - 475

Suggestion: For a more complete understanding of these figures reread COUNTERATTACK, #171, Sept 1, 1950, pp 1 & 2, and break these figures down into regional groupings. And you should also read:

"THE COMMUNIST TRAIL IN AMERICA", which gives an excellent account of the highly successful and widespread industrial sabotage carried out by the CP in the depression Thirties and during the Stalin-Hitler pact.

This book, written by JACOB SPOLANSKY, tells how...and under whose direction...the Communists damaged production-line machinery and fomented strikes that resulted in hundreds of thousands of man-days being lost in production for Army and Navy contracts. The account makes grim reading today when the CP, with 30 years experience behind it, is preparing for the same type of sabotage on a nationwide scale.

SPOLANSKY, a Russian by birth, has been investigating Communism since the first World War when he served as a confidential agent for Army Intelligence. Since then, in his work for F B I and other govt agencies and as a private investigator, he has kept close tabs on the CP in U S and has trailed and arrested many top-ranking party leaders and Comintern agents.

"The Communist Trail in America", written from the viewpoint of a law enforcement officer, emphasizes the many-sided criminal nature of the Communist movement. It proves that since its beginning in 1919, the CP has functioned primarily as an underground movement whose main objective has been the physical, psychological and intellectual sabotage of the U S.

SPOLANSKY's book, just released by The Macmillan Company, is an excellent exposure of the CP and should be widely read.

FOLK SINGER TOM GLAZER SAYS HE IS ANTI-COMMUNIST. TOM GLAZER is one of the 151 persons listed in "RED CHANNELS", the book on Communist influence in radio and television published by COUNTERATTACK. In a recent statement submitted to COUNTERATTACK, GLAZER declared:

"I am unalterably opposed to Communist tyranny or any other kind of tyranny or dictatorship, wherever it exists in any country, organization, industry or union."

GLAZER admitted the accuracy of all facts cited after his name in "RED CHANNELS". He also admitted that he did sing for the CP immediately after the war, but states that he withdrew from People's Songs when this front came out for Wallace (he opposed Wallace's candidacy) and wrote his song dedicated to the World Federation of Trade Unions when that organization had the support of the C I O.

He also submitted documentary evidence that he has made financial contributions to the International Rescue Committee, which aids refugees from Communist-dominated countries, and supported the "Draft Eisenhower Movement" and the Democratic Party in the 1948 elections.

ROCKWELL KENT SAYS HE DOESN'T BELIEVE IN "RUSSIAN" COMMUNISM. In NY this week, ROCKWELL KENT, artist and President of the CP's International Workers Order (IWO), appeared as a defense witness for the front he heads. He told NY State Supreme Court Justice HENRY CLAY GREENBERG, who is hearing the suit to dissolve the IWO brought by the NY State Supt of Insurance, that he does not believe in "Russian Communism" for America.

EARL BROWDER, former head of the Communist Party and an old associate of ROCKWELL KENT, wrote in one of his recent pamphlets that throughout his fifteen years as CP leader in this country he took all his orders from Moscow. He admitted he was trying to advance Russian Communism in the U S.

BENJAMIN GITLOW, who left CP in 1929, and LOUIS BUDENZ who left in 1945, have both identified KENT as a CP member.

In May, 1945, KENT chaired the morning session of a CP meeting at which his friend EARL BROWDER and LOUIS BUDENZ and ROBERT MINOR (a CP Nat'l Committee member) spoke. KENT did this as chrmn of a committee formed to raise $100,000 for the Daily Worker, the Moscow vehicle (through BROWDER, etc) for selling the Russian brand of Communism in the U S.

After Moscow repudiated BROWDER in 1945 and chose WM Z FOSTER to take its orders as head of the CP, KENT continued to support many agencies of the U S Russian-directed CP.

KENT could not be Pres of IWO today if he were an anti-Russian. How does KENT distinguish between U S and "Russian" Communism?

RADIO AND STAGE STARS CONTRIBUTE TO FRONT FUND. Nat'l Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions held a meeting last week to honor HOWARD DA SILVA and GALE SONDERGAARD, who wouldn't talk in current Hollywood probe.

Actor-director SAM WANAMAKER, comedian JACK GILFORD (COUNTERATTACK Mar 23, p 4) and actor PETER LAWRENCE ("Peter Pan") attended and contributed to the fund appeal. Actress ADELAIDE KLEIN was also conspiculously present.

HOLLYWOOD'S "OSCARS" GO TO FRONT SUPPORTERS. Last week the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences presented its awards for the best actor and actress of 1950 to JOSE FERRER and JUDY HOLLIDAY...both of whom have past records of support for Communist fronts (for JUDY HOLLIDAY's record see COUNTERATTACK, Mar 9, 1951, p 4) and were named in report on the Communist "peace" offensive released by Un-American Activities Committee this week.

[redacted]

According to Govt reports, CP front literature, etc, FERRER has been affiliated with at least 18 Communist fronts. Among them are the CP's May Day Parade in NYCity; a Committee to elect to public office BENJAMIN J DAVIS, one of the 11 convicted CP leaders (DAVIS was running as a Communist and was v-pres of the corporation which publishes the Daily Worker); the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, which contributed to support of Comintern agent GERHART EISLER before he fled the U S in 1949, and the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

In addition, according to sworn testimony, FERRER has spoken at a rally for the Veterans Against Discrimination of the Civil Rights Congress (cited as subversive). He was co-chrmn of a Stop Censorship Committee rally and was listed as associate chrmn of "Save the Voice of Freedom Committee" (formed to defend the CP's chief radio front).

Last October FERRER spoke at a theatre rally of the anti-Communist "Crusade for Freedom"...and said he was against Communism.

But less than two weeks later, FERRER wrote an article about his role in "Cyrano de Bergerac" for the nationally-circulated "Compass", which advertises and publicizes the CP's Jefferson School as well as numerous fronts, features pro-Communist writers, and generally follows the CP line.

When FERRER was subpoenaed a few weeks ago for the investigation of Communism in Hollywood (he's to testify on April 20), his attorney issued the following statement:

"Mr FERRER has stated he is not, has never been, and could not be a Communist or a Communist sympathizer, a fellow traveler, or in any way an encourager of any Communist party concept or objective."

Why doesn't FERRER or his attorney state frankly whether or not he was an official, member, sponsor, speaker or entertainer for these Communist fronts...and then explain how he can claim that he has never "in any way" encouraged any CP concept or objective?

When JOSE FERRER accepted his "Oscar" via telephone from a New York nightclub, he stated: "It is not only an award for an actor's performance... it is an act of faith. This Oscar means more to me than it possibly could at any other time because they tried to smear me."

The Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences should repudiate this remark. Its "Oscars" are supposed to be presented for artistic achievement and nothing else. Has the Academy Award, as FERRER implies, been turned into a whitewash symbol for people who have openly supported Communist fronts? If it has, the Academy should make a public statement to this effect so that the public can consider its awards in their proper light.

And who has been "smearing" JOSE FERRER? Has he denied the correctness of his reported affiliations with party fronts?

FERRER, by his statement, has "smeared" the Oscar award. Perhaps it is fortunate that the California Teachers Ass'n, because of objections raised by actor WARD BOND, treas of the Motion Picture Alliance for the Preservation of American Ideals, withdrew an award it recently planned to give FERRER...he might have tried to turn that into another "act of faith".

Yours faithfully,

April 6, 1951

Counterattack

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Letter No. 198
March 9, 1951

Dear Subscriber:

N Y TIMES REPORTS ON COMMUNIST CHINA. In a recent editorial on the resistance of the Chinese people to the Communist regime of MAO TSE-TUNG, the world-famous N Y Times stated: "it is plainly impossible to put candid and objective reporters into China to get the facts at first hand".

But on same day it made this statement (Feb 25), Times published one of a series of five articles on China by a reporter who had been there.

ARTHUR MOORE, British reporter for "Hindustan Times" (India), wrote this series. MOORE, after first being denied entry, had gotten into China through "good offices" of SARDAR K M PANIKKAR, Indian Ambassador to Peiping.

MOORE's series on China verified the Times' editorial statement. His reports were neither candid nor objective. He reported that foreigners in China did not feel that they were followed or spied upon...after many reliable official and unofficial reports of people who have been in China had proved that foreigners ARE followed and spied upon.

He reported that he did not meet a single non-Chinese who did not agree "emphatically" that Communist Govt of China was "incomparably" better than the Kuomintang and other Govts...after Times and many other papers had printed accounts of wholesale murders being carried out by MOORE's Chinese "statesmen" and the widespread resistance of Chinese people to the Govt.

He reported that MAO had said the govt must utilize all elements of capitalism that are beneficial, that its policy was to control capitalism, not to eliminate it...and then commented: "That doesn't sound very different from Roosevelt's New Deal".

He did NOT report that it also sounded very much like Lenin's "New Economic Policy" (NEP), instituted several years after the Bolshevik revolution in Russia. This policy of temporary tolerance of and cooperation with capitalism was adopted by Lenin (as it has been by MAO) to prevent complete economic chaos...because complete, overnight revolution of economic life of any nation is impossible. The change must be brought about gradually.

Why does Times print such obviously slanted "news" at a time when it is more important than ever before that American public be given the truth? The very fact that MOORE was allowed in China (and through intercession of the Indian Ambassador) should have been a warning to the Times.

But Times does not seem to learn from experience it has had with reporters in Communist countries. RALPH PARKER, former Times' Moscow correspondent, has lately been Moscow correspondent for the Daily Worker. WALTER DURANTY and ARTHUR RANSOME, when Times correspondents in Moscow, were Soviet apologists. DURANTY privately admitted reality of the Russian famine of the thirties that killed millions, but wrote that it was "non-existent".

Dispatches of HARRISON SALISBURY, present Times' Moscow correspondent, frequently contain Communist propaganda. Last fall he wrote a series

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on Moscow life so obviously slanted that Times held it up for several weeks while it tried to check on some facts with SALISBURY. Times finally printed the series...preceded by a warning paragraph that they had been passed by Soviet censors. But it gave no such warning in case of MOORE's China series.

Communist Party (CP) press spread SALISBURY's Moscow articles all over its pages as proof "beyond a shadow of a doubt that the danger of war does not come, and cannot come, from the Soviet Union".

A month later, in November, the Times printed SALISBURY's picture, along with those of its entire foreign staff, in a full page ad that appeared in a number of newspapers. Under the picture was the statement, "They do more for your enlightenment than most Secretaries of State".

Times has many outstanding foreign correspondents. The statement was undoubtedly true of some of them....but it was stretching a point too far when it applied this statement to SALISBURY.

Obviously, it is just as impossible to put a candid and objective reporter in Moscow as in China. Times should recognize this fact.

NEW PROBE OF HOLLYWOOD SHOULD BE A THOROUGH ONE. The 1947 investigation of CP infiltration in Hollywood was incomplete and unsatisfactory. It was suddenly dropped although many witnesses subpoenaed to testify had not taken the stand. Now the House Committee on Un-American Activities has subpoenaed over a score of witnesses for another look into the film industry.

GALE SONDERGAARD* and HOWARD DA SILVA*, both active fronters whose names are familiar to COUNTERATTACK subscribers, made typical Communist-line comments when served with subpoenas. Miss SONDERGAARD asked if she wasn't being subpoenaed because she was opposed to the present "war hysteria" (she is the wife of HERBERT BIBERMAN, one of Hollywood Ten now in jail).

DA SILVA, active in the fight against RED CHANNELS, said the House Committee was trying to silence him because he was an advocate of peace.

WALDO SALT, one of the "unfriendly" witnesses called in 1947 and present chairman of the CP front "Committee to Free the Hollywood Ten", said the committee was trying to create hysteria and whip film makers into line with the U S "racial" war against peoples of Asia...and that he would refuse to "deny" his life or "finger" any friends. SALT wrote the script for "The Flame and the Arrow", film produced by Warner Brothers last year.

More contempt citations will probably result from the hearings.

Hollywood has made some anti-Communist films, has given some support to anti-Communist organizations and may soon require loyalty oaths of new employes. But these are only half-way measures. The proposed oath won't touch the Communists and fellow travelers already in the industry. And it won't be effective when applied to new employes unless thorough, continuing checks are made on activities (not thoughts, as CP says) of signers.

Hollywood has had over three years to clean house voluntarily following the 1947 investigation, but hasn't done so. The film colony is still a big source of income to Communists and supporters of the party's fronts.

Paramount Pictures paid GARSON KANIN* $1,000,000 for "Born Yesterday" which starred JUDY HOLLIDAY*. CP press praised it as one of outstanding pictures of last year. The same studio is reportedly buying "The Country Girl" by CLIFFORD ODETS (identified as a Communist) for $150,000 and PHILIP LOEB is starred in its just-released film "Molly".

Columbia pictures is now showing "Emergency Wedding", a film written by DALTON TRUMBO, one of the Hollywood Ten now in jail for contempt of

* Listed in COUNTERATTACK'S book, RED CHANNELS.

Congress (Hollywood is supposedly "blacklisting" all films of the Ten). LARRY PARKS, subpoenaed in the current probe, is starred in the picture. PARKS and his wife BETTY GARRETT (who also has a front record) are starred in Columbia's forthcoming film, "See No Evil". And Columbia has reportedly just bought "Gentlemen Prefer Blondes" as a vehicle for JUDY HOLLIDAY.

Metro Goldwyn Mayer has purchased "The Big Job", written by MILLARD LAMPELL* and will star LARRY PARKS in "Love Is Better Than Ever". It is also producing VERA CASPARY'S* "Give Every Girl A Break". E Y "YIP" HARBURG* is writing the musical score for MGM's "Huckleberry Finn".

Producers JERRY WALD and NORMAN KRASNA have NORMAN CORWIN* on their writing staff and will produce CLIFFORD ODETS' play "Clash By Night".

WILL HOUSE COMMITTEE PROBE CLEAN UP BROADCASTING INDUSTRY? In a time of national emergency Communists can be more dangerous in broadcasting industry than they are in Hollywood. Fact that the House Committee will also investigate radio and television fields may mean that forceful action will finally be taken to break up Communist network in this strategic industry.

The broadcasting industry, like Hollywood, has had warnings and time to do something about Communist infiltration. Some small stations have taken action. The Mutual Network has had relatively little infiltration. But of the other major networks, CBS is the only one that appears to be making a sincere effort to clean out Communists and fellow travelers...and when it announced its loyalty program a short while ago, it was immediately attacked by powerful unions in the field.

Now CP press on both West and East Coast reports that the most important unions in the industry...the Radio Writers Guild, Radio and Television Directors Guild, American Federation of Radio Artists, and Authors League of America...plus other unnamed groups are preparing a joint campaign of resistance to the CBS loyalty program.

N Y branch of Radio and Television Directors Guild has passed a resolution opposing the CBS program and stating that "every means would be employed to protect and sustain in his job at CBS any one of the members who refuses to answer the form". The threat of a strike against CBS if it takes any action against Communists who refuse to sign its loyalty questionnaire is clearly implied in this resolution.

The other unions named in CP press have not taken a public stand on the question so far. The American Federation of Radio Artists (AFRA) is clearly controlled by anti-Communists. But the Authors League of America protested the CBS program as soon as it was adopted. And the Communist press undoubtedly knows what the Communist factions in all these unions are planning. These factions, though a minority, can often guide the larger, but not so well organized, non-Communists along lines dictated by the CP.

Over five months ago, a joint industry committee was formed to work out methods of keeping Communists and fellow travelers out of radio. To date, the committee has not produced an answer to the problem.

Because of the failure of those concerned to act, the Nat'l Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions, CP's leading cultural front, can run a School for Writing and Advertising Craftsmen...and advertise in the CP press: "Writing taught by top radio-television scriptwriters".

And in spite of all the hue and cry about a RED CHANNELS "blacklist", persons named in the report who have long and convincing front records are still appearing frequently on radio and TV programs.

* Listed in COUNTERATTACK'S book, RED CHANNELS.

"The Big Show" is a nationwide radio program heard over the NBC network each Sunday evening at 6:00 - 7:30 PM. The program stars TALLULAH BANKHEAD and is sponsored jointly by the Radio Corp of America, the Whitehall Pharmacal Co and the Liggett and Myers Tobacco Co (Chesterfield cigarettes).

UTA HAGEN*, star of CLIFFORD ODETS' play "The Country Girl", was guest on the program on Feb 25. Her RED CHANNELS record lists 20 Communist fronts and causes...and she has continued sponsoring and aiding such causes right up to the present in spite of the war in Korea. On same day she appeared on "The Big Show" (and the day before, too, according to an announcement in "The Compass") she was playing host, with CLIFFORD ODETS and MORRIS CARNOVSKY*, at an art benefit held for a veteran of Stalin's Abraham Lincoln Brigade. ROCKWELL KENT, head of CP's International Workers Order, was chairman of the exhibit sponsoring committee. He was again identified as a Communist Party member last week by LOUIS BUDENZ in hearings being held by N Y State Insurance Dept preparatory to liquidation of the International Workers Order.

UTA HAGEN is a sponsor of the two fronts that have recently been formed to fight the Internal Security Act. She is also listed as a sponsor of the China Welfare Appeal which is now collecting "Friendship Cargoes" to send to Communist China while Chinese troops kill Americans in Korea.

And JUDY HOLLIDAY was featured on "The Big Show" a few weeks ago. In addition to her RED CHANNELS record, which includes support of such obvious Communist fronts as the Civil Rights Congress, the Waldorf "Peace" Conference, and Stalin's World Federation of Democratic Youth, she was listed last year as a performer for "Broadway Builds a Theatre". Proceeds of this function were used to open the People's Drama Theatre. CP speaks openly of People's Drama as part of "our" theatre.

The film and broadcasting industries are biggest sources of income for party members and front supporters. The House Committee on Un-American Activities will strike a serious blow against the party if it makes a really effective investigation of both these Communist-infiltrated fields.

THE MAKING OF A HERO. The Communist Party through its official press, its fronts and fellow travelers has done almost everything it can to make a national hero of ex-Congressman VITO MARCANTONIO who, during his sixteen years in the House, assiduously toed the party line.

Now the final step is being taken. An "authorized biography" of MARCANTONIO will be written. Announcement of this fact was made in a letter from VITO's biographer that has so far appeared in Daily Worker and "The Compass" (it will also undoubtedly appear in similar papers in near future). The letter appealed to those who had "information, anecdotes, correspondence, clippings or other material" of value on VITO's life to contact the writer.

WILLIAM MANDEL wrote the letter...and should turn out a biography satisfactory to the CP. He has had good training in turning out party line articles for Soviet Russia Today (now parading under a new name, "New World Review") and pamphlets for the Institute of Pacific Relations. Fact that MANDEL has taught at CP's Jefferson School...and lectured there just three weeks ago...should be a guarantee that he won't deviate from the accepted Communist interpretation of MARCANTONIO's life.

* Listed in Red Channels

Yours faithfully,

March 9, 1951

Counterattack

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COUNTERATTACK

REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 3-4608

Letter No 192
January 26, 1951

Dear Subscriber:

GERHART EISLER INTRODUCES U S SPEAKER TO COMMUNIST AUDIENCE. The Moscow-directed International Union of Students held a meeting in East Berlin last week. An American, HALSTEAD HOLMAN, after being introduced by Kremlin agent GERHART EISLER, told the gathering that most U S students opposed general rearming and were against U S action in Korea.

HOLMAN was elected a vice-pres of Stalin's Int'l Union of Students (IUS) at Second World Student Congress in Prague last August. He was a member of the IUS delegation which visited Moscow a year ago...and was int'l representative of the Ass'n of Internes and Medical Students in 1949-1950.

And Ass'n of Internes and Medical Students (AIMS) held its annual convention in a U S tax-supported university just a few weeks before EISLER introduced HOLMAN to the Communist gathering in Berlin.

Convention was held at Howard Univ in Wash DC, Dec 27-30. Howard U is privately owned, but receives annual support from Federal Security Agency.

Speakers at the AIMS convention included: AUBREY WILLIAMS, former director of the Nat'l Youth Administration who is now editor of the "Southern Farmer" (WILLIAMS formerly supported leading CP fronts...then opposed candidacy of HENRY WALLACE for President...but CP press reported last year that he had signed Stalin's Stockholm "Peace" Appeal); also DR ALLAN M BUTLER of Massachusetts Gen'l Hospital (he has a long front record) and Dr JOHN B JOHNSON, Prof of Medicine at Howard University.

JOHN EDELMAN, Wash representative of Textile Workers Union (CIO) and DR WALTER LEAR, former AIMS member now with U S Public Health Service, withdrew as convention speakers after facts about activities of AIMS and its officials were published in Washington press.

Convention criticized the Army draft of doctors and "guilt by association". It passed resolutions stating that there was an "absolute need" for world peace and calling for outlawing of the atom bomb.

AIMS was once part of the Int'l Union of Students. Because of growing criticism, it severed its formal affiliation at its Univ of Chicago convention last year...but still cooperates in IUS student exchange program.

It sent representatives to Second World Student Congress last summer. Delegation was led by JULIAN HAYWOOD, head of Howard Univ chapter and then vice-pres of AIMS. Latest issue of "World Student News", official organ of Int'l Union of Students, published letter by HAYWOOD praising Stalin's internationall youth front for its "peace" work.

DR SHEPHERD THIERMAN, former vice-pres of AIMS, was co-chairman of the 1949 World Youth Festival in Budapest. Last March he was dismissed from Kings County Hospital in NYCity on charges of improperly using the hospital stationery and obtaining a leave of absence (to officiate at Youth Festival in Budapest) on fraudulent grounds.

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J. G. Keenan, President; K. M. Bierly, Vice President; T. C. Kirkpatrick, Secretary-Treasurer; F. J. McNamara, Editor

Miss DONNA JEAN HACKLEY of Howard Univ, new vice-pres in charge of int'l affairs, and LARRY BROWNE of Penn Univ, now vice-pres of AIMS, attended Stalin's World Student Congress last summer.

What to do: Write to your Congressman and Senators, and to OSCAR EWING, head of Federal Security Agency. Protest use of Howard University, a tax-supported institution, by Association of Internes and Medical Students.

COMMUNIST-CONTROLLED UNION WILL LOSE MANY MEMBERS. The National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards was expelled from CIO last Aug 29 for following the Communist line. Its appeal for reinstatement was unanimously rejected at the national CIO convention last November.

Now JOE CURRAN'S Nat'l Maritime Union (CIO) and HARRY LUNDEBERG'S Sailors Union of the Pacific (AFL)...both anti-Communist...have started organizing drives to take over membership of Marine Cooks and Stewards Union.

HUGH BRYSON, pres of Marine Cooks and Stewards, says membership will stick with him...but organizing drive of these two anti-Communist unions actually means beginning of the end for BRYSON ~~as a power in maritime~~ labor.

BRYSON was openly identified as a Communist in the party press a few years ago. Last summer he went to Europe to meet with Cominform agents at a session of Moscow-directed Maritime Federation of the World, which has been trying to sabotage flow of U S military aid to Western Europe (Marine Cooks and Steward Union is ONLY American labor group affiliated with this organization...which is a branch of Stalin's international labor arm, the World Federation of Trade Unions). BRYSON then travelled through Western Europe denouncing U S in speeches before Communist-directed maritime labor groups. In November he signed call to the Nat'l Labor Conference in Wash... the first formal meeting of the CP's new labor federation.

Under BRYSON'S leadership, the Marine Cooks and Stewards has called on Pres TRUMAN to stop America's "armed intervention" in Korea, seat Communist China in the U N and has opposed the Coast Guard loyalty screening of seamen as a "blacklist" and union-busting device.

BRYSON has given anti-Communist union members a hard time. Last summer a committee was formed to combat communist influence in the union. This group demanded that the union withdraw from the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Progressive Party and all other Communist fronts, that it support U S foreign policy and that the BRYSON clique resign as leaders.

It published a factual newsletter exposing the corrupt, pro-Communist activities of BRYSON and his stooges.

BRYSON replied by bringing the four leaders of the committee...LES BOATRIGHT, JAMES RANDALL, ART HILLIKER and CARLETON FALER...up on charges of "dual unionism". They were convicted in a rigged trial and suspended from the union for periods varying from four months to a year.

Because it was obvious that BRYSON had a stranglehold on the union that these anti-Communists could not break, they finally decided to work for return to the CIO and called on Nat'l Maritime Union for help.

Organizing drives of Maritime Union and Sailors Union will result in loss of many, if not most, members of Cooks and Stewards Union...and a further weakening of CP power for sabotage and subversion in ranks of labor.

DAILY WORKER BANNED BY NYCITY NEWSDEALERS. The Newsdealers Ass'n of Greater New York voted 4 to 1 last week to bar sale of the Daily Worker, official CP newspaper, by its member news-stands. The Ass'n has about 500 members...one-third the number of newsdealers in NYCity.

DAVID FREEDMAN, counsel for Freedom of the Press, Inc, which publishes the Daily Worker, sought a court injunction to prevent vote on the resolution. His request was refused.

And People's Daily World, official West Coast CP newspaper, may soon run into similar trouble. The San Francisco News Vendors Union (AFL) will consider discontinuing sale of this paper at its February local meeting.

The CP, through FREEDMAN, has stated that the Newsdealers Ass'n action is unlawful censorship, a violation of the First Amendment and of freedom of the press and information.

The American Civil Liberties Union, St Louis Post-Dispatch, Washington Post, Editor and Publisher (influential press trade journal) and other organizations, individuals and publications have supported this view.

But CP and its official publication, the Daily Worker, are agents of Moscow. And U S is now at war with Moscow-directed armies in Korea... 46,000 U S casualties and their relatives recognize that fact, even if the Govt and some newspapers don't.

Daily Worker is therefore a treason paper. It is giving "aid and comfort" to the enemy in time of war. If a union of news vendors, or an association of newsdealers, decides that it does not want to help the enemy by promoting the sale of his literature, how is it violating...or threatening...constitutional rights or freedom of the press?

WHAT ARE YOU DOING OUT THERE? An unverified story claims that in 1846 the writer HENRY DAVID THOREAU was jailed in Concord, Mass, when, as a political protest, he refused to pay taxes. RALPH WALDO EMERSON visited him and asked, "What are you doing in there?" Thoreau answered the question with another one: "What are you doing out there?"

This story has been told over and over again at Communist front gatherings in past few years; it has often been referred to in CP press and mentioned in the writings of professed Communists...because it illustrates a major theme of the current Communist line:

America is becoming a Fascist state. More and more people are being persecuted and sent to jail for their "political views". In one court case after another the Govt is violating the Bill of Rights. EUGENE DENNIS is in jail and the other Communist conspiracy leaders have been sentenced to prison. So have their attorneys. The Hollywood Ten were sentenced to prison...and their sentences upheld. HARRY BRIDGES and other Communist "heroes" are appealing prison sentences...or are already in jail.

If you are a loyal American, a believer in the Bill of Rights, why aren't you in jail...just as these great men are?, the Communists ask.

This Communist-line Thoreau-Emerson story appeared in a large N Y Times ad on Jan 17. The ad was an attack on COUNTERATTACK'S factual book, RED CHANNELS, and it was a criticism of loyalty oaths, of the Govt's refusal to grant passports to PAUL ROBESON, HOWARD FAST and other Communists, its denial of visas to Moscow agents who want to come to U S to carry on work of Stalin, and a defense of the Hollywood Ten.

The ad urged its readers to "speak up for freedom!"...in letters to Congress, to radio networks and sponsors, to schools and colleges.

Illustration for the ad was drawn by BEN SHAHN. He has done art work for the Communist cultural monthly "Masses and Mainstream"...also for the Morning Freiheit Ass'n which publishes "Morning Freiheit", official CP Yiddish language newspaper and "Jewish Life", CP-line propaganda monthly.

[redacted]

SHAHN has supported the Waldorf "Peace" Conference, American Continental Congress for Peace (Mexico City, Sept 1949), Bill of Rights Conference in defense of 12 CP leaders (NYCity, July 1949), the National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions, and other fronts.

The ad contained many misleading statements and false insinuations. The seventeen signers were: writers LOUIS ADAMIC, NELSON ALGREN, ROGER BUTTERFIELD, A M GUTHRIE, JOHN LARDNER (brother of RING LARDNER, JR, one of Hollywood Ten) and MARK VAN DOREN; pianist ARTUR SCHNABEL, playwright ARTHUR MILLER, critic GILBERT GABRIEL, newspaperman IRA WOLFERT, anthologist LOUIS UNTERMEYER, commentator-journalist WM L SHIRER, former Amherst College pres, ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN, St John's College (Md) Pres STRINGFELLOW BARR, author MARGARET HALSEY, editor JACK A GOODMAN and HARRY OVERSTREET, professor, lecturer and author of "The Mature Mind".

To date, not a word has appeared in N Y Times in answer to the false statements contained in the ad. Why isn't a group of anti-Communist intellectuals organized to watch for such obvious propaganda statements and immediately answer them in a bigger ad or at least a letter to the editor?

Communists succeed in their work because they have permanent propaganda groups with full-time paid employes. Similar ORGANIZATION of anti-Communists is needed to counteract misleading propaganda.

NBC PRESENTS FACTUAL INFORMATION ON COMMUNISM. A documentary TV series, "America At Mid-Century", written by RADCLIFFE HALL, is now being presented by the NBC network (Saturdays, 7:00-7:30 PM, EST). The programs of Jan 13 and 20 were devoted to a presentation of factual information on operations of international and domestic Communist movements.

NBC, and other networks as well, should have more programs of this type. TV is an especially effective educational medium. It should be used to keep the American people informed on current CP activity.

A radio columnist recently reported that NBC was negotiating with VICTOR LASKY for the purpose of having him screen radio and TV programs for Communist propaganda. LASKY, co-author of "Seeds of Treason", the best-selling book on the Hiss-Chambers case, is an expert on Communism who knows the difference between a liberal idea and the disguised voice of Stalinism.

But NBC vehemently denies this report...which is too bad. Not all Communists in radio have long front records. Some of most effective infiltrators, for obvious reasons, avoid all front activity. They do their work by injecting propaganda into scripts, by quietly boosting along other Communists in the broadcasting industry.

All networks should screen questionable programs for Communist-line messages. Ordinary security measures don't uncover the secret Party members who are the most effective propagandists.

What To Do: Write to:

JOSEPH H McCONNELL, pres of NBC, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, NYCity.

Congratulate him for the "America At Mid-Century" series. Urge him to make a Communist-information program a regular feature of NBC network and to consider seriously the advisability of having a qualified person check NBC scripts for Communist propaganda messages.

Yours faithfully,

January 26, 1951

Counterattack

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COUNTERATTACK

Reg. U. S. Pat. Off.

FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 3-4608

Letter No. 189
January 5, 1951

Dear Subscriber:

CP HOLDS SECRET CONVENTION. The fifteenth national convention of the Communist Party (CP) was held in NYCity, Dec 28-31.

All reporters were barred from convention with exception of representatives of official CP press. As much information as CP wanted to make public was issued daily in press releases from Nat'l Hq of the party.

But nothing of great importance took place at the convention anyway. Delegates merely heard the usual Communist harangues. The vital discussions and decisions on Communist preparations to sabotage U S defense were made in small, secret meetings of top leaders away from the convention.

This was Communist convention line: Wall Street caused the Korean war; "peace" is the keynote of all party work...and it can, and should, be secured in Korea by acceding to demands of Stalin Russia and Communist China (remove all U S troops from Korea, seat Red China in U N and withdraw U S fleet from Formosa); Smith Act and Internal Security Act must be repealed; President TRUMAN's declaration of a national emergency was a union-busting device, an infringement on civil liberties and a step toward war and fascism; CP must concentrate its efforts on Negroes and industrial workers.

WILLIAM Z FOSTER, nat'l chairman of CP, called on all Communists to oppose U S defense preparations.

Present National Committee (Politburo) of CP was re-elected intact. The members of this ruling Communist clique are:

WM Z FOSTER, Nat'l Chairman.
EUGENE DENNIS, Gen'l Sec'y.
GUS HALL, Nat'l Sec'y.
HENRY WINSTON, Organization Sec'y.
JOHN WILLIAMSON, Labor Sec'y.
BEN DAVIS, Chrmn, Negro Commission.
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, Chrmn, Women's Commission.
JOHN GATES, editor, Daily Worker.
GILBERT GREEN, Chrmn, Illinois Dist.
IRVING POTASH, Fur Union official.
JACK STACHEL, Educational Director.
ROBT THOMPSON, Chrmn, NY State Dist.
CARL WINTER, Chrmn, Michigan Dist.

All of these people face jail terms for conspiring to teach overthrow of U S govt by force and violence...with exception of FOSTER, who was indicted but escaped trial on plea of ill health, and FLYNN, who was elected to committee after indictment of 12 leaders in 1948.

To replace these conspirators as party leaders when they go to prison (unless Supreme Court upholds their appeal from conviction), nine alternate Politburo members were elected at the convention. They are:

ARCHIE BROWN, Labor Sec'y of the California CP.
FRED FINE, Chairman of party's Public Affairs Committee.
JAMES JACKSON, Southern Regional Director of CP.
CLAUDIA JONES, Sec'y of National Women's Commission (she was ordered deported from U S as alien Communist on Dec 21).
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, Exec Sec'y of Illinois CP.
PETTIS PERRY, Sec'y, Negro Commission and Chrmn, Farm Commission.

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J. G. Keenan, President; K. M. Bierly, Vice President; T. C. Kirkpatrick, Secretary-Treasurer; F. J. McNamara, Editor

WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN, Chairman of California CP.
SID STEIN, Assistant Labor Sec'y of CP.
MARTHA STONE, Chairman of New Jersey CP.

These new members of the Politburo are workhorse figureheads just as the old, re-elected members are. When they function as leaders they will take orders from Stalin's secret Cominform agents in U S (who really run the party) just as all their predecessors have.

IS THIS ANOTHER COMMUNIST LOBBY? On Dec 7, 1950 the House Committee on Un-American Activities published a report entitled "The National Committee To Defeat the Mundt Bill, A Communist Lobby".

Formation of the National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act was announced three weeks later, on Dec 26. This was just two days before opening of CP convention which called for repeal of the McCarran Act.

Now that Mundt Bill has been passed as part of the Internal Security (McCarran) Act, it is logical that CP should form a new front to fight for its repeal. And makeup of the Nat'l Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act indicates strongly that it is a successor to the Nat'l Committee To Defeat the Mundt Bill. Many initiators and sponsors of the new committee have front records...though it has also succeeded in winning support of innocent clergymen, businessmen, professors, etc.

These are names of some leaders and sponsors which have frequently appeared on Communist front lists: THOMAS MANN and EMILY GREENE BALCH, Nobel Prize winners (both signed Stockholm Peace Appeal...MANN was elected honorary co-chairman of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born on Dec 3); Rev JOHN B THOMPSON of Rockefeller Memorial Chapel, Univ of Chicago; ROBT MORSS LOVETT, former Gov of Virgin Islands; Prof RALPH BARTON PERRY of Harvard; LINUS PAULING, atomic scientist of Calif Institute of Technology; UTA HAGEN, actress; SHIRLEY GRAHAM and DASHIELL HAMMETT, writers; ARTUR SCHNABEL, pianist; Mrs WELTHY HONSINGER FISHER, chairman, World Day of Prayer Committee; Profs ROBT S LYND of Columbia U, KIRTLEY F MATHER of Harvard and KERMIT EBY of Chicago; EDITH ABBOTT of Hull House, Chicago...and Methodist Bishop FRANCIS J McCONNELL.

Committee will give its full support to Internal Security Act repeal measure introduced into Congress on Dec 22 by Rep ADOPLH SABATH (D-Ill).

The report on the Nat'l Committee To Defeat the Mundt Bill, issued by Un-American Activities Committee on Dec 7, verified earlier statements about this organization that had been made by COUNTERATTACK.

Former Congressman JERRY O'CONNELL (Montana), as lobbyist and leader of the Committee on loan from the Progressive Party, used Wash DC hq of the Nat'l Lawyers Guild as office of the front, the report stated. The Guild also paid bills for his telegrams and phone calls as Committee wheelhorse.

O'CONNELL, in carrying out Committee's work, sought and obtained aid of CP Politburo member HENRY WINSTON, of convicted Communist HARRY BRIDGES, of Communist union leader BEN GOLD and others. He also received financial aid from other Communist fronts and individual Communists.

COUNTERATTACK said this organization was a CP front more than two years ago (July 23, 1948 p 2). Again on June 3, 1949 (p 1) COUNTERATTACK described it as a Communist lobby and said that joint Senate-House Committee investigating lobbying should look into it. On July 7, 1950 (p 3) COUNTERATTACK suggested investigation of this front by the Congressional (Buchanan) Committee investigating lobbies and use of Congressional franking privilege.

HOW COMMUNIST-LINE BOOKS ARE SOLD. Current issue of the American Legion Magazine contains an article "Why You Buy Books That Sell Communism", written by IRENE CORBALLY KUHN.

Article shows how Book Review sections of two of most influential papers in U S...the New York Times and N Y Herald Tribune, whose treatment often decides success or failure of a book...have been used to promote works of GUNTHER STEIN, the late RICHARD LAUTERBACH, OWEN LATTIMORE, HARRISON FORMAN and others sympathetic to Communist forces.

These papers have continually selected reviewers who treat such books favorably. The record, as detailed by Mrs KUHN, raises important question of extent of Communist influence in press and publishing fields.

Communists are most successful infiltrators of modern times...and their infiltration has been carefully planned to get maximum results. The press and publishing fields, even more important to the CP than radio as vehicles for misleading the public and slanting information, have been objects of Communist penetration for many years.

And CP has had great success in this penetration...just as it has in labor, govt, radio, professions and other strategic fields.

Many of most influential papers and magazines are published in NY City. For this reason, orientation of NY local of American Newspaper Guild (CIO) is an important indication of Communist influence in U S press.

Communists were ousted from control of this local in 1947...but only by a small majority vote. JOHN T McMANUS, then Guild president, had been identified as a CP member at a Guild meeting; he had consistently followed CP line in his direction of the Guild...yet when the 5818 votes were counted, he had lost the election by only 318.

And vote of staffs of most powerful opinion-making publications and press services was disturbing. Most significant votes for CP slate were as follows: Newsweek, 80%; NYTimes, 66%; Time and Look magazines, Associated Press and Int'l News Service, all 50% or more; United Press, 33%; NY Herald Tribune, over 20%. Only publications which voted 100% anti-Communist were the Jewish Forward and the (Catholic weekly) Commonweal.

Results of latest NY Guild election, announced last month, reveal that slate supported by Communist Party was defeated by vote of almost 3 to 1.

This is a big improvement over 1947 election...but a vote of more than 25% for CP-backed candidates is still far too much.

And here are two more facts that give some indication of success Communist Party has had in penetrating publishing and newspaper fields.

LOUIS BUDENZ has revealed how CP plotted murder of LEON TROTSKY in Mexico in 1941 under direction of Dr GREGORY RABINOWITCH, Soviet secret agent and Red Cross representative in this country.

RUBY WEIL, a Communist plant in the Trotskyite movement, succeeded in paving way for admittance of Communist assassin, FRANK JACSON, into TROTSKY's Mexican home. JACSON murdered TROTSKY with a pickax.

RUBY WEIL is now feature editor of World Wide Service, a part of the Associated Press. COUNTERATTACK brought this fact to attention of Associated Press officials last month.

JOSEPH BARNES, identified as a secret Communist by LOUIS BUDENZ, served as foreign editor of the NYHerald Tribune in 1944-48. He also edited the Communist-line NYStar. Now on the faculty of Sarah Lawrence College, he has just been made an executive of the publishing house, Simon and Schuster.

COMMUNISTS OPPOSE CBS SECURITY MEASURES. On Dec 20, JOSEPH H REAM, Exec V-Pres of the Columbia Broadcasting System, announced that because of the national emergency CBS had adopted two important security measures.

To protect equipment from sabotage and prevent service interruptions, armed guards have been placed at transmitters and in master control rooms.

The 2500 regular employes of CBS have been asked to sign a loyalty questionnaire which is the same as that signed by Federal Civil Service employes. Questionnaire lists all organizations (including CP) that have been cited by the Attorney General. Employes must state whether they have ever belonged to any of these groups or any other organizations which advocated violent overthrow of U S Govt.

This is first time a major network has adopted such measures...and CBS did not have to wait long for Communist reaction.

Daily Worker, official CP newspaper, attacked the CBS loyalty program editorially. WM L PATTERSON, exec-director of Civil Rights Congress who will stand trial for contempt of Congress Jan 10, has called on all comrades and fellow travelers to write protest letters to CBS.

Radio Writers Guild urged its members not to sign loyalty statements until they had been advised on policy by Authors League of America, parent body of the Guild. Last summer, Radio Writers Guild refused to consider a resolution supporting U S action to prevent Communist rape of Korea.

Authors League of America, which has a number of CP front supporters on its board, sent a protest letter to REAM. It claimed CBS was making a writer's "politics" (actually, his affiliations with a traitor organization or its agencies) the criterion of his employment.

REAM replied that no employes' civil rights would be curtailed and no loyal American's reputation would be damaged by CBS' use of the statement.

Most Communists will willingly sign a false statement to protect their influence and lucrative positions in radio. For this reason, a loyalty statement has limited value...but COUNTERATTACK, in its weekly newsletters and in "Red Channels", The Report of Communist Influence In Radio And Television, has given the CP front activities of more than one CBS employe. CBS should check its employes' loyalty statements against these and other records.

CBS has not announced what it will do about employes who refuse to sign or who admit membership in subversive groups...but this very fact is an indication that it intends to take action.

And reaction of CP, its fronts and Communist factions in the radio unions indicate that the comrades are convinced CBS means business.

That's good. But it also means that CBS will be subject to strong pressure by all forces the party can muster without obviously tipping the hands of its secret agents in radio.

WHAT CAN YOU DO? You have written to CBS in the past to protest some of its programs which featured party liners. Now write again to:

JOSEPH H REAM, Exec Vice-Pres, Columbia Broadcasting System, 485 Madison Ave, NYCity. Congratulate him for action CBS has taken, tell him to stick by his guns...that he has your complete support.

Yours Faithfully,

January 5, 1951

Counterattack

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COUNTERATTACK

REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 3-4608

Letter No. 186
December 15, 1950

Dear Subscriber:

WHAT'S HAPPENING IN U S DURING "NATIONAL EMERGENCY"? Indications, as COUNTERATTACK goes to press, that PRESIDENT TRUMAN will declare a national emergency this weekend show that the Govt is finally recognizing the obvious fact that the existence of U S and all free nations is now threatened by Stalin's international armies.

Even before Red China's invasion of Korea, 55% of U S citizens believed the country was already in World War III, according to a recent nationwide Gallup poll. Now many more undoubtedly subscribe to that view.

If the U S is at war, it has an enemy. And that enemy is clearly Stalin Russia, its satellites, and its fifth column in U S, the Communist Party (CP). Communist fronts, as agents of the party, are enemy agencies.

And all those who are members of, or support the CP and its fronts in any way, are either enemy agents or persons giving aid and comfort to the enemy at a time when majority of Americans believe U S is at war.

Yet the CP is operating openly and defiantly in U S. And thousands of Americans are helping the enemy by supporting CP fronts.

And some parts of the press publish as straight news the political, economic, social and international views of these fronts and their backers, open their editorial columns to them for the dissemination of their propaganda...and their advertising columns to help sell their wares. In many instances they do not reveal who and what these individuals and organizations are...as they should do to protect the security of U S.

Many loyal Americans, through the entertainment industry, are unknowingly contributing to the financial support of those people who, by their actions, have helped the enemy of their country.

The following events have recently taken place, or will occur in the near future, while the nation prepares to meet its Communist enemies.

FRONTS

1. Civil Rights Congress, chief CP legal defense agency, is planning to hold a "Bill of Rights Conference of 48 States" in Washington, DC. Originally scheduled for Dec 15, the conference has just been postponed.

To make the rally appear typically "American" efforts are being made to have one representative from each state of the union take part and to have delegates from all walks of life...farmers, unionists, professionals, "cultural people", Negro leaders, non-citizens, Mexicans and, the CP hopes, an American Indian (no anti-Communists...they're not Americans).

Communists attending rally will decide that Bill of Rights has been destroyed because 11 CP leaders have been convicted of planned treachery.

2. "Veterans For Peace", a new Communist front was set up last week in NYCity. It is being run by the Union of New York (Calif, etc) Veterans (COUNTERATTACK, June 16, pp 1 & 2). Branches of this front will probably bloom in other parts of U S where the veterans' "Union" is now operating.

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J. G. Keenan, President; K. M. Bierly, Vice President; T. C. Kirkpatrick, Secretary-Treasurer

"MacArthur Must Go...We Must Have Peace", is the new front's slogan. It sent a delegation to U N this week to stage a demonstration and to see Chinese Communist and U S representatives.

3. A Young People's General Assembly for Peace will be held in Chicago, Jan 5-7. Communist-directed and influenced youth groups from all parts of U S will send delegates to the Assembly. Purpose: to work out a (Communist) platform "for common action to prevent World War III".

4. The Young Progressives of America, youth section of the "Progressive" Party held an "Emergency Peace Rally" on Dec 6.

5. American Sponsoring Committee for Representation at the World Peace Congress held a "crisis" rally in NYCity, Dec 11. Communists and collaborators who attended the World Peace Congress took part.

Speakers included: Prof PHILIP MORRISON, atomic physicist of Cornell University; Dr CLEMENTINE PAOLONE, chairman of American Women for Peace; ERNEST DE MAIO, gen'l V-pres of United Electrical Workers; Dr WILLARD UPHAUS of Nat'l Religion and Labor Foundation; CHAS P HOWARD, attorney and publisher of Des Moines, Iowa; Rev JOHN W DARR, Jr, of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; Rev DUDLEY H BURR, Connecticut, and Dr HOLLAND ROBERTS of the CP front California Labor School. PAUL ROBESON was awarded a World Peace Prize (from Stalin) at the meeting.

SCHOOLS

1. Princeton University dismissed DAVID J BOHM, ass't professor of physics, on Dec 4 after he had been indicted for contempt of Congress.

BOHM had worked on atomic bomb research in Radiation Laboratory of Univ of California during World War II. A Communist cell was formed at the laboratory. Dr JOSEPH WEINBERG, another scientist at the laboratory, has been charged with giving atomic secrets to STEVE NELSON, CP official and underground agent, who turned this information over to Soviet vice-consul PETER IVANOV in San Francisco.

BOHM, accused of being a close associate of WEINBERG and other cell members, has twice refused to anwer questions about Soviet spying at the laboratory on grounds that he would incriminate himself by doing so.

2. Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute suspended Dr CLARENCE F HISKEY on Nov 21, after he had been indicted on same charges as BOHM.

HISKEY worked on atomic bomb project at Univ of Chicago. He was removed from the project and inducted into the Army because of his association with ARTHUR ADAMS, a known Soviet espionage agent.

Intelligence reports state that HISKEY, after learning he would be inducted into the Army, urged a chemical engineer working on the A-bomb project to meet ADAMS and turn secret information over to him.

HISKEY was kept under surveillance when he travelled to his Army post in Alaska. A search of his belongings during this trip revealed that he had atomic information classified as "top secret" in his possession.

HISKEY, like BOHM, twice refused to answer questions of House Committee on Un-American Activities on grounds of self-incrimination.

Yet both these men were retained as teachers after this information was made public. Why? When policemen refused to answer questions in recent "bookie" probe in NYCity they were fired. Are national security and the minds of American youth less important than small-time graft?

FILM

1. Columbia Pictures' film adaptation of GARSON KANIN's* play "Born Yesterday" is scheduled for a Christmas Day opening in NYCity. Star of the picture is JUDY HOLLIDAY*. Film critic WM H MOORING has denounced KANIN's play as "diabolical" Marxist satire.

* Listed in COUNTERATTACK's book, RED CHANNELS.

2. HOWARD DA SILVA* is starred in the paramount film "Tripoli" which is now playing in various parts of U S.

3. JAMES KEVIN McGUINNESS, a former top executive of Metro Goldwyn Mayer, died in NYCity on Dec 4. He had fought Stalin's attempt to capture Hollywood for years and was a leader in the anti-Communist Motion Picture Alliance for Preservation of American Ideals.

He testified against Hollywood's Tongue-Tied Ten during the investigation of Communism in the moving picture colony. All of the ten have since been sentenced to jail.

MGM severed McGUINESS' contract soon after the hearings. Now MGM features CP fronters in its pictures.

McGUINNESS' health was broken, and his death hastened, by the attacks made on him because of his opposition to Comunism.

RADIO and TELEVISION

1. Communists and fellow travelers in Radio and TV fields are quiet. Since publication of RED CHANNELS, COUNTERATTACK's report of Communist influence in these industries, most actors, actresses, writers, directors, etc, who had long, convincing records of pro-Communist activity, have carefully avoided participation in front meetings and other forms of OPEN Communist activity.

They are in vitally strategic positions and want to stay in them at all costs to help Stalin. It would be particularly foolish for them to jeopardize their influence...and their financial well-being...at this time.

LOUIS BUDENZ, former editor of Daily Worker, says that number of Communists in radio today is a "national disgrace". BUDENZ has written an article on CP infiltration of radio for the current issue of the American Legion Magazine. All COUNTERATTACK subscribers should read this article.

CP set up a special commission to penetrate radio in 1943, BUDENZ reveals. He names CP functionaries who were members of it, tells how they worked and names some of the radio personalities who helped their scheme.

BUDENZ also states that a key man in this plot, who used the name "Peter Ivy" as a Daily Worker writer and spark plug of party's penetration drive, is now a writer for a major network and is listed in RED CHANNELS.

2. ELLIOT SULLIVAN, who last month addressed a meeting of the Nat'l Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions (which staged the notorious Waldorf "Peace" Conference) is still featured on radio and TV programs.

When "The Prudential Family Playhouse", sponsored by the Prudential Life Insurance Co, presented "Three Men on a Horse" last month (Nov 21) over the CBS-TV network, SULLIVAN had a leading role in the production.

STAGE

1. CLIFFORD ODETS' play "The Country Girl", is running on Broadway. Actors Studio, headed by ELIA KAZAN, CHERYL CRAWFORD and LEE STRASBERG recently signed ODETS to teach a playwriting class.

ODETS' play "Clash by Night" has been purchased by RKO producers JERRY WALD and NORMAN KRASNA for film production at a price of $40,000.

ODETS was identified as chairman of CP's American Commission to Cuba in sworn testimony of MANNING JOHNSON, former Communist Party organizer and trade union official. JOHNSON, as sec'y of the Commission, went to Cuba with ODETS at time of revolution in 1934.

They were sent there by CP to help Communist forces overthrow the Mendieta-Batista junta and put GRAU SAN MARTIN in power, JOHNSON stated. Communist Party officials believed SAN MARTIN would let CP operate openly.

And ODETS sympathies are still with the CP, according to Daily Worker critic BARNARD RUBIN. In a recent review of "The Country Girl", RUBIN

* Listed in COUNTERATTACK'S book, RED CHANNELS.

admitted that the play, unlike ODETS' former productions, did not contain Communist propaganda...but said it was only because of enormous pressure exerted on ODETS as the greatest of American theatrical artists. ODETS was handed an "ultimatum"; he was forced to change his tune to survive.

But ODETS has not whitewashed the American capitalist system, red-baited or abased himself, RUBIN said; "ODETS stands firm". RUBIN concluded his review by reminding ODETS that he was now in a position where he "must" do his bit to build the "peoples" theatre.

A short while later, ODETS went to see "Nat Turner", the current production of People's Drama, CP's principal theatrical front. The Daily Compass reported that he remained after the show to offer suggestions for improvement, that the play would benefit by this, and added significantly, "one man's knowledge can go a long way if he wants it to".

UTA HAGEN* has the feminine lead in "The Country Girl".

PRESS

1. New York Times, most famous paper in U S if not in whole world, helps disseminate Communist propaganda. Last Sunday the Times featured an ad by the Citadel Press publicizing two Communist-perverted histories:

"The Hidden Heritage" by JOHN HOWARD LAWSON, one of jailed Hollywood Ten and key man in CP campaign to capture motion picture industry.

"The Jews In The United States" by MORRIS U SCHAPPES, Communist and convicted perjurer. SCHAPPES says in this book that anti-Semitism is a useful tool of capitalists and will exist in U S as long as they retain control of the country and can exploit it to keep themselves in power.

Both books are designed, through distortion of fact and perversion of the truth, to arouse hatred of, and antagonism toward, U S form of Govt.

Last week the Times reported, just as CP press did, that a group of "intellectuals and liberals" had wired PRESIDENT TRUMAN to call an immediate armistice in Korea. It named them: Bishop EDWARD L PARSONS, Dr ROB'T MORSS LOVETT, Profs HARLOW SHAPLEY, KIRTELY F MATHER and MARK VAN DOREN, Dr LINUS C PAULING, PIERRE VAN PASSEN, Dr FRANK AYDELOTTE and Dr RALPH BARTON PERRY.

Times did not reveal that ALL of these people have front records; that LINUS PAULING, the atomic physicist, has sent greeting to CP press and just recently refused to tell an investigating committee whether or not he was a CP member; that Harvard astronomer HARLOW SHAPLEY is one of top ranking CP fronters in U S; that RALPH BARTON PERRY has been praised by Moscow as one of best friends of Stalin Russia in U S (on same day, Dec 6, Times gave letter from PERRY lead position in its "Letters to the Editor" Column).

And in last few weeks Times has used the word "chink" in dispatches from Korea when quoting statements of GI's. In doing so, Times, no doubt unintentionally, gave the Communist Party and Stalin Russia ammunition for their propaganda claims that U S is fighting a "racial" war in Korea.

Use of this term is an insult to Chinese in China and all other parts of the world. It causes justified resentment on part of all person of Asian origin in U S, and particularly on part of Chinese-Americans.

2. Washington Post has taken up official Communist Party cry that lawyers are afraid to defend CP leaders (COUNTERATTACK Nov 24, p 1). Post says it is a "serious reflection on the American bar".

* Listed in RED CHANNELS.

Yours faithfully,

December 15, 1950

Counterattack

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FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 3-4608

Letter No. 185
December 8, 1950

Dear Subscriber:

WHEN WILL IT COME? This is biggest question in U S and all parts of the world today. The "it" is World War III. And only question seems to be that of time. Will it come next week, next month or in next year or two?

Stalin has proved that he intends to conquer the world, that he will use whatever means are at hand to do it, that he will use WAR whenever that is the most expedient course.

The U S and U N have stated that they will resist his attempts, that they will stand by the principles of the U N and fight aggression.

Unless either of these powerful forces surrender their intentions, World War III is inevitable. It is bound to come. We must face this fact.

This means that military preparation must have #1 priority in U S and every free nation. All else is secondary and must be subordinate to it.

U S Govt must face facts. It must tell people that they face another world war and must make COMPLETE preparation for it.

It is the only possible hope of preventing World War III (by forcing Stalin to change his plans) or of surviving that war when it finally comes. Half way measures will not work.

Total rearmament will cost huge sums of money. American people must accept increased taxes and a lowered standard of living to foot the bill.

More military and economic aid must be given to nations of Western Europe. They face a further decrease in standard of living and will bear brunt of attack. They cannot fight without more help from U S.

Regulations must be imposed to allocate materials and control the inflation that will surely come to sap economic strength of U S.

The Point Four program for helping backward foreign nations should be increased, but ONLY if it does not interfere with military aid.

This is NOT a war of ideas. That dangerous illusion must be killed. This is primarily a war of bullets, bombs, tanks, guns, planes and armies.

You can't sell democracy to people suffering from disease, lacking food and tools to work their land...or the land to work.

But you can't sell democracy, either, to persons with land, tools to work it and full bellies...if a Communist is holding a knife at their throat and a gun in their back. They need WEAPONS to resist aggression.

Stalin Russia should be ousted from the U N as soon as practicable. The U N today is not a United Nations organization. It is a group of nations whose desire for unity to bring peace, freedom and justice to the world is frustrated and defeated at every turn by Stalin and his stooges.

Stalin and his satellites are at war with U N. In spirit, they are not, and never have been, part of U N. The U N will never succeed as long as they remain in it. Their tactics prove that they are using the world organization only to subvert the purposes for which it was formed.

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J. G. Keenan, President; K. M. Bierly, Vice President; T. C. Kirkpatrick, Secretary-Treasurer

Complete economic boycott of Russia and its satellites should be instituted by U S to weaken Communist govts as much as possible, impair their war-making ability and encourage disaffection from Moscow.

Free nations must start to "subvert" Stalin Russia. Chief weakness of Voice of America is that it has given no HOPE to people it reaches.

People who listen to the Voice are punished if caught. Unless Voice can show them that U S is doing something toward their liberation, its message will eventually backfire. They will not risk listening to it. It only highlights their misery by giving a picture of freedom that they, alone, cannot attain. Same has been true of all U S policy and propaganda to date.

China is best place to start subversion of Stalin. Just as his conquest of China had great psychological and military effect, his loss of this huge territory would have an equally bad effect...in Asia and all the world.

Communist regime in China is unpopular. There are wide-scale insurrections. CHIANG KAI-SHEK has an army of 600,000 men on Formosa and there are well over a million guerrillas in China proper.

The free world should take advantage of these conditions and similar conditions in ALL Communist-controlled nations.

A coalition of ALL anti-Communist govts, similar to anti-fascist alliance of World War II, must be formed. U S did not hesitate to accept Russia as an ally then. In present crisis it should welcome as allies all anti-Communist govts, even those that are not democratic.

APPEASEMENT IS THE GREATEST IMMEDIATE DANGER. Communist China has offered peace terms that can be accepted only if U N and U S surrender the principles for which they are fighting. Acceptance of these terms will mean appeasement of Stalin, Mao Tse-tung's master.

And appeasement will help Stalin, not the free world. Some of those who advocate it hope to buy time to prepare to fight Stalin.

But time is on Stalin's side, not on side of U N or U S. WINSTON CHURCHILL pointed out in "The Gathering Storm" that the time bought at Munich helped Hitler rearm more than it did the Allies.

The false peace of appeasement breeds inaction. Months will pass before the U S, the Atlantic Pact nations and military officials in Washington settle their squabbles and really get down to mobilization for war.

And while they squabble, Stalin will continue to ACT. He will use the time to increase the lead he now holds in military power, to create more incidents to sow discord in the U N and split the free nations of the world ...while his fifth columns continue to undermine them internally.

Psychological effect of appeasement will favor Stalin. It will incite him to further aggression, discourage defections from Moscow, crush the will to resist on part of small nations under pressure from Stalin...and encourage further appeasement by nations which now advocate "buying time".

Fate of U S, the U N and the world is in hands of PRESIDENT TRUMAN and State Dept. They must take a firm stand, convince jittery leaders of Europe that their position is correct, that anything else will mean disaster.

Over three years ago COUNTERATTACK called on its subscribers to see their Congressmen and Senators and ask them what they were doing to protect South Korea from Communist seizure.

Over two years ago, at time of Communist rebellion in South Korea, COUNTERATTACK pointed out that Korean army was untrained and unreliable... yet U S was planning to pull out and leave the govt unprotected from Stalin's well-armed North Korean regime. COUNTERATTACK said U S was in great

danger, that the emergency was military...and called for speed and an end to halfway measures in arming Europe and Asia to prevent World War III.

A year and a half ago, just before U S withdrew its troops from Korea, COUNTERATTACK criticized State Dept for welcoming Communists in South Korean constabulary despite warnings of SYNGMAN RHEE...and said U S was hurting itself as well as breaking faith with Koreans by removing its troops.

ALGER HISS was in the State Dept during part of that period. OWEN LATTIMORE served as consultant to the Dept during that period.

Sec of State ACHESON listened to them. COUNTERATTACK's warnings were ignored and unheeded.

This week thousands of Koreans gathered in Seoul Stadium. Chinese and North Korean Communist armies were advancing on them from the North.

"Give us arms", they cried, "one million youths are ready for immediate participation in combat...complete armament is most urgently needed."

Many of them will use sharpened bamboo poles...or nothing.

THE SCENE SHIFTS TO MOSCOW. While Chinese and North Korean Communists wage war against U N and U S, a group of American delegates to Stalin's Second World "Peace" Congress (Warsaw, Nov 16-22) visit Soviet Russia.

When they leave Moscow on Dec 5, day of the rally in Seoul Stadium, to return to the U S, they say they are greatly impressed with Stalin Russia's desire for peace...and carry with them three gifts:

(1) Soil from Stalingrad, which has "never been conquered by foreign invaders"; (2) A fragment of stone from a Stalingrad building, a "symbol of victory over fascism"; (3) A handful of wheat, "symbol of life and peace which people of Stalingrad desire".

Members of the delegation include: Dr JOHN A KINGSBURY, former Commissioner of Welfare of NYCity and present Chairman of Nat'l Council of American-Soviet Friendship; Dr WILLARD UPHAUS of Nat'l Religion and Labor Foundation, New Haven; Rev ROBT MUIR, Boston; Dr HOLLAND ROBERTS, director of the Communist front California Labor School and chairman of the delegation; Mrs DOROTHY COLE of the Chicago Federation of Women's Clubs.

Also CHAS HOWARD of Des Moines, vice-pres of "Progressive" party; Mrs LOUISA LEEK of Massachusetts Women for Peace; PAULINE TAYLOR of Nat'l Ass'n for Advancement of Colored People, Youngstown, Ohio, JACQUELINE CLARK, Los Angeles; CHAS COLLINS, Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union, NY; THERESE ROBINSON of the Int'l (Negro) Elks, Wash, DC; CARL FLODQUIST, North Branch, Minn; EDWARD BOBROWICZ, Int'l Fur and Leather Workers, Milwaukee, Wis.

From Chicago: YOLANDA HALL, Sec'y, Chicago Labor Peace Conference; Rev MASSIE KENNARD; MOLLIE LUCAS; HAROLD WARD of Farm Equipment Workers and JAMES MILLER of United Auto Workers, Local 453.

Delegation protested when U S Ambassador ALAN G KIRK refused to receive them in Moscow. State Dept backed up KIRK's action.

But State Dept still receives American Communist front delegations in Washington. Why does it do this?

AND THEN SCENE SHIFTS TO U S. CP, as expected, goes all out in support of Stalin. "Negotiate Peace", it cries. And its well-oiled machine starts working. Demonstrations are arranged, front meetings are held, letters and cablegrams to the White House, Congress, the U N, are called for.

CP knows the value of U S-U N appeasement of Stalin. So it does all it can to break will of the people to resist, to give the President and Congress the impression the people want peace at any price.

And others take up the cry. "Peace Now! Debate Later!" says TED

THACKREY, editor of The Daily Compass (NYCity). And he calls for letters to PRES TRUMAN, Sec of State ACHESON, U N representatives and U S Senators.

THACKREY quotes JOSEPH E EVANS of the Wall Street Journal to back up his arguments for appeasement. EVANS wrote on Dec 1 that appeasement "might" be bad but that it seemed the best way out.

The American Women for Peace, temporarily the most important front for women in U S, stages a demonstration at U N headquarters. "Forget who is the aggressor", they demand, "give a cease fire order now."

The Progressive Party, the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives, and numerous other fronts and Communist-controlled unions issue statements with the same Communist-line message, the call to appease Stalin.

Another demonstration is staged at U N...a sit-down strike of about 150 youths led by PAUL ROBESON, JR, a member of the Labor Youth League.

PAUL ROBESON, his father, watches the demonstration with "detached amusement". Stalin's Deputy Foreign Minister, MALIK, says that if the demonstrators want peace, he supports them "heartily".

New York Times describes the demonstrators as "teen-age pacifists", and in doing so gives a fine example of the inaccurate reporting and distortions of U S press that have helped lead U S into its present dilemma.

But Daily Worker, official CP newspaper, reports incident accurately. It says group is made up largely of members of CP's Labor Youth League.

U S radio listeners hear HOWARD K SMITH*, chief of CBS's European News Staff, broadcast from London on Sunday evening, Dec 3.

"Europe has risen in rebellion" against U S, SMITH reports, "the revolt has been universal, growing up independently inside each free nation, and supported by every party across Europe's scale from Left to Right."

The rebellion is "popular...highly-reasoned and unemotional", he goes on...and ends up by saying that U S must "accept the Red Challenge when right is clearly on our side" but that Europe is not convinced it is in Korea.

His broadcast makes page one of CP press. But no other commentator or reporter confirms his demoralizing report. Is he inaccurate? Does he have an axe to grind? Or is he the ONLY objective U S reporter in Europe?

SMITH's broadcasts have been quoted in CP press and in Communist front literature before because of their propaganda value.

This is the same SMITH who, in a broadcast from Moscow in March 1947, denounced the American plan for containing Communism, which had just been announced. He said it (the Truman Doctrine) was crassly unjust and that Sec of State MARSHALL was under thumb of JOHN FOSTER DULLES.

May! see this ~~[illegible]~~? B3

MORE ON FELIX KNIGHT'S ANTI-COMMUNISM. Last week COUNTERATTACK published an item on the anti-Communist position of FELIX KNIGHT, the opera and radio singer. COUNTERATTACK wishes to point out, in addition, that in a number of instances he has taken public action which passes the acid test of anti-Comunism.

He entertained at benefits for the Finnish people during Russian invasion of Finland and he publicly supported aid to the Allies during the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact when Communists were sabotaging such aid.

* Listed in Red Channels.

Yours faithfully,

December 8, 1950

Counterattack

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FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 3-4608

Heather Board
3 copies

Letter No. 179
October 27, 1950

Dear Subscriber:

"RED CHANNELS" LISTEES STATE THEIR POSITION. Since the publication of COUNTERATTACK's book RED CHANNELS, the Report of Communist Influence in Radio and Television, a number of persons whose names appear in the book have written or contacted the publishers of COUNTERATTACK to state their feelings about the Communist Party (CP) and explain the previously published items about their front affiliations listed in RED CHANNELS.

In the interest of fair play...to give its readers and the public a chance to judge the facts for themselves...COUNTERATTACK is now publishing the basic content of statements received from several of these people.

1. MEG MUNDY, the prominent actress, has written a letter to COUNTERATTACK in which she states that she abhors totalitarianism of all kinds, especially Communism, and that she is not now, never has been and never will become a Communist.

She says that she was induced to give her support, in two isolated instances, to the two organizations (identified as Communist fronts by COUNTERATTACK) which appear after her name in RED CHANNELS, only because of her dislike for all forms of censorship and her desire to defend free speech... and not because she had any desire to foster Communist causes.

Miss MUNDY's statement verifies the accuracy of the information published about her in RED CHANNELS and COUNTERATTACK's oft-repeated claim that the CP frequently wins support for its causes by deception.

2. IREENE WICKER, the "Singing Lady" of radio and TV, has made the following statement to COUNTERATTACK:

"I emphatically declare that I am not, never have been and never could be a Communist or Communist sympathizer in any sense of these terms. The fundamental doctrine of Communism is abhorrent to me. It is in direct opposition to the American principles I have always upheld and advocated."

The statement in RED CHANNELS that the Daily Worker of Sept 15, 1945 reported her as a sponsor of the Artists, Writers and Professional Division of the Committee for the Re-election of BENJAMIN J DAVIS is true, Miss WICKER says. She states, however, that she was not aware of this fact until publication of RED CHANNELS.

She absolutely denies the Daily Worker report that she was a sponsor of this committee. She also denies categorically that she ever supported Davis for re-election, that she gave his campaign committee permission to use her name...or that she knew her name had been used by the committee.

Miss WICKER recently wrote a letter to the Daily Worker demanding a retraction of its report that she sponsored the Davis committee. She received a reply from DAVID FREEDMAN of the law firm of Unger, Freedman and Fleischer, attorneys for the Daily Worker, which states that the Worker story was based on a news release from the Davis committee which did not contain the signa-

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J. G. Keenan, President; K. M. Bierly, Vice President; T. C Kirkpatrick, Secretary-Treasurer

tures of the sponsors listed. FREEDMAN said that the Daily Worker "regrets very much if that publication contained any error of fact".

3. SAMSON RAPHAELSON, the playwright whose new play "Hilda Crane" will open shortly on Broadway, has given COUNTERATTACK the following statement for publication:

"I am not and never have been friendly to Communism. I consider it an enemy of our country and of democracy. I never joined in signing those letters in Soviet Russia Today and the Daily Worker, as indicated in RED CHANNELS. I was never on the board of the Motion Picture Artists Committee. Any other sponsorships and contributions by me were done in complete unawareness of the slightest Communist tinge in the organization thus supported."

When the U S Attorney General listed the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (ACPFB) as a Communist front in 1948, RAPHAELSON wrote to the FBI to say that he had innocently given his sponsorship to this organization. He later informed the ACPFB that he did not want to be continued as a sponsor of the organization. The Committee used his name, however ...without his permission...in 1949.

RAPHAELSON also wrote to the Daily Worker and Soviet Russia Today recently, denying that he had supported BEN DAVIS or the Moscow trials and demanding proof for their statements that he had done so. He received replies from both publications saying that their stories had been based on press releases, lacking signatures, which they no longer had in their possession.

COUNTERATTACK wishes to repeat that RED CHANNELS did not call MEG MUNDY, IREENE WICKER, SAMSON RAPHAELSON or any other person mentioned in the report, Communists or Communist sympathizers. RED CHANNELS did give specific instances of how and when the names listed had been used by the Communists to promote Communist causes.

JUST WHAT IS THE PROGRAM POLICY OF CBS? A number of subscribers wrote to CBS after COUNTERATTACK published the Communist front record of JAY GORNEY, a recent addition to the CBS-TV program staff.

They received replies from WM C ACKERMAN, sec'y of the CBS Program Board, who stated for CBS that "through our control of programs on the air, we believe we have made Communist infiltration impossible."

But radio and TV audiences don't object only to CP propaganda entering their homes via CBS programs...they also object to persons with significant, continuing records of CP front activity. Here are two examples of the type of CBS performers who don't find ready acceptance in many U S homes.

1. LOUIS UNTERMEYER has been appearing regularly on the CBS-TV program "What's My Line", a feature sponsored by "Stopette" deodorant.

Less than a week before the Communist govt of North Korea attacked the Republic of South Korea, UNTERMEYER presided at a Communist front rally which passed a resolution describing imprisoned CP conspirator EUGENE DENNIS as a "courageous citizen" of the U S. This rally was part of a CP-directed drive to free what it calls "political prisoners" (Communists and Communist front officials guilty of contempt of Congressional Committees).

Since outbreak of Korean war UNTERMEYER has sent a message of "solidarity" with HOWARD FAST to a Communist front meeting held to protest jailing of this Communist propagandist. According to speakers at this meeting, FAST's jailing was a part of the Truman administration's war policy (defense of Korea) which had to be fought. In July, UNTERMEYER signed a petition to

Pres TRUMAN asking pardon for CARL ALDO MARZANI, who is now in prison for falsely denying his CP membership while employed in the State Dept.

UNTERMEYER, nationally known anthologist, has been supporting Communist fronts and causes for over ten years. Since attempted rape of Korea, which was supported by the CP and brought death to thousands of Americans, he has continued to support these causes...yet he is featured on a CBS program.

2. The CP press recently boasted: "Redbaiters Fail To Get Philip Loeb Fired". The headline was a gloating reference to the fact that LOEB is still featured on a CBS program, "The Goldbergs" (sponsored by General Foods Co, which fired JEAN MUIR). COUNTERATTACK knows of no recent attempts by "redbaiters" to have this actor fired...but the CP was evidently afraid it might happen after the Jean Muir incident.

LOEB has supported Communist fronts, through various twists and turns of the party line, since far back in the Thirties.

In May he sent a message to those attending funeral of late actor, CP member & Daily Worker staff member, BOB REED. The message praised REED's activity in "building the union" (Actor's Equity Ass'n), CP press reported.

REED, as a CP member, was "building the union" in only one way and for one purpose...to help Moscow in its plans to destroy freedom and set up a Soviet America...yet LOEB praised him...and LOEB is a CBS star.

OTHER NETWORKS ALSO FEATURE PERFORMERS WITH CP FRONT RECORDS. Not just CBS, but most major networks, seem to have relaxed completely while the industry joint-committee is discussing ways and means of protecting the airwaves. Judging by the record, they must feel that responsibility has been shifted and they don't have to worry now.

"Pulitzer Prize Playhouse" is an ABC-TV program shown every Friday from 9 to 10 PM. It is sponsored by the Joseph Schlitz Brewing Company.

PAUL MANN and ELLIOT SULLIVAN, two RED CHANNELS listees, were featured in the cast of "The Canton Story" presented on this program on Oct 13.

MANN recently returned from a five months' tour of Europe during which he stayed longest in Communist Poland. He also visited Czechoslovakia, another Iron Curtain country, and France, England and Italy.

He speaks with enthusiasm of the wonderful work of the Polish theatre which, MANN says, is "devoted to the task of serving the people of its land in building a new life in Poland". This new life, of which MANN evidently thinks so highly, is a brutal Communist dictatorship.

MANN visited SEAN O'CASEY, the famous playwright, in England. O'CASEY is a member of the editorial board of the London Daily Worker, British CP newspaper...and he had a message for MANN to bring back to the U S.

"Give my love to all Americans, especially those in jail", he told MANN. When Mrs O'CASEY protested that this was a sweeping statement that might be misunderstood, O'CASEY assured her that "they'll understand".

The "they" were the Communists. O'CASEY's words were as clear to Communists (and to MANN?) through the double-talk as the words "Brown Bomber" are to a U S boxing fan or the term "the Bums" is to a baseball fan.

O'CASEY, through MANN, was sending his love and the encouragement of all European Communists to jailed CP leader EUGENE DENNIS, to Hollywood's Contemptuous Ten, the board members of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, CARL MARZANI, and all other jailed Communists.

MANN recently publicized this message through the NY Compass, a paper that is supporting the CP's chief candidates in the coming election.

Early this year MANN directed a production of the Yiddish Theatre Ensemble. This ensemble is the successor of the Artef Theatre, described by the CP in 1935 as "the first of our revolutionary dramatic organizations..." Artef was affiliated with the Communist front New Theatre League.

Last year MANN, a Canadian by birth, told the audience at a rally of the Communist front, the Voice of Freedom Committee, that he was disappointed in what he had found in the U S.

LEON JANNEY*, (on NBC), EDWARD CHODOROV*, JOSE FERRER*, MILLARD LAMPELL* (ABC) and ADELAIDE KLEIN* (CBS) are a few of the better known actors, actresses and writers with Communist front records who have been connected with recent radio productions.

THE STORY OF ONE AMERICAN'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE U S. During the years 1942 to 1949, many RED CHANNELS listees and hundreds of other "prominent personalities" in radio, the stage, moving pictures, govt, arts, writing and publishing were helping the Communist conspiracy (as many still are) by their support of Communist fronts...and were reaping financial benefits as well as cheap acclaim for their un-American actions.

During this same 7 year period an unknown girl from New York City's teeming East side was in the CP...though not a Communist. She had entered the party as an undercover agent for the FBI to help save America while others were intent on destroying it. She received no financial reward, no publicity for what she did...she just had seven years of hard work, Communist drudgery, boredom and danger.

Her name is ANGELA CALOMIRIS...in the party it was "ANGELA COLE". She was one of the surprise witnesses who testified against the 11 CP leaders in their trial last year. What she had learned during her seven years of sacrifice helped convict the Communist leaders of conspiring to advocate the overthrow of the U S Govt by force and violence.

ANGELA CALOMIRIS has told the story of her work in the party for the FBI in the book "Red Masquerade", which was published this week by J B Lippincott Company of New York and Philadelphia.

"Red Masquerade" tells in detail the day-to-day activities of the CP on the community level...the methods and techniques used by local clubs to carry out their agitation and propaganda work. It shows how the party controls, uses and supports front organizations, how it built up the candidacy of HENRY WALLACE, the tactics used in labor unions, etc.

Many books on Communism have been printed. A few, written by former CP officials, have exposed the high-level operations of the party. "Red Masquerade" is the first book to tell just what Communism means to the rank-and-file party member. As such it is an invaluable addition to the growing literature on Communism. It should be on the shelves of every library in the U S. It should be read by every American really interested in knowing what the CP is and how it operates, how the FBI is checking on Communist activity...and by all those who enjoy a good story and will be heartened to know of the sacrifices some people have made...and are making...to prevent Stalin's planned destruction of freedom in America.

Yours faithfully,

October 27, 1950

Counterattack

* Listed in RED CHANNELS.

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COUNTERATTACK

REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 3-4608

Letter No. 175
September 29, 1950

Dear Subscriber:

A PLAN TO DESTROY COUNTERATTACK. As most subscribers know, the Communist Party and all its satellite agencies, fronts, etc, have been gunning for COUNTERATTACK for a long time...and this activity has been stepped up since the publication of COUNTERATTACK's book, RED CHANNELS.

But the bluntest, most coldly calculated method of solving the RED CHANNELS "problem" has appeared in the pages of an ostensibly non-Communist publication, "Actors Cues — Show Business".

This is an "entertainment newsweekly" published in NY. It is a trade paper designed to keep stage, radio and TV personnel abreast of developments in their fields...productions, castings, etc.

LEO SHULL is publisher of Actors Cues — Show Business.

This is the solution proposed in his paper: Destroy COUNTERATTACK by putting American Business Consultants, Inc, the publishers of RED CHANNELS and COUNTERATTACK, out of business.

How can this be accomplished? The industry "Board of Review", composed of representatives of the American Federation of Radio Artists (AFRA), the networks and sponsors, which is to be formed, should investigate any complaints made against performers and render an opinion as to their loyalty.

Any RED CHANNELS listee "cleared" by this board should use the board's decision to fight COUNTERATTACK with lawsuits and criminal arrests.

"He could attach bank accounts, file judgements against property, etc. In the case of an organization, a series of such $100,000 lawsuits could become disastrous. Also, petitions could be filed in court to revoke their charters. Unions, sponsors and networks would unite to give battle against injury to products, brand names, property right, and incapacitating an artist from earning a living."

LEO SHULL, the publisher of Actors Cues — Show Business in which this plan was outlined, was a member of the Jefferson section of the Communist Party in NYCity as late as April, 1949.

He has taken courses at the Marxist Institute of the Jefferson School of Social Science. This Institute is the highest open school of learning (subversion) of the Communist Party (CP) in the U S.

Because SHULL has contacts, influence and some prominence on Broadway he applied for admission to cultural section of the CP several times.

The CP's cultural commissars turned him down every time because, even in this unprincipled conspiracy, SHULL was considered a security risk.

SHULL was brought up on charges by the party in 1947 and 1948. The charges reflected seriously on his character. They concerned his failure to pay the Daily Worker for ads it ran for Actors Cues — Show Business and other matters which involved his unreliability in financial affairs regarding the party and groups it controlled.

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J. G. Keenan, President; K. M. Bierly, Vice President; T. C. Kirkpatrick, Secretary-Treasurer

In his own section it was agreed that he should be expelled. Word was eventually handed down from the county committee, however, that SHULL should be let alone. He remained in the party.

Higher officials evidently decided that in spite of SHULL's unsavory record, his influence in theatrical business made him valuable to CP.

The plot against COUNTERATTACK published in SHULL's paper is additional proof that RED CHANNELS has hurt the CP and its fellow travelers. Communists would not work so hard to discredit and destroy COUNTERATTACK if RED CHANNELS had not seriously interfered with their infiltration of the broadcasting industry.

CIO OBJECTS TO FACTUAL DOCUMENTATION OF CP ACTIVITY. The CIO News of Sept 18 published a rather hysterical anti anti-Communist article about RED CHANNELS. The CIO News, which until three years ago faithfully served the Communist line under the editorship of LEN DE CAUX, was upset because COUNTERATTACK had presented documentary evidence of Communist infiltration in the broadcasting industry.

COUNTERATTACK would like to ask ALLAN SWIM, present editor of the CIO News, one question...and bring one or two facts to his attention:

1. How can the national CIO justifiably print such a misleading story about COUNTERATTACK when it, as well as several of its major international unions, have come to COUNTERATTACK to obtain information about the Communist or pro-Communist activity of certain individuals and unions?

The information given to the CIO and its unions by COUNTERATTACK was exactly the same type of documentary evidence published in RED CHANNELS. And the CIO took ACTION on this information. Its affiliates have done the same thing. The CIO is placing itself in an uncomfortable position if, as the CIO News falsely intimates, the information in RED CHANNELS is not accurate or carefully checked.

2. This week the Campbell Soup local (Camden, NJ) of the Food and Tobacco Workers Union (FTA) announced that it will return to the CIO and sever its affiliation with the CIO-expelled, Communist-line FTA.

A prominent CIO official has stated that COUNTERATTACK deserves a large share of the credit for inducing the 7000 members of this local to break with their Moscow-directed leaders and rejoin the CIO.

It was factual information provided by COUNTERATTACK which helped convince the union members that they should take this step.

And this brings up another incident which proves that COUNTERATTACK gives accurate information about Communist activity.

COUNTERATTACK stated in its issue of Aug 18 that a merger of three Communist-controlled unions...the FTA, Distributive Workers Union and United Office and Professional Workers...would take place. It also stated that ARTHUR OSMAN would be president of the new union and explained the Communist strategy in bringing about the merger.

There were no previously published accounts of this development.

Several weeks later, on Sept 12, the Daily Worker, official CP newspaper, "broke the news" of the merger. The CP press story confirmed what COUNTERATTACK had said about the merger, its purposes and who would head the new Communist-directed labor group. U S press then picked up the story.

HAZEL SCOTT USES CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE TO SMEAR COUNTERATTACK. On Sept 22, HAZEL SCOTT, a RED CHANNELS listee, submitted a statement to the Committee on Un-American Activities. This statement assailed RED CHANNELS

as "guilt by listing", said that the information contained in it was "a lie" and described the report as "vile and un-American".

But she did not really deny what was reported in RED CHANNELS. She admitted supporting convicted CP conspirator BEN DAVIS for election to NY City Council; said she had never heard of two of the organizations she reportedly supported, that she had refused membership in three others, and that one group used her name without her permission.

HAZEL SCOTT then admitted that BARNEY JOSEPHSON might have listed her as an entertainer for groups later cited as subversive...that she often appeared professionally before certain organizations at his direction.

In other words, she admitted that she did not prevent the use of her name in ways that would help the Communist Party. She did not bother to check to see if she was entertaining for Communist organizations. Now she is trying to dodge responsibility for these actions.

GOOD RESULTS OF RED CHANNELS' PUBLICATION BEGINNING TO SHOW. RED CHANNELS has opened the eyes of the public and people in the broadcasting industry to the serious problem presented by Communist efforts to penetrate the vital and sensitive broadcasting field.

The American Federation of Radio Artists (AFRA), has invited officials of the major networks, advertising agencies and sponsors in the broadcasting industry to meet with its executive board today. The meeting will take place in NYCity, center of radio and TV industry in U S.

This is the first time that the groups chiefly concerned with the problem have taken active cognizance of it...and mutual action to find some method of eliminating the influence the CP has attained in their field.

COUNTERATTACK hopes that this meeting will be a success...that the decisions reached at it, or at meetings which follow, will provide a just and equitable answer to the problem...and one that in no way appeases the Communists and fellow travelers. Those concerned cannot afford any other solution; the problem is one that concerns the security of the nation.

The publication of RED CHANNELS has resulted in some stations and networks adopting personnel security measures they had not used before.

And favorable comment on RED CHANNELS, the effect it has had on the public, the effect it will have on fellow travelers has grown. JACK LAIT, NICK KENNY, BILLY ROSE (without specifically mentioning the report), VICTOR RIESEL, GEO SOKOLSKY, ED SULLIVAN, HAROLD HEFFERNAN, BILL CUNNINGHAM and ROBT GRANNIS are some of the columnists who have written favorably on RED CHANNELS or COUNTERATTACK's view of the Communist problem in radio and TV.

JOE ROSENFIELD, JR, master of ceremonies on "Big Joe's Happiness Exchange" (station WINS, NY) deserves special commendation, COUNTERATTACK believes, for his courage and fairness in helping to clarify a subject about which there has been much confusion, misunderstanding and misrepresentation.

When the RED CHANNELS controversy was at its peak, "Big Joe" asked the publishers and editor of COUNTERATTACK to appear on his program, present their side of the issue and answer the questions of those on the other side.

As a result of his action, many more Americans have been given all the facts in the case without misrepresentation, know something of the very serious problem that exists, and really understand what RED CHANNELS is, why it was published and what its publishers hope to accomplish.

American radio could use many more "Big Joe's" to combat the un-American influence of Stalin's servants in the broadcasting industry.

COMMUNISTS NO LONGER CALL ONE ANOTHER "COMRADE". The old Bolshevik form of greeting and address is not now used in the CP. Communists, to one another at least, are "progressives" or "progressive people".

This change in name marks a change in strategy, the Communist plan to defeat registration provisions of the recently passed McCarran bill.

Known Communist officials will use delaying tactics to avoid registering. They will fight McCarran bill all the way up to the Supreme Court.

When Supreme Court finally gives its decision, there will be practically no one left in the open, above-ground CP to register...except a relatively small number of party officials.

Rank-and-file-members will be "out" of the party by that time. Those who are not already enrolled members of the Progressive Party (which COUNTERATTACK long ago labelled the "Commugressive" Party) are now shifting their allegiance (registration).

The "Progressive" Party will soon be the new, thinly disguised CP.

ATTORNEY GENERAL LISTS NEW COMMUNIST GROUPS. On September 15, U S Attorney General J HOWARD McGRATH added 21 organizations to the Dept of Justices's subversive list.

Early this year COUNTERATTACK stated that although the Int'l Workers Order had been cited by the Attorney Gen, many people did not know that it had 14 subdivisions...and that these groups, by registering under their respective names, often obtained hotel reservations that would be denied them if it were known that they were part of IWO (letter #137, pp 1 & 2).

COUNTERATTACK published the names of these 14 groups and said that those who used the Att'y Gen's list should add these names to it.

The names of these 14 IWO subdivisions have been included in the new list of fronts published by Att'y Gen McGRATH.

But the Att'y Gen left out the name of one IWO group. This is the Lincoln-Douglas Society, which was formed in January of this year (after the COUNTERATTACK story was written). It now has branches in many cities and is designed to influence Negroes and recruit them into the CP.

The failure of the Att'y Gen to name the Lincoln-Douglas Society of the IWO in the new list draws attention to several other glaring omissions of the type that have consistently characterized the Justice Dept's listings.

J EDGAR HOOVER referred to the Voice of Freedom Committee as a Communist organization when he recently testified before a Senate Committee...but it is not on the Att'y Gen's list. The ever-cautious State Dept denounced the Waldorf "peace" conference of the Nat'l Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions as a "Communist sounding board"...but the Council is not on the list. The Un-American Activities Committee recently called on the Justice Dept to cite the Nat'l Lawyers Guild as a Communist organization (as COUNTERATTACK has done repeatedly in the past)...but it is not listed.

Of the 21 organizations cited in the new list issued by Att'y Gen McGRATH, only 4 are extant Communist organizations...the remainder are Klu Klux Klan groups, the IWO affiliates or defunct Communist schools.

Isn't it time the Dept of Justice started naming more "live" Communist groups? They are the ones that are doing harm NOW.

Yours faithfully,

September 29, 1950

Counterattack

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FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 3-4608

Letter No. 174
September 22, 1950

Dear Subscriber:

CORNELL UNIVERSITY AND THE LOYALTY PROBLEM. A 90,000 word report issued by Cornell University last week denounced the U S loyalty and security program for retarding scientific progress and discouraging scientists from entering government service through "fear of smear".

This report is the first of eight to be made in a two-year study of the effects of govt security practices on civil liberties that is being conducted at Cornell. The project is financed by the Rockefeller Foundation.

If govt security measures are interfering with scientific progress and violating civil liberties the American people should be told the facts as soon as possible. For this reason, it is hoped the Cornell study will be thorough and objective.

But other recent Cornell developments emphasize need for another kind of study...an exhaustive, thorough study of the Communist Party (CP), its fronts, influence, methods of operations, etc.

No such study has ever been made. Hundreds of thousands of dollars are spent every year by corporations, universities, foundations, etc, on investigations and reports of all kinds...some of very doubtful value.

But no one has ever financed a thorough investigation of Communism, the biggest problem in the world today. And it needs to be done. The problem affects the lives of people in all parts of globe economically, politically and socially...including those who don't know what Communism is.

COUNTERATTACK gives its subscribers as much information as possible, but the surface can only be scratched in a newsletter.

Here are the other Cornell developments that point up this need:

1. The librarian: On the same day the above-mentioned report was issued, Cornell announced that VICTOR STEINHART, librarian in the physics branch, had been fired. MATT CVETIC, FBI undercover agent in Pennsylvania CP had identified STEINHART as a party member. STEINHART, like most CP members, is a "Progressive" Party member (American Labor Party in NY State).

2. The student: A few days earlier the University dismissed a student because he had allegedly denounced U S "aggression" in Korea at the meeting of Stalin's World Student Congress in Prague last month. Later, it was decided that press reports of his Prague activities were inaccurate. He will be allowed to reregister for Cornell's fall term.

3. The professor: Nothing happened to him. But, in view of the other developments, his record is disturbing:

Prof PHILIP MORRISON, atomic physicist of Cornell who worked on the first A-bomb, spoke at annual dinner of the Nat'l Council of American-Soviet Friendship last year. He expressed pleasure in fact that Stalin Russia had developed the A-bomb...and attacked the FBI.

He has signed the Moscow-line Stockholm "Peace" Appeal.

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J. G. Keenan, President; K. M. Bierly, Vice President; T. C. Kirkpatrick, Secretary-Treasurer

MORRISON has served as an official of Nat'l Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions, leading Communist cultural front; was a program committee member and leader of one of panels at its notorious Waldorf "peace" conference; and was a speaker at its nat'l convention this year.

He took part in the Chicago Mid-Century Conference for Peace this summer. He has also been affiliated with Progressive Citizens of America, Committee of 1000, Progressive Party and Nat'l Non-Partisan Committee to Defend the Rights of the 12 Communist leaders, according to press reports.

MORRISON spoke, with some of the now convicted CP leaders, at the obviously Communist Bill of Rights Conference in NYCity last year. The Communist press lists him as signer of a statement denouncing the disciplinary court action taken against the attorneys for the Communist leaders.

The librarian was identified as a CP member. The student reportedly made an anti-U S statement at a Communist meeting. The professor supports Communist fronts and causes and speaks words that follow the party line.

The librarian is gone...the student was "out" for a while. The professor is still there. The student could have little influence for evil in an overwhelmingly American institution; the librarian somewhat more.

But the professor HAS great influence...not just in the classroom, but through his ACTIONS outside the classroom and the propaganda effect they have on the students and public in general.

Cornell has a tough problem. The rights of the student, the librarian, the professor are involved...also the obligations of the university to the student body as a whole and the parents of the students.

Cornell could profit from an expert report on impact of propaganda from students, librarians, and professors who aid pro-Communist groups.

PUBLICATION OF "MARCH OF LABOR" RESUMED. This monthly, advertised as "the new voice of progressive labor", was first published in June, 1949. It was suspended after four issues. Now it is being published again.

JOHN F RYAN, former exec-vice pres of the NY Newspaper Guild, and MAURICE FORGE, former editor of Transport Workers Bulletin, were editor and managing editor, respectively, of the magazine when it started last year.

Both have been identified as CP members...FORGE, in sworn testimony of several former party members...RYAN, by fellow unionists at a Newspaper Guild meeting who, after he had refused to say whether or not he was a Communist, stated that he had told them he belonged to the party.

Contributors to March of Labor included: VICTOR PERLO, who was identified as a member of a secret Communist cell in Washington by both WHITTAKER CHAMBERS and ELIZABETH BENTLEY and refused to deny this charge (he is now teaching at the Communist Party's Jefferson School); Congressman VITO MARCANTONIO; JOHN CLARK, Pres of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, which was recently ousted from CIO for following the Communist line; DONALD HENDERSON, leader of CIO-expelled Food and Tobacco Workers, who was formerly an open CP member; Communist line ex-radio commentator ARTHUR GAETH; and LOUIS GOLDBLATT, sec'y-treas of HARRY BRIDGES' Longshoremen's Union.

March of Labor resumed publication this August. The new editor is JOHN STEUBEN, who was a delegate to the 1945 CP convention and has been known as a party member for many years.

"Peace" is the main issue facing labor, March of Labor says. It supports Stalin's World Federation of Trade Unions, the Communist-line unions expelled from CIO, and opposes "red-baiting".

Contributors to August issue of the new Communist labor publication: the previously mentioned MAURICE FORGE and LOUIS GOLDBLATT; RUSS NIXON, legislative representative of the CP-line United Electrical Workers; SAM PARKS, sec'y of District 1 (Chicago), United Packinghouse Workers; and JAMES DURKIN, party-line Pres of United Office and Professional Workers of America who signed a Communist Party nominating petition in 1946.

JAY GORNEY JOINS STAFF OF CBS. A TV news release from the Columbia Broadcasting System last month announced that JAY GORNEY and WM N ROBSON* had been assigned to its TV program staff.

GORNEY was a sponsor of the Waldorf "peace" conference which was staged by the Nat'l Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions (NCASP) and denounced by State Dept. He was also listed as a signer of the Council statement calling for abolition of House Committee on Un-American Activities... and signed its "We Are For Wallace" ad which appeared in NY Times during the 1948 campaign. A few months ago, he was listed in CP press and NCASP literature as one of the sketch writers for an NCASP carnival and dance.

He contributed songs and sketches to "Show Time for Wallace", a production of the Communist front Progressive Citizens of America, according to CP press, and also did the music and sketches for the Communist-controlled American Labor Party's production of "Broadway in a Democratic Key" (with MARC BLITZSTEIN*, EARL ROBINSON*, and HAROLD ROME*). Last year, he sang his own "Bill of Rights" song at an ALP meeting at which VITO MARCANTONIO was the principal speaker.

GORNEY has been listed as an exec board member of the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League, a supporter of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (on Att'y Gen's list), and the Artists Front to Win the War.

In April, he was announced as one of scheduled artists to appear in a benefit performance for Peoples Drama, Communist theatrical front.

GORNEY is chairman of musical play dept of the Dramatic Workshop. HANNS EISLER, before being deported from the U S, was an instructor at this school...which has produced plays glorifying the Soviet slave-labor system.

Dramatic Workshop recently celebrated its 10th anniversary with a Mardi Gras ball at the Penthouse, 13 Astor Place, NYCity. The "Penthouse" is a favorite Communist entertainment center. 13 Astor Place is familiarly referred to as a "little Kremlin" of the U S.

When GORNEY and his wife SANDRA (who has written for the Daily Worker) produced "Bloomer Girl" for the Dramatic Workshop in January, the lyrics were written by E Y HARBURG* and the production was staged by COBY RUSKIN*. The CP press publicizes Dramatic Workshop productions.

COUNTERATTACK AND THE "WEAVERS". Three months ago COUNTERATTACK suggested that its subscribers protest the appearance of The Weavers on a program in which they made their TV debut (COUNTERATTACK, June 9, p 4).

Facts were given about the pro-Communist activities of The Weavers.

A short while later, The Weavers' Manager called on the Editor of COUNTERATTACK. His problem: the folk-singing quartet had been scheduled for another program sponsored by a nationally known product. The COUNTERATTACK story had led to its cancellation...and promised to hurt him and The Weavers financially.

He explained that he didn't know anything about Communism, or much about The Weavers' past. Since some facts had been brought to his attention, he had spoken to the "boys" about the problem and felt that they were just

* Named in Counterattack's "Red Channels".

gullible and well-meaning. He said that he would try to persuade them to cease their pro-Communist activity as individuals and, as their manager, would refuse engagements for any Communist front groups.

COUNTERATTACK's editor told him what he knew about The Weavers as a group and individually. He also promised that COUNTERATTACK would do everything possible to help him...that he should feel free to call on us at any time...that COUNTERATTACK was eager to help people break with the Communist Party and its fronts.

The Weavers were on the Art Ford show Sept 8. This is a program which has a large and changing list of sponsors. It is broadcast over TV station WPIX (owned by the anti-Communist NY Daily News) twice weekly.

On Sept 15, PETE SEEGER*, one of The Weavers, took part in a meeting of the Nat'l Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions. He sang the song "Old Man Atom" (see last week's COUNTERATTACK, pp 1 & 2) at the meeting. Prof EDWIN BERRY BURGUM, chairman of the meeting and an editor of the Marxist intellectual publication, Science and Society, spoke of SEEGER as a member of People's Artists...a Communist entertainment front.

Meeting was held to honor HOWARD FAST and ADRIAN SCOTT. FAST has just finished serving a prison term for contempt of Congress. SCOTT, one of Hollywood's "Tongue-Tied Ten", is now in prison for the same offense.

Protests forced cancellation of the meeting at the Hotel Capitol in NYCity, after WOR radio commentator DAVID SNELL exposed its Communist nature. It was moved to the Riverside Plaza Hotel.

Literature of the CP's Jefferson School was distributed at close of the meeting. This literature announced: "A new world is coming to birth - the people are on the march, and in that new world Marxism leads the way!"

ADRIAN SCOTT and actor JOHN RANDOLPH ("Come Back Little Sheba") attacked RED CHANNELS at the meeting.

An anti-RED CHANNELS resolution was one of five passed. It called on all present (about 500) to send telegrams to advertising agencies to express their alarm at the alleged "blacklist".

Theme of the meeting: Courage. We will win. The repressive (anti-Communist) activities taking place in the U S are signs of fear. "Prison is nothing to be afraid of...we're on the winning side", ex-prisoner FAST told the audience. "I'll be back. We'll all be back", SCOTT said.

Over $1,000 was raised at the meeting.

WHAT TO DO: Write to:

1. F M FLYNN, Pres, station WPIX, 220 East 42nd St, NYCity.

Remind him that PETE SEEGER has entertained for Communist Party functions and is still supporting pro-Communist organizations. Ask him if he believes SEEGER should be featured on WPIX.

2. FRANK STANTON, Pres of CBS, 485 Madison Ave, NYCity.

Ask him if he knows of any facts about JAY GORNEY, not known to the public, which indicate that GORNEY is non-Communist and offset the pro-Communist ACTIONS he has taken in the past. Tell him that you consider such information a matter of public interest.

Yours faithfully,

September 22, 1950.

Counterattack

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FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 3-4608

Reader Board For 2 Days (Aug 11-12)

Letter No. 168
August 11, 1950

Dear Subscriber:

THE AMERICAN SCENE IS STILL ONE OF CONFUSION. COUNTERATTACK presented a broad picture of international Communist activity last week to indicate the great threat Stalin holds over the U S and all free nations...and the need for complete U S mobilization.

A few examples illustrating how the Communist Party (CP) is still grossly underestimated in the U S (because of widespread ignorance of its aims, powers, activities, etc), were given.

Here are a few more "shots" from the American picture. Some encouraging anti-Communist activity is taking place, more people are waking up... but, on the other hand, there are a discouraging number of examples of inconsistent action, half way measures, and of successful Communist action.

Pravda, Stalin's official Soviet voice, praises U S Communist Party and its leaders for opposing U S in Korean war, for disobeying laws of U S, for helping Stalin Russia in every way possible.

Communist Party defies U S courts and police. On Aug 2, the New York Labor Conference for Peace, as agent of the CP, used force to stage a "peace" rally in NYCity in violation of Police and State Supreme Court order.

Officials of Civil Rights Congress, Communist defense front, refuse to produce records of organization for Congressional investigating Committee.

STEVE NELSON, chmn of Western Pennsylvania CP who has been charged by Un-American Activities Committee with engaging in atomic espionage for Stalin, is arrested in McKeesport, Pa, for refusing to obey city laws and resisting arrest. He refuses to appear in court to answer charges.

Un-American Activities Committee plans to issue contempt citations against 59 persons, a number of them CP officials, who have refused to answer questions about Communist espionage and subversive activity.

Freedom House urges PRES TRUMAN to outlaw CP, its affiliates and publications; to devote 25% of U S production to rearming U S and its allies; to initiate complete mobilization (military and economic) in readiness for "total danger"; to use all resources to stop further Soviet aggression.

Nat'l Planning Ass'n warns that U S is still not fully awake to fact that it is in greater peril than ever before. To save U S and western civilization from the "imminent danger" of destruction by world Communism, it calls for rapid expansion of armed forces, speedy conversion to war production, intensified efforts in propaganda battle against Stalin Russia, and balancing of U S income and expenditures.

PRES TRUMAN asks tighter spy and subversive-alien control laws.

CONGRESS

Rep HENDERSON LANHAM (D-Ga) calls Communist WILLIAM L PATTERSON, Exec-Sec'y of the CP's Civil Rights Congress, a "black S.O.B.".

LANHAM helped the CP when he did this. He gave Congress and the whole U S a black eye with Negroes and all believers in human dignity.

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J. G. Keenan, President; K. M. Bierly, Vice President; T. C. Kirkpatrick, Secretary-Treasurer

Stalin's international propaganda machine will go to town on this. It will be played up for all it is worth in every part of the world...and especially in Africa and Asia. It fits perfectly into the propaganda line international Communism has adopted on the Korean war...that it is a U S capitalist, racist drive against the colored peoples of Asia.

It will have an especially bad effect on Negro people in U S. CP concentrates much of its activity and propaganda on U S Negroes...with amazingly poor results. But a statement such as this may drive some Negroes to accept the CP and its line...and drive others who were ready to break with the CP for various reasons, back into the fold.

COURTS AND GOVT

Federal Judge GEO B HARRIS revokes HARRY BRIDGES' bail and orders him to jail as a menace to security of the U S.

But what about the 10 CP leaders who are free on bail? These men direct the subversive activity not only of HARRY BRIDGES, but of all CP members and their hundreds of thousands of fellow travelers in the U S.

Judge HAROLD MEDINA refused to grant bail to these traitors, because he had NO doubt about the constitutionality of their conviction.

But U S Att'y Gen J HOWARD McGRATH opposed Judge MEDINA. When the case came up in U S Circuit Court of Appeals, bail was granted because an Ass't U S Att'y Gen, on orders from McGRATH, conceded that there was a "substantial question" as to constitutionality of the Smith Act under which the CP leaders were convicted. Because of McGRATH's stand the Court was forced to grant bail to the Communists. It could do nothing else.

McGRATH gave this order against the advice of U S District Att'y F X McGOHEY, who had conducted the prosecution, and his staff...and in spite of the fact that U S Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals had upheld the validity of the Smith Act several years earlier.

Now U S Court of Appeals in NY has completely undercut McGRATH's politically influenced stand on the Smith Act by unanimously upholding conviction of 11 CP leaders without any reservations whatsoever.

The leaders of Stalin's U S agents should be jailed immediately.

STATE DEPARTMENT

State Department cancels PAUL ROBESON's passport on grounds that it is not in the interest of the U S for ROBESON to travel abroad. Such action was urged by COUNTERATTACK long ago...now something has finally been done.

But there are many other important Communists who are allowed to travel freely by the State Dept. Why doesn't it clamp down on them, too?

DAVE PLATT, film editor of the Daily Worker, is now in Czechoslovakia, taking part in Moscow's Fifth Int'l Film Festival. SAMUEL SILLEN, former literary editor of the Daily Worker and now editor of Masses and Mainstream, CP cultural monthly, is also attending the Festival.

ELIZ GURLEY FLYNN, only woman member of the U S Politburo, was in Europe a few months ago...so was MIKE GOLD, another Daily Worker writer.

A B MAGIL is now in Mexico as a Daily Worker correspondent...but his "literary" output for the CP press is very low. Is it conceivable that the work he is doing "on the side" is in the interest of the United States?

A few of the many people who have been abroad recently, but whose activities while overseas could hardly be classified as helpful to U S interests are: CP official LEON STRAUS; LOUIS GOLDBLATT, Sec'y-Treas of HARRY BRIDGES' Longshoremen's Union ; ROCKWELL KENT (identified as a secret Communist) and JOHANNES STEEL, who took part in Stalin's Stockholm "peace" meeting; MRS PAUL ROBESON, MURIEL DRAPER, ADA B JACKSON, PEARL LAWES and other officials and members of Congress of American Women.

Some of these people are well-known Communists. It is acknowledged that they work for Stalin. They don't go abroad merely to attend meetings and make speeches. Files of Un-American Activities Committee prove that some Communists act as couriers on their foreign trips. Isn't it time the State Dept stopped helping such people carry out their subversive activities?

LABOR

Communist-led union indicted for price-fixing. On July 28, a Federal grand jury in San Francisco indicted six locals and seven union officials of the Joint Northern California Council of the Int'l Fishermen's Union for violating the Sherman anti-trust law.

The Union, by various illegal tactics, had added as much as 25% to the consumer price of fish, Govt attorneys charged.

And this was not first time the Fishermen's Union has been guilty of such practices. JEFF KIBRE, the union Sec'y-Treas, and local 36 of the union were convicted of the same crime in May, 1947.

These charges are a telling commentary on the hypocrisy of the CP, its fronts and unions. A permanent plank in CP propaganda platform is the charging of all price rises in consumer goods (especially food) to greedy, profiteering capitalists. Now a CP-led union, once convicted of bleeding the American public, is facing trial for the same crime a second time.

The Fishermen's Union, after merging with HARRY BRIDGES' Int'l Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), became the Fishermen's and Shoreworker's Division of the ILWU on July 1.

A short while later, the Dispatcher, official ILWU publication, took its stand on Korean war. Among other things, it charged certain forces in the Truman administration with using Korea to bust unions so that they could walk away with the profits after the unions had been destroyed.

But cheating American consumers isn't the worst crime the Fishermen's Union is capable of committing.

JEFF KIBRE, Sec'y-Treas of the union, is a CP member whose party name is BARRY WOOD, according to sworn testimony of several former party members. He was assigned to work in Fishermen's Union after failing in his appointed task of organizing Hollywood studio workers for the CP.

KIBRE went to Alaska in March, 1948, and organized the Westward Alaska Fisheries Council with headquarters in Anchorage. This Council, made up of six locals of the Fishermen's Union, was supported by financial contributions from the parent union. Its professed purpose was to direct "a swelling tide of economic and political activity" in Alaska.

JOHN WIESE was appointed Pres of this CP propaganda organization. WIESE has admitted supporting Communist fronts and has told a Congressional investigating Committee that he did not believe the CP was a dangerous underground group, that he would oppose the barring of CP members as union officials, and that he would not oppose Communists in unions.

The Fisheries Council is active in vicinity of Anchorage, chief U S air base in Alaska, and in the region of the naval base at Kodiak Island.

Eskimos who have been held by the Russians in Siberia, have stated that Soviet officials in the region had up-to-date information on U S defense set-up in Alaska, knew the number of planes on airfields, the names of military officers at airbases and other vital defense data.

No Russians have been in Alaska since end of last war, but Communists are in that territory. There are also Russian submarines in Alaskan waters...and "fishing" boats operated by the Fishermen's Union.

RADIO

An encouraging note for radio listeners: All major radio networks, ABC, CBS, NBC and Mutual, have turned down a proposed program in which "prominent" persons were to discuss the case of the "Hollywood Ten".

NORMAN CORWIN and MILLARD LAMPELL, both of whom are listed in RED CHANNELS, were to have written the script for the program.

Scheduled to appear on the program were: JOSEPH BARNES, the former foreign editor of NY Herald Tribune, who was recently identified as a secret CP member by LOUIS BUDENZ; GEO BRAZILLER of the Communist-front Book Find Club; OLIN DOWNES*, music critic of the NY Times; ROBT CAPA, the photographer; LANGSTON HUGHES* (see footnote); playwrights GARSON KANIN* and ARTHUR MILLER*; movie directors BILLY WILDER and WM WYLER; pianist ARTUR SCHNABEL; writers RICHARD LAUTERBACH, THOMAS MANN, EDGAR SNOW, VINCENT SHEEAN, IRA WOLFERT, I F STONE and ROBT ST JOHN; Dr LINUS PAULING of the California Institute of Technology and Dr ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN, former pres of Amherst College.

Reported as sponsors of the show were: poet and anthologist LOUIS UNTERMEYER*; actress RUTH GORDON* (wife of GARSON KANIN); playwrights ELIA KAZAN and F HUGH HERBERT; movie directors JULES DASSIN and ANATOLE LITVAK; newspaper writer RICHARD WATTS, Jr; and ARTHUR MILLER, GARSON KANIN, JACK GOODMAN, BILLY WILDER and WM WYLER.

This proposed radio program was part of a well-organized campaign to win sympathy and pardon for the convicted "Contemptuous Ten" Hollywood screenwriters, producers and directors who have been made an international Communist cause celebre.

They have been praised, defended and used as a vehicle for arousing anti-U S sentiment by Communists in all parts of the world...Russia, China, the "new democracies", Western Europe, Latin America, etc.

The "Committee to Free the Hollywood Ten" is the agency directing this drive in the U S. Copying the tactics of Stalin in his great "peace" drive, it is circulating petitions to PRES TRUMAN asking Executive clemency for these convicted Communists. The goal is 250,000 signatures by Aug 31.

The Committee is also distributing a moving picture, "The Hollywood Ten", for showing in theatres, and before church, civic, labor and veterans organizations. This film will also be distributed in Europe, China and the Iron Curtain countries...even if the CP can't free the Ten it will do everything it can to revile the U S at home and abroad.

This picture was produced by the Arts, Sciences and Professions Film Company, located at 1586 Crossroads of the World, Hollywood. By a strange coincidence, the Committee to Free the Hollywood Ten is located at the same address...and so is the Arts, Sciences and Profession Council (the Hollywood branch of the Nat'l Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions which ran the Waldorf "Peace" Conference in March, 1949.).

WHAT TO DO: Write to:

Att'y Gen J HOWARD McGRATH. Urge him to take action to revoke bail of 10 CP leaders and put them in prison.

Sec of State DEAN ACHESON. Urge him to refuse or cancel future passports to all known Communists and close CP sympathizers.

And tell your local newspapers, civic groups and theatre managers about origin and purpose of "Hollywood Ten" petitions and film.

*Listed in RED CHANNELS

Yours faithfully,

August 11, 1950

Counterattack

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FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 3-4608

Letter No. 167
August 4, 1950

Dear Subscriber:

AFTER KOREA, WHAT? Nobody knows exactly, but a lot of people who don't know, think that they do.

Last week ERIC A JOHNSTON predicted there would be no World War III as long as Stalin lives. How did JOHNSTON know? He has talked with Stalin several times and, in addition, Stalin "is an old man and old men don't start wars".

It's as simple as that. And it's as misleading as it's simple. JOHNSTON's statement is not true historically...old men DO start wars.

And not a single non-Communist Westerner knows Stalin well enough personally to know what he will, or will not, do in any given situation.

But there are some things everyone should know...things that those who have studied the ruthless Communist-Stalinist philosophy know...things that tell us what to expect and what to do about it:

1. Since before the Bolshevik revolution every Communist in the world has been looking forward to, and working his heart out for, the "World October"...that great day when the world will fall to Stalin or his successor as Russia fell to the Bolsheviks in October, 1917.

2. Stalin has no exact time-and-place schedule. His strategy is to create favorable conditions in as many places as possible...and exploit them as quickly and completely as possible...always moving forward, strengthening his grip on the world and weakening the democracies.

3. Stalin, the worst dictator, most ruthless fascist and one of the most clever deceptionists in the world, yearns to be the great Communist hero of all time...to bring the world under Bolshevik control before he dies.

Here are the indications of what he has planned, the things that warn us of what we must do before it is too late.

China: Communist armies massing for an attack on Formosa; they report that their plans to "liberate" Tibet are "progressing".

India: The Communist Party (CP) secretly orders "armed guerrilla warfare" against govt while it publicly announces a "non-violent" program. It is learned that a Far Eastern Cominform will be formed.

Indo-China: CP says "the hour of the general counter-offensive has come"; Saigon to be turned into a "guerrilla zone" of violence and sabotage.

Iran: CP (Tudeh Party) issues a call for revolt and overthrow of the govt. Russian radio broadcasts step up attacks on Iranian govt.

Yugoslavia: Communist satellite troops in surrounding nations are prepared to attack. Tito appeals for U N action.

France: CP leader, JACQUES DUCLOS, addresses the French Assembly and tells all non-Communist and anti-Communist members:

"Your fear is making you sweat, for you know you will never triumph".

England: Naval vessels are sabotaged by Communists.

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J. G. Keenan, President; K. M. Bierly, Vice President; T. C. Kirkpatrick, Secretary-Treasurer

Germany: Cominform ends a five-day meeting on July 24 in a blaze of anti-U S invective...after Communists from all parts of world (including non-Cominform members, such as China) report on situation in their countries.

East German CP welcomes Nazis to strengthen its ranks and announces it will "liberate" West Germany; calls on West Germans to sabotage Allied defense preparations.

Czechoslovakia: The World Peace Congress, scheduled for Prague, Aug 2, is postponed. It will be held in Budapest, Hungary, Aug 15. Probable reason for postponement: reports of Cominform meeting being considered in Moscow. Strategy and tactics may be revised, a new "line" or variation of present one devised. Aug 15 Peace Congress will probably be used to launch the new line, to tell int'l agents attending it what tactics and strategy to use in their respective nations (Second World Student Congress, meeting in Prague Aug 14-28, will also be used for this purpose).

All Over the World: The real meaning of the "peace" petitions (Stockholm Peace Pledge) is explained:

ILYA EHRENBURG and LEONID SOBOLEV, two of Stalin's chief propagandists, say that signing "Appeal" is more than a handwriting exercise...that it means and DEMANDS ACTION to stop war (pave way for Soviet aggression).

SOBOLEV describes the ACTION to be taken by all "peace" pledge signers: refusal to load ships; seizure of arms; sabotage of food, water, coal and fuel supplies as well as all transport and communications facilities; influencing husbands, sons and sweethearts to dodge or refuse military service.

Korea: War proves U S is dangerously weak...that if Stalin starts more wars in other soft spots (as he can) U S will be unable to cope with him.

All the above facts prove that there is only one thing to do if freedom is to be preserved in any part of the world...the U S MUST MOBILIZE COMPLETELY...NOW...BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE.

Even if complete mobilization is started immediately U S won't be prepared FOR SEVERAL YEARS to cope with the all-out offensive Stalin will be capable of launching as a follow-up to the world-wide war of attrition he has already started to weaken U S for the final blow.

But this is what is happening in the U S: Partial mobilization is ordered. Experts said several years ago that 70 air groups were minimum required for adequate defense...so 69 have just been authorized. In all other defense fields, similar inadequate, half-way measures are adopted.

Communist press openly advocates disobedience and disloyalty to U S govt. Some of Communists who stole A-bomb secrets for Stalin during World War II are arrested. (How many are NOW betraying U S in similar fashion?).

In all parts of U S Communists are staging treason "peace" rallies to help Stalin by undermining unity and loyalty of Americans.

U S Court of Appeals unanimously upholds conviction of 11 CP leaders for criminal conspiracy to teach and advocate overthrow of U S govt by force and violence. The Court warns that a "clear and present" Communist danger to U S exists...that the jury had found that the Communist conspirators intended to strike as soon as success seemed possible.

The situation is 10 times worse than the American people realize, J EDGAR HOOVER says at a private gathering on West Coast.

WM Z FOSTER, CP chairman, speaks the truth. He says war in Korea is "a typical example of the gross and chronic underestimation that imperialists (the U S) hold towards revolutionary movements...led by Communists".

And FOSTER is right. Everything written in this letter proves his statement. Present world situation would not exist otherwise.

U S is in a dilemma. And for only one reason...the one FOSTER has given. And UNDERESTIMATION comes only from IGNORANCE. The tragic fact is that this ignorance...evident in every level of govt, business, labor, the arts and professions...could have been dispelled years ago by the study of inexpensive books and pamphlets available in every Communist bookstore.

U S Govt officials refused to believe Hitler's "Mein Kampf"...and they still refuse to believe LENIN, STALIN, FOSTER, the Communist Manifesto, or the Program of the Communist International.

These people and documents indicate strongly that whether U S mobilizes completely or partially, Stalin probably won't allow it time to complete the job. Because partial mobilization is under way, he may strike sooner than he expected to before Korean war.

And U S picture given above is not complete. In spite of all these facts the CP is still recognized as a legal political party in U S. Anti-Communist legislation such as the Mundt-Nixon bill (which, even if it were passed, would probably prove inadequate in the present situation) is opposed by the Administration. In many fields of American life people who have aided Stalin by supporting his U S fronts are coddled and publicized. The radio and moving pictures are used to spread Communist propaganda. Fellow travelers are defended and appeased...the CP is still UNDERESTIMATED.

Here are just a few incidents of the passing American scene that prove this statement is true:

Radio

1. MARTHA DEAN (WOR) and MARY MARGARET McBRIDE (WNBC) advertise Polish hams. Miss DEAN features OWEN LATTIMORE and treats him with great sympathy. Miss McBRIDE features people with Communist front records.

2. HOWARD DA SILVA* (see footnote) is featured as a guest on "Pantomime Quiz", a CBS-TV network program (sustaining), July 24.

3. PETER LYON* writes script for "Big Town", NBC network, July 25.

4. HESTER SONDERGAARD* stars in "Famous Jury Trials", July 26, WABD.

5. ELLA LOGAN* stars in "Daisy Discovers America", WNBC, July 27.

6. MARSHA HUNT* is scheduled to co-star in "MGM Theater of the Air" on August 4, station WMGM (NY).

Moving Pictures

"Broken Arrow", a Twentieth Century Fox picture, written by MICHAEL BLANKFORT* with WILL GEER* in a supporting role, has its premiere July 20. CP press hails it as a film that speaks for "peace".

"The Men", a United Artists production written by STANLEY KRAMER and featuring MARLON BRANDO#, opens July 20. CP press praises it as a film with "anti-war impact".

"All Quiet on the Western Front" is revived by Realart Pictures, Inc. Daily Worker describes it as "an intense, anguished appeal for peace".

"Four Days' Leave", a Film Classics release, is being shown. Dialogue written by RING LARDNER, Jr, one of the "Hollywood Ten", who is now in jail. Picture was made abroad to evade motion picture industry ban on all Hollywood Ten-corrupted films. One reviewer says of the film's message, "a definite black eye to American prestige overseas."

"Salt to the Devil", released by Eagle Lion, is another Hollywood Ten "evasion" film. Directed by EDWARD DMYTRYK (now in jail), it was made in England. SAM WANAMAKER* plays the lead. (DMYTRYK was voted a special award for this picture at the Cominform's Fifth Int'l Film Festival in Czechoslovakia this week).

*Listed in RED CHANNELS.
#Communist front record.

Columbia pictures filming MILLARD LAMPELL's* book, "The Hero". Also selects JUDY HOLLIDAY* to star in GARSON KANIN's* "Born Yesterday".

Film Classics release, "Guilty Bystander", playing with J EDWARD BROMBERG* and ELLIOT SULLIVAN* in supporting roles.

United Artists releases "The Underworld Story" on July 26. HOWARD DA SILVA* stars; picture written by HENRY BLANKFORT#.

Warner Bros schedules new pictures. ADELAIDE KLEIN*, MARLON BRANDO#, ELIA KAZAN#, BURT LANCASTER# and ZERO MOSTEL* to be featured in them.

STANLEY KRAMER (independent producer) starring JOSE FERRER* and MORRIS CARNOVSKY* in forthcoming picture, "Cyrano de Bergerac".

Prominent People

CARL MARZANI (Communist Party name, TONY WHALES) was sentenced to one to three years in prison for making false statements about his membership in the CP (a traitor organization) while an employee of the U S State Dept. On Feb 16, he completed service of his minimum term. His appeal for parole was denied at that time...and again in June.

Now 1000 Americans have signed a petition to PRES TRUMAN asking him to pardon this liar and enemy of the U S.

118 college professors (including 32 from Marzani's Alma Mater, Williams College, and 8 from Harvard) signed the petition...as did 37 clergymen and 57 lawyers.

Here are the names of some of the signers: writers THOMAS MANN#, NORMAN MAILER# ("The Naked and The Dead"), LOUIS UNTERMEYER*, MILLEN BRAND* and JAMES GOW#; playwright GARSON KANIN*; actress HILDA VAUGHN*; artist RAPHAEL SOYER#; architect GREGORY AIN#.

Professors: WM ERNEST HOCKING#, HOWARD MUMFORD JONES#, ALBERT SPRAGUE COOLIDGE, PITIRIM A SOROKIN, and EDWARD MASON (all of Harvard); ROBT S LYND#, DOROTHY BREWSTER# and HENRY STEEL COMMAGER of Columbia; ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN, former pres of Amherst; THOMAS I EMERSON# of Yale; WM RICE of Wisconsin Univ and FRANK W WEYMOUTH# of Stamford.

Army

Maj Gen FLOYD L PARKS, Chief of Information, has asked press services not to publish comprehensive lists of Nat'l Guard and Reserve units called to active duty. He said such lists would give enemy (Russian) agents a complete record of U S mobilization for only 5¢, the cost of a newspaper.

The General added that it would ordinarily cost the enemy "millions of dollars" to compile such a list by observation, eavesdropping, spies, etc.

But, at the same time, Gen PARKS said that the Army is "anxious" to have human interest coverage in home regions of all units mobilized!

Doesn't the General know there are Communist Party units in every state and major city in the nation? That it will cost Stalin nothing to get a complete U S mobilization list if local items are published?

CP members in all parts of U S are undoubtedly busy NOW clipping all press items concerning local mobilization...and sending them to secret mail drops (not Nat'l Hq...the CP isn't that dumb) where a comprehensive list is being prepared for Stalin's agents in the U S.

Millions of dollars? No, just the willing work of traitorous Communist Party members in the U S and a few cents postage.

*Listed in RED CHANNELS.
#Communist front record.

Yours faithfully,

August 4, 1950

Counterattack

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FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 3-4608

PLEASE RETURN TO
CBS REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

Letter No. 164
July 14, 1950

Dear Subscriber:

THE KOREAN WAR...AND THE STALIN-HITLER PACT. Stalin Russia and the American Communist Party (CP) were violently anti-Hitler until August, 1939. The principal "line" of Communists in all parts of the world was "collective security" against fascist aggression.

Then Stalin signed his aggression pact with Hitler. A complete reversal of the Communist line followed. The change was so contradictory, so revealing of anti-democratic nature of the Communist conspiracy, that the Party lost many members and fellow travelers. It was too much for them.

But loyal Communists and fellow travelers swallowed this reversal, and with it their intellectual integrity. They wholeheartedly adopted the new line, continued to defend the CP and joined fronts which preached the exact opposite of Communist organizations (quickly disbanded) that they had supported a month or two earlier.

Korean War presents a similar situation. It has shown conclusively that Stalin's pro-peace, anti-war stand is as phony as his "anti-fascist" stand of the Thirties. The CP "line" on the Korean War is so patently false that only confirmed Party members and sympathizers can, and will, accept it.

For this reason COUNTERATTACK believes its subscribers will be interested in the following list of fronts, unions and individuals who, according to public records, have adopted (in any one of its several aspects) the Communist line on the Korean war:

FRONTS

Peace Information Center.
Labor Youth League.
California Labor School.
Nat'l Labor Conference for Peace.
Council on African Affairs.
Harlem Trade Union Council (NY).
St. Louis Argus (negro weekly).
Washington Pension Union.
Nat'l Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions (Hollywood Chapter).
Committee For A Democratic Far Eastern Policy.
Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.
Southside Negro Labor Council (Chicago).
Korean Peoples Democratic Front in North America.
Korean Committee to Support Korean Federation of Trade Unions.
Progressive Party ("Independent Progressive Party" in California and several other states; "American Labor Party" in NY).
Provisional Harlem Committee for Peace and Freedom (NY).
Nat'l Guardian (weekly publication of Progressive Party).
Korean Independent News (publication).

INDIVIDUALS

Paul Robeson.
Mrs Paul (Eslanda Goode) Robeson.
Vito Marcantonio.
Israel Epstein, Far Eastern "expert".
John McManus, general manager of the National Guardian.

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J. G. Keenan, President; K. M. Bierly, Vice President; T. C. Kirkpatrick, Secretary-Treasurer

W E B Du Bois, head of Peace Information Center.
Hugh Malzac, World War II skipper of the Booker T Washington.
Elmer Benson, former Governor of Minnesota.
Tabitha Petran, columnist for National Guardian.
Cedric Belfrage, editor, the National Guardian.
James Aronson, exec editor, National Guardian.
Prof Joseph Fletcher, Episcopal School of Divinity, Cambridge, Mass.
Ferdinand Smith, executive-secretary, Harlem Trade Union Council.
Halois Moorehead, Hotel & Restaurant Workers Union (AFL).
Albert E Kahn, author of current CP propaganda book, "High Treason".
Ralph Matthews, editor, Afro-American (newspaper), Washington, D. C.
W Alphaeus Hunton, secretary, Council on African Affairs.
G H Hall, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen.
Mary Makowski, exec board, local 100, Int'l Ladies Garment Workers Union.
Eugene B Newlett, exec bd, local 233, Molders & Foundry Workers (AFL).

UNIONS AND UNIONISTS

Dining Car and Railroad Food Workers (Independent):
Ossie Long, vice-pres. Howard McGuire, sec'y-treas.
Distributive Workers Union (Ind).
Food and Tobacco Workers (Ind):
Armando Ramirez, vice-pres & following, all officials:
Hardy Scott. Robt C Black.
Karl Korstad. Velma B Hopkins.
W A McGirt, Jr.
Fur and Leather Workers Union (Ind); Robt Herbin, mgr, local 43.
Int'l Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, Local 6 (San Francisco).
Bernard Lucas, president, local 208.
Marine Cooks and Stewards Union. NY and San Francisco locals.
United Auto Workers (CIO), local 600 (largest union local in U S):
Pat Rice, vice-pres. Edward Lock, pres, Plastic Bldg.
Wm Hood, recording sec'y. Shelton Tappes, plant committee.
John Gallo, recording sec'y, Motor Bldg.
United Electrical Workers (Ind), Chicago district:
Ernest De Maio, pres. Grant W Oakes, sec'y-treas.
Wm Smith, vice-pres. Alice Smith, recording sec'y.
Local 430, New York City.
Pasko Saso, pres, local 1114. Wm Burch, pres, local 1119.
Pat Amato, pres, local 1150. Emil Muelver, pres, local 1113.
United Electrical Workers (Farm Equipment Division):
Local 101, Int'l Harvester Tractor Works:
Matthew Bednars, treas. Frank Mingo, financial sec'y.
Arthur Peterson, recording sec'y.
Edwin Simon, pres, local 166. Sylvester Schultz, pres, local 204.
Robt L Ray, pres, local 141. Matt Halas, pres, local 108.
United Furniture Workers, Local 576, shop stewards' council (Los Angeles).
United Packinghouse Workers:
Sam Parks, sec'y, District Council 1 (Chicago).
Sam Curry, pres, local 347. Milton Gilmore, pres, local 23.
John Lewis, pres, local 28. Jerutha Coleman, sec'y, local 28.
Jack Southers, pres, local 25. De Witt Redmond, pres, local 26.

In time more organizations and individuals will qualify for listing in these categories. As agitation and propaganda campaign of CP gets into

full swing more fronts will hold meetings and rallies, more Communist-led unions will pass resolutions and more individuals will publicly endorse the Communist Party stand on the Korean War.

THIS LISTING EMPHASIZES NEED FOR PASSAGE OF MUNDT-NIXON BILL. It raises the important question of how many organizations, individuals, unions and union officials (many in vital industries), in event of a war between U S and Stalin Russia, would take a similar anti-U S stand.

More important, how many would engage in anti-U S acts of sabotage and direct help to enemy forces if U S were invaded?

Every Communist, Communist front, and Communist front official in the U S should be registered with the Attorney General. The literature of all fronts should be marked as such so that the average citizen can recognize it as CP propaganda. The Mundt-Nixon Bill provides for these measures.

Opposition to the Mundt-Nixon Bill on grounds that it would drive the CP underground and make it difficult to check its activities are fallacious for the following reasons:

1. The Communist Party, as revealed in the following COUNTERATTACK story, is ALWAYS partly underground and has now made preparations to go completely underground as far as strictly party operations are concerned.

2. If CP goes fully underground because of the Mundt-Nixon Bill it will lose much of its strength and effectiveness. This is what is desired.

The CP was at its weakest when it was forced undergound in the Twenties. It did not flourish until the Thirties when it had been operating in the open for several years and had set up its Communist front network.

In addition, failure to comply with the law (and CP has said that its members will refuse to register under the bill if it is passed), will provide a legal, constitutional basis for prosecution of Communist Party members who break it...and thus further weaken the Communist conspiracy.

3. U S counter-espionage agents (FBI) in CP, already in the party, will go underground with it...and continue to report on its activities.

COMMUNIST PARTY HAS SET FINAL PLANS TO GO UNDERGROUND. As previously mentioned in this and other issues of COUNTERATTACK, part of CP operations are always secret or underground. This is part of the basic strategy set by LENIN that "it is absolutely necessary for every Communist party systematically to combine legal with illegal work, legal and illegal organizations".

Recent developments have forced American CP to carry out a greater part of its work in secret. It has been prepared for this. Three years ago COUNTERATTACK (July 18, 1947 p 2), reported that Stalin has ordered the formation of a secret Politbureau (Nat'l Board) of CP in this country.

Since indictment of 12 CP leaders in 1948 the Party, in accordance with previously made plans (COUNTERATTACK Aug 13, 1948 p 4) has been operating on a semi-underground basis. Public club and section meetings have been abolished, meetings have been held in small groups at members' homes, etc.

Now COUNTERATTACK can reveal that more detailed plans have recently been made for CP to go almost completely underground as far as actual party operations are concerned. These are the measures decided on by top CP officials to effect this change and conceal operations of party:

1. All previously scheduled meetings and activities are cancelled.

2. In the future, members will meet in even smaller groups (probably 3 to 6 persons) than they have been during last two years.

3. The chairmen of these groups will act as liaison or contact men with higher CP officials.

4. The district boards will select those members considered most trustworthy to handle the passing down of future instructions from higher to lower echelons of the conspiracy.

5. Party members are forbidden to discuss any phase of Communist operations with any other member unless specifically authorized to do so.

6. The telephone is not to be used at all in party work. All contact will be direct...by messenger or word of mouth.

7. Party members are ordered to increase their activity in all front groups...especially in those connected with Stalin's "peace" offensive.

WHAT'S LOUIS UNTERMEYER's LINE? The CBS-TV program series entitled "What's My Line?" features a panel of experts who try to guess professions or trades of studio contestants. The show is sponsored by Jules Montenier, Inc, for "Stopette" (deodorant). It is broadcast every other week.

A very interesting session of this program could be provided if its usual procedure were reversed...and studio contestants were allowed to ask LOUIS UNTERMEYER, a frequent member of the experts panel (latest appearance, July 5), what his "line" is on convicted CP leader EUGENE DENNIS.

On June 19, UNTERMEYER presided at a rally of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions held in Town Hall, NYCity. This gathering, held in honor of Hollywood's "Tongue-Tied Ten", was part of CP's drive to free "political prisoners" (COUNTERATTACK July 7, p 1).

Under UNTERMEYER's chairmanship, those attending the meeting passed a resolution describing bail-jumping CP leader FRANK WALDRON (alias EUGENE DENNIS) as a "courageous citizen". WALDRON, now in prison for contempt of Congress, faces two more prison terms...one of them for conspiring to teach overthrow of U S govt by force and violence.

In introducing ALBERT MALTZ, one of the convicted writers (now in prison), UNTERMEYER stressed the fact that during World War II the Armed Services Editions distributed 140,000 copies of MALTZ's propaganda novel, "The Cross and the Arrow" to U S troops.

Armed Services Editions was a non-profit organization, established by the Council on Books in Wartime to publish and distribute "the best books" to the U S armed forces. UNTERMEYER was an official of this agency.

LOUIS UNTERMEYER's name appears in "RED CHANNELS". In addition to Communist fronts listed in that report he has supported other fronts such as the New Writing Foundation, American Society for Cultural Relations with Russia, Committee of 1000, Emergency Committee for Southern Political Prisoners and the Liberator (defunct magazine edited by CP official, ROB'T MINOR).

WHAT TO DO: WRITE TO:

JULES B MONTENIER, pres, Jules Montenier, Inc (manufacturers of Stopette), 417 North State Street, Chicago, Illinois.

Ask him if he thinks Stopette sales are helped by his featuring an "expert" who regards a convicted conspirator as a "courageous citizen" of U S.

Write to your Senators. Urge them to consider and approve the Mundt-Nixon Bill before adjourning for the summer.

Yours faithfully,

July 14, 1950

Counterattack

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COUNTERATTACK

Reg. U. S. Pat. Off.

FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 3-4608

Letter No. 157
May 26, 1950

Dear Subscriber:

ANTI-COMMUNISTS NEED HELP IN AMERICA. It sounds incredible that reformed Communists and Americans who have fought the Communist Party (CP) should require aid in this country, when free nations of Europe and Asia are counting on U S as the principal bulwark in fight against world Communism.

But it is true. On May 13-14 the All-American Conference held its first meeting as a permanent organization in Chicago. Among the resolutions passed by this new, nationwide anti-Communist group was one which set up a Committee to help ex-Communists and anti-Communists who cannot find work because of Communist persecution.

F JOSEPH DONOHUE, Special Asst to the Atty General and prosecutor in the trial of HARRY BRIDGES, gave facts to Conference which resulted in the passage of this resolution.

Six of the ten witnesses who testified against BRIDGES, DONOHUE revealed, are now out of jobs because of their testimony. All are members of HARRY BRIDGES' Communist-led Int'l Longeshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and have been blacklisted by its leaders.

These people are not the only ones who need help. There are hundreds like them. One woman who testified against the 11 CP leaders in their NY conspiracy trial last year...after spending 7 yrs as an underground agent for the FBI...is still without a job.

She was denounced as a "stool pigeon" by an executive of one of the leading womens' magazines in U S when she applied for a position with the publication. This executive has lectured for the Photo League. The Photo League (on Atty General's list) is the front through which the woman in question originally gained entry into the Communist Party for the FBI.

All-American Conference should be supported by all organizations that can do anything to help fight CP menace in the U S. In spite of violent attacks in Communist press the great majority of organizations which attended initial meeting of the Conference (see COUNTERATTACK Feb 3, 1950, p 1) remained in it and new member groups have been added.

The Conference is not an action group. It is a coordinating and information body set up to assist its member organizations in fighting Communism and any other form of totalitarianism which threatens American life.

All-American Conference is a step in the right direction. With proper support it can, and will, pave the way for the formation of what is vitally needed in the U S...a nationwide anti-Communist ACTION organization.

A NEW...AND DIFFERENT...COMMUNIST FRONT IS SET UP. The CP is doing all it can to disguise the real nature of one of its newest front organizations. This front is designed to promote the major "line" of Communist Parties in all parts of the world at the present time...STALIN'S "peace" line. Here are some significant facts about this new organization.

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J. G. Keenan, President; K. M. Bierly, Vice President; T. C. Kirkpatrick, Secretary-Treasurer

1. Its name is "Peace Information Center"...a name which does not look or sound like that of a typical Communist front. The usual Communist cliches..."democratic", "constitutional", "American", "Congress", etc, have studiously been avoided in the title in an attempt to cover up its origin.

2. It will not be a mass organization in the usual sense. It has no large membership list or list of sponsors...the names of well known Communists and fellow travelers, standard on such lists, would give it away. But it hopes to reach the "masses" with its propaganda through other Communist fronts and through individuals in non-Communist organizations.

3. Its primary purpose is to serve as a center for collection and dissemination of Communist-inspired peace propaganda. Dissemination of this propaganda will be through its official publication, the "Peace-Gram".

4. Other purposes of this "information center" are to function as a clearing house for sending U S delegates to Communist peace conferences in other parts of world, and as a center for planning tours of Communists and fellow travelers who come to the U S from other countries to speak for peace (temporary...so STALIN can consolidate his aggressions).

5. First issue of the "Peace-Gram" was built around the Mar 15 "Stockholm Appeal" of the World Congress of Defenders (Partisans) of Peace, the leading world-wide Communist front. This appeal calls for banning of all atomic weapons, international control to insure observance of this ban (which STALIN won't agree to) and the treatment as a "war criminal" of the first country to use atomic weapons.

6. Chairman of this new front is DR W E B DU BOIS, a supporter of Communist fronts and causes for the past 15 years. In 1948 DR DU BOIS was relieved of his position as research director of the Nat'l Assn for the Advancement of Colored People because of his Communist activities.

U S and all nations are being flooded with peace petitions. The official bulletin of STALIN'S Cominform recently boasted that 400,000,000 people in all parts of world had signed the appeal of the Defenders of Peace.

Peace organizations have been set up in all parts of U S. The Peace-Gram publicizes them...the Mid-Century Conference for Peace (Chicago), Nat'l Labor Conference for Peace (nationwide, with branches in all major cities), Minute Women for Peace, Action Committee for Peace, etc.

CP press is heavily weighted with news of these and other "peace" fronts and with peace propaganda of all kinds. Communists in all parts of globe are working desperately to sell the greatest hoax in history.

Comment: The Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute in Moscow last week issued a new edition of KARL MARX' "Das Kapital", cleansed of "errors and distortions". Of this new edition Pravda, the Soviet newspaper, said:

"LENIN and STALIN taught that capitalism does not perish automatically and spontaneously but only as the result of a most fierce struggle by the proletariat under the leadership of the Communist vanguard."

LEFT WING UNION ELEMENTS OPPOSE RADIO "BLACKLIST". Certain groups in the Assn of Actors and Artists of America, Radio and Television Directors Guild, and Radio Writers Guild have gotten together to form an organization to fight what they claim is a "blacklist" of radio and TV performers who are considered "liberal or leftist".

Immediate cause of this action was the firing of an associate director of CBS who was also Secy of the Radio and Television Directors Guild.

BETTY TODD, the fired CBS director, was recently subpoenaed to testify before Un-American Activities Committee in the case of WM REMINGTON.

REMINGTON, a Dept of Commerce employe, was accused by ELIZABETH BENTLEY of being one of her sources of information when she was a CP underground courier. He was eventually "cleared" of these charges by the Loyalty Board and reinstated in his govt position. Now new witnesses have stated that REMINGTON attended meetings of a CP cell with them in 1936 and 1937 when he worked for the Tennessee Valley Authority.

BETTY TODD worked for the TVA at same time REMINGTON did...and witnesses have stated that he attended a Communist meeting in her home.

Un-American Activities Committee subpoenaed BETTY TODD to find out if this was true. When she appeared before the Committee she refused to answer questions on the grounds that by doing so she would incriminate herself.

This was the only reason that she was fired by CBS. No "blacklist" of "liberals" is involved in the case.

But now CBS will be attacked for taking action which was completely justifiable. BETTY TODD'S conduct before a Congressional Committee was certainly sufficient grounds for her dismissal.

CBS has the right to demand unquestioned loyalty to U S of its employes. And as a powerful propaganda medium it has a public duty to do all it can to eliminate any danger of Communist influence in its organization.

WHAT TO DO: You have written to CBS before to criticize the appearance of performers with pro-Communist records on its programs. Now write to WM S PALEY, chmn of the Bd of CBS, at 485 Madison Ave, NYCity. Congratulate him for the action CBS has taken in this case, and tell him to stick to his position in spite of any pressure exerted to reverse it. Let him know that you back him up completely.

COMMUNIST "DEMOCRACY" IN LABOR UNIONS. You don't have to go behind the Iron Curtain to find Stalinist dictatorships and single slate "elections" such as those recently held in Russia and Yugoslavia. The same conditions exist in U S...in Communist-controlled unions:

The American Communications Assn, soon to be expelled from the CIO, has just held an election. Results have not yet been published...but the outcome was known before the balloting was started.

The ACA does not hold a convention to elect its officers. Ballots are sent to members and, after they are filled out, are picked up by messengers to be counted at union headquarters.

Instructions mailed to members with the ballot make a pretense of democratic secrecy in the election. Union members are instructed to enclose their ballot, after marking it, in the special "secret" envelope provided for this purpose before putting it in the ACA-addressed envelope.

The only hitch is that union members are "free" to vote for ONLY one candidate for each position. There is NO choice. Names of the winners, and no one else, are printed on the ballot.

Some of the present officials of the ACA who have guaranteed their re-election in this fashion are: JOSEPH P SELLY, pres; JOSEPH F KEHOE, secy-treas; and D R PANZA, a vice-pres.

FALSE ADVERTISEMENTS USED TO FIGHT MUNDT-NIXON BILLS. The Los Angeles Daily News of May 14 featured a full page ad paid for by "individuals" who oppose the Mundt-Nixon bills. The ad called for a telephone, cable and letter-writing campaign to defeat the anti-Communist measures.

There would be nothing wrong with this if the signers of the ad had stuck to the truth. But they did not.

If these bills are passed, the ad said, the American people would lose the "Ten Freedoms" they have enjoyed since 1776!

Freedom of speech, religion, travel, assembly, press and radio, etc, would all be destroyed...and anyone who disagreed with the ideas of certain legislators could be arrested, fined $10,000, and jailed for 10 years.

Lies such as these appear daily in the Communist press. But it is hard to understand their appearance in the Los Angeles Daily News.

Signers of the ad included: ALVAH BESSIE and ALBERT MALTZ, two of the "Hollywood Ten"...also MRS MALTZ...and SADIE ORNITZ, wife of another member of the "Hollywood Ten"; ROBT W KENNY, candidate for State Senate on the Progressive Party ticket; CHARLOTTA BASS, publisher of the California Eagle; the REV STEPHEN H FRITCHMAN, whose Los Angeles church is used regularly as a forum for pro-Communist speakers; ELLIS E PATTERSON, former Lieutenant Governor of Calif and HUGH HARDYMAN, a member of the Los Angeles County Central Democratic Committee.

NEW YORK CITY GIVES COMMUNIST FRONT FREE RADIO ADVERTISING. On May 21 the African Aid Committee gave a concert at Town Hall in NYCity.

The concert was given much advance publicity in CP press...and on May 19, DEAN DIXON, the concert conductor, was interviewed on a program of NYCity's official station, WNYC. During the interwiew much was made of the coming concert of the African Aid Committee (date and place emphasized) and the musical activities of DEAN DIXON, who has supported many fronts.

African Aid Committee is headed by W E B DU BOIS, chmn of the Peace Information Center (see p 2). The committee has its offices in a building owned by FRED'K V FIELD which also houses Council on African Affairs (headed by PAUL ROBESON) and many other fronts. Millionaire-Communist FIELD was recently named as a Soviet agent by LOUIS BUDENZ.

W ALPHEUS HUNTON, friend of ROBESON and secy of Council on African Affairs, is also affiliated with African Aid Committee. Last week he wrote a letter to CP nat'l paper, the Daily Worker, urging support of the concert.

HUNTON rejoiced when Communists won control of China. Last year he spoke at rally celebrating this event held by Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy. And he issued a threat to the "U S imperialists". He said that the people of Africa were "girding themselves" for the struggle and would win their freedom "as the people of China have won it".

MAYOR O'DWYER has taken strong steps to break power of Communist-led United Public Workers in NYCity. He has stopped the issuing of permits for street collections to organizations on Atty General's list(after protests by COUNTERATTACK subscribers). He deserves commendation for these actions.

But he should find out who was responsible for DEAN DIXON'S appearance and see that similar incidents don't recur. Free advertising for CP fronts on a radio station supported by taxpayers cannot be justified.

You should write to MAYOR WM O'DWYER to bring this to his attention. And remind him that organizations on Atty General's list are still using the City Center Casino in NY for their meetings and rallies.

City Center Casino is under lease by NYCity. The fact that it is controlled by citizens' committee does not free Mayor of responsibility.

Yours faithfully,

May 26, 1950

Counterattack

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REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 3-4608

Letter No. 151
April 14, 1950

Dear Subscriber:

THIS IS THE LATEST COMMUNIST DIRECTIVE ON LABOR. COUNTERATTACK has learned exclusively that a secret meeting of top Communist Party (CP) officials and union leaders was held at the American Kremlin, CP Natl Hq, a short while ago. At this meeting the CP's past actions in "labor relations" were reviewed...and plans formulated for future action in the trade union field. The following major policy decisions were made:

1. The CP did excellent work in the miners' strike. Valuable contacts were made and CP must capitalize on them in the future. They must be maintained and improved upon. Strength can be built in Mine Workers Union.

Note: The CP sent tens of thousands of dollars' worth of food and clothing to miners. This is bound to pay off eventually. Many missionaries have commented that you can't preach religion to people with empty stomachs. The CP has learned this lesson, and has consistently put it to good use to spread its irreligion...especially in strike situations.

2. Communist unions expelled from CIO, and independent Communist unions must form a strong, closely-knit third labor federation. CP leaders had made a mistake in postponing action to bring this about earlier. Because of their failure Philip Murray, Pres of CIO, has been able to raid and cut down strength of CP-controlled unions expelled from CIO.

CP leaders decided (for propaganda value) to intensify teaching that labor is exploited by Govt, trusts and management. They agreed to preach that CIO and AFL are cooperating in this oppression of labor...and that the Party must work against this through its new labor organization.

Note: COUNTERATTACK revealed in 1948 that CP would eventually form a third labor federation in opposition to CIO & AFL.

3. CP leaders are pleased about movement to merge CIO & AFL into one nationwide labor organization. When and if this happens CP will continue working along its present "united front from below" policy.

Note: A re-emphasis on this policy was called for at 1948 convention of CP, but has never been made really effective. Growing anti-Communist feeling in trade unions put CP on the spot; it had to continue concentrating its efforts at the top level of union affairs in a desperate move to hold its gains. Now it has lost that fight...the worst has happened... so it is reorganizing for a new "grass roots" campaign.

This means that Communists in trade unions will concentrate their activities on fomenting dissension among rank-and-file union members. The policy set in 1948, but not carried out, will now be put into effect.

4. A big turnout for the Communist May Day celebration is more important than ever before. The main theme, of course, will be Stalin's line

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of "peace". A great effort must be made to impress officials in Washington with the power of the "progressive" movement.

5. The period from April 12 to May 12 has been set aside for collecting signatures to petitions for peace and against the Taft-Hartley law in all parts of U S. An attempt will be made to place large ads in most widely read U S paper, the New York Times, beginning shortly before May Day.

CHICAGO WILL HAVE ANOTHER "MID-CENTURY" CONFERENCE. Last week it was "Bread and Butter"...this week it's "Peace". The Committee for Peaceful Alternatives (to the Atlantic Pact) has announced that it will sponsor a Mid-Century Conference for Peace in Chicago, May 29-30.

REV JOHN B THOMPSON, a V-P of the Committee, formally announced the meeting last week. Rev Thompson was National Chmn of the American Peace Mobilization, leading anti-war front which picketed the White House during Stalin-Hitler pact. He acted as a ministerial front for the CP when the Red and Brown dictators wanted U S to be weak. Now he is leading a conference to promote Stalin's "peace" line.

University of Chicago honored Rev Thompson several years ago by making him Dean of its Rockefeller Memorial Chapel. Dean Thompson, who has supported many Communist fronts, must feel at home in this position. Chancellor ROBT M HUTCHINS of Univ of Chicago has just condemned the Mundt-Nixon bill and defends the right of his faculty members to join Communist fronts. He does this in spite of the fact that he admits he has never made a study of CP, has no idea of its policy on war, and is ignorant of whether or not CP is a Stalin-directed conspiracy.

THOMAS MANN, the novelist who left Nazi Germany to become a leading supporter of Communist fronts in U S, is a co-chmn of the Conference. After a trip to the Soviet zone of Germany last year Mann wrote a glowing account of the growth of "democracy" in that area under Stalin's iron fist. He said that he would refuse to take part "in the rampant hysteria of Communist persecution" and that he spoke for peace "in a world whose future has long since become unimaginable without Communist traits".

THIRTEEN IS AN UNLUCKY NUMBER FOR THE HOLLYWOOD TEN. Two of Hollywood's Tongue-Tied Ten screen writers, producers and directors were convicted in 1948 for refusing to tell Congress whether or not they were CP members. Since that time 13 amici curiae briefs have been filed in their case while they were awaiting the outcome of an appeal to the U S Supreme Court.

The last brief was filed on Feb 25. On April 10 the Supreme Court upheld the conviction of JOHN HOWARD LAWSON and DALTON TRUMBO, the two convictees, when it refused to review their appeal.

The other eight "quiet ones"...ADRIAN SCOTT, SAMUEL ORNITZ, HERBERT BIBERMAN, EDWARD DMYTRYK, RING LARDNER JR, LESTER COLE, ALVAH BESSIE and ALBERT MALTZ...had agreed, on May 11 1948, to postpone their jury trials pending the outcome of the Lawson-Trumbo appeal. They also consented to be bound by the Supreme Court decision in that case.

Here are the names of those who made the last unsuccessful attempt to help the Hollywood Ten by signing a brief in their behalf prepared by ZECHARIAH CHAFEE JR, Prof at Harvard Law school.

Book publishers: ANGUS CAMERON, editor of Little Brown & Co...also STANLEY SALMON, ARTHUR WILLIAMS, JAMES W SHERMAN and ARTHUR THORNHILL of the

same company; LEE BARKER and DOUGLAS BLACK of Doubleday & Co; GEO BRAZILLER of the Communist front Book Find Club; BENNET CERF and ROBT HAAS of Random House; JACK GOODMAN of Simon and Schuster; BERT HOFFMAN of the Dial Press; RICHARD WALSH of John Day; STORER LUNT of W W Norton Co & MRS JULIAN MESSNER of Julian Messner, Inc.

Theatre: CHERYL CRAWFORD, producer of "Brigadoon" & "One Touch of Venus"; ELMER RICE, author of "Dream Girl" and "Street Scene"; ARTHUR MILLER, author of "Death of A Salesman"; LEE SABINSON, producer of "Finian's Rainbow"; IRWIN SHAW, author of "The Young Lions" and "The Gentle People"; MRS ROBT WHITEHEAD, of Whitehead Rea Inc, producers of "Medea" and "The Member of the Wedding".

Writers: JOSEPH BARNES, JACK BELDEN, ROGER BUTTERFIELD, JOHN HERSEY, RICHARD LAUTERBACH, S J PERELMAN, WM L SHIRER, EDGAR SNOW, JAMES P WARBURG, MITCHELL WILSON and IRA WOLFERT.

THE COMMUNIST RALLIES THAT WERE CALLED TOO LATE. Three "Deadline for Freedom" rallies were called for April 12 in NYCity in an attempt to influence public opinion and Supreme Court in case of Hollywood Ten and other Communists and fellow travelers convicted for contempt of Congress.

CP hoped to exert pressure to kill Un-American Activities Committee. This was real purpose of the rallies. The Party press, in advance publicity, bemoaned the fact that Supreme Court had not acted on the case of the Hollywood Ten. It pointed out that 4 years after the contempt convictions of RICHARD MORFORD and GEO MARSHALL, Supreme Court had still not ruled on the constitutionality of the Committee.

Morford had been convicted for refusing to turn over records of Natl Council of American-Soviet Friendship (of which he is executive director) to the Un-American Activities Committee...Marshall for failing to produce the records of the Natl Federation for Constitutional Liberties, a predecessor of the Civil Rights Congress, CP's chief defense front.

CP called for a nationwide letter-writing campaign urging Supreme Court to hear all pending contempt cases and to re-hear the case of EUGENE DENNIS, CP leader, whose contempt conviction Court had recently upheld.

A Supreme Court ruling that Un-American Activities Committee was unconstitutional would have been a great Communist victory. The 25 sponsors of the rallies, all "victims" of the Committee, would escape their jail sentences and fines. Most important, one of the most effective methods of exposing the operations of the Communist conspiracy would have been killed.

But Supreme Court took the wind out of CP's sails when it handed down its decision in the case of the Hollywood Ten, Morford and Marshall two days before the rally took place.

Most important aspects of the Court's ruling were its affirmation of the right of a Congressional Committee to ask a person if he were a CP member, and its indirect ruling that Un-American Activities Committee was constitutional. Supreme Court could not have upheld the convictions of Marshall, Lawson and Trumbo if Un-American Activities Committee were illegally constituted (Morford's conviction was reversed on a technicality).

The Communists held their rallies anyway with PAUL ROBESON, ADRIAN SCOTT and I F STONE as featured speakers.

An interesting sidelight was provided by fact that New Yorkers were forewarned about the Communist nature of these rallies by DAVID SNELL on his weekly WOR broadcast, "This Week on the Communist Front."

But New York Times helped promote the rallies. The Times' radio station in New York, WQXR, accepted a paid spot announcement for the rallies from the "Freedom Fund". This advertisement urged radio listeners to "Learn about America from PAUL ROBESON"...and gave them a telephone number to call for more complete details. This was the number of the Spanish Refugee Appeal of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, which is on Atty General's list of subversive organizations.

Times' Program Director for station WQXR, MRS ELEANOR SANGER, explained that station would sell time to Klu Klux Klan or any similar organization "As long as the sponsor is announced". She claimed that Times was forced to do this by FCC rules...WQXR had to sell time to any one, or no one.

COUNTERATTACK has checked with a number of radio executives who say they know of no such ruling.

"I LIVED IN MILWAUKEE, I OUGHT TO KNOW". That's the way the full page ad in the April 15 issue of Collier's magazine was headlined. The ad was enlivened by a picture of the woman who knows...Broadway star UTA HAGEN.

The ad did not tell all that Uta Hagen knows. Perhaps she does know that "Blatz is Milwaukee's Finest Beer". But she also knows...or ought to know because of her activities...all about the Communist Party's May Day parades in NYCity in 1946 and 1947, the Waldorf "Peace" Conference, the Win the Peace Conference in 1946, the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions and several other Communist fronts which she has sponsored.

PHILCO TELEVISION PLAYHOUSE SCORES AGAIN. Watchers of the NBC-TV broadcast of the Philco Television Playhouse on April 16 will see a play, "The End is Known", with ADELAIDE KLEIN in a feature role.

Adelaide Klein not only defended Stalin's purges in 1938 but called on all American "liberals" to support them. She has supported Communist fronts such as Natl Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, Voice of Freedom Committee, Peoples Radio Foundation, Progressive Citizens of America and the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions.

This is not the first time Adelaide Klein and other Communist front supporters have appeared on the Philco Television Playhouse. She was featured on Philco's "Summer Playhouse" last August. On February 12 Philco presented a play by NORMAN CORWIN, one of leading supporters of Communist causes in U S. Others who have been featured on the program include JEAN MUIR, PETE SEEGER and BURL IVES.

WHAT TO DO: Write letters to:

WILLIAM BALDERSTON, Pres of Philco Radio Corp, Tioga and C Streets, Phila, Pa.

FRANK C. VERBEST, Pres of Blatz Brewing Co, 1120 North Broadway, Milwaukee 1, Wisconsin.

Ask them if they don't believe it is their patriotic duty, when Russians are shooting down unarmed American planes, to refrain from giving nationwide publicity (to say nothing of the cash) to persons who have indicated sympathy for Communist causes.

Yours faithfully,

April 14, 1950

Counterattack

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Reg. U. S. Pat. Off.

FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 3-4608

Letter No. 146
March 10, 1950

Dear Subscriber:

PROGRESSIVE PARTY CONVENTION A BIG DISAPPOINTMENT. Henry Wallace's "Progressive" Party held its second natl convention in Chicago Feb 24-27. Turnout was relatively good...but gathering was a tremendous let-down to both of the major groups participating...the Communists and starry-eyed non-Communist "liberals".

Outward unity was maintained, but there was extreme under-surface bitterness between the two factions. Henry Wallace retreated from his completely pro-Soviet stand of 1948, and in doing so killed Communists' enthusiasm and the real spirit of the convention.

Communist press ran advance series of articles on the convention. It called for unity and a broad, progressive "peace" front, warned against Titoist splitters...and successfully predicted the Communist-line platform that was eventually adopted on all major issues.

But it knew in advance that all was not well. And so it cautioned against witch-hunts. It carefully pointed out that there were fundamental differences in ideology between CP & "Progressives". It emphasized that CP had always supported idea of third party and said that the "minimum" program of the Progressive Party, though not satisfactory from the Communist viewpoint, should be supported by all advocates of "peace and democracy".

CP's worst fears were realized when Wallace described U S and Stalin Russia as "the big brutes of the world", and said his followers must make it clear that they were not dominated by Russia or the CP, that they had made a mistake at the 1948 convention in shouting down the Vermont resolution which would have tempered their support of Stalin, and that they must now get rid of their Red label.

Silence greeted these statements...and demonstrated forcibly that a large percentage of the convention delegates were CP members.

And then Wallace killed the hopes of the non-Communists by saying that he did not want a purge of the Communists. He was asking them to do the impossible...get rid of the Red tag...but not to dump the Communists.

Wallace was violently attacked as Progressive Party leader in series of post-convention articles written by I F Stone, columnist for the Daily Compass, Progressive Party mouthpiece. Stone closely follows CP line, gives his complete support to Progressive Party and admits that he "loves" and "reveres" Wallace.

"The Communists have been the dominant influence in the Progressive Party...if it had not been for the Communists there would have been no Progressive Party, and if they are ever purged the Progressive Party will disappear", Stone wrote.

And he blamed it all on Wallace. It happened, he says, "because Henry A Wallace has failed to provide real leadership". Wallace bore out

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Stone's contention. He made the keynote address at the opening session... and then took off for Des Moines, Iowa...leaving the convention to be run by others.

Communists at first objected to two resolutions proposed at convention...but then let them go through. One resolution said that Stalin Russia had made mistakes in its foreign policy. The other that Israel is an example of true democracy (CP & Russia oppose Israeli Govt). An open break could have occurred...but effective CP leadership kept rank-and-file in line and avoided it.

Leon Strauss admitted that he didn't agree with "every word" of the resolution on Russia but said it should be passed for sake of "unity". The Communists were saving face...compromising temporarily to keep their major political agency in U S seemingly alive and strong. Strauss was a member of Veterans Commission of CP in 1947, and had habit of wearing U S Army uniform at Communist affairs in contravention of Army regulations. In January of this year his Commission as 2nd Lt, Infantry Reserve, was taken from him "under other than honorable conditions"...no reason for action was given.

All national officers of Progressive Party were re-elected...Elmer Benson, national chmn; Paul Robeson (identified in Un-American Activities Committee hearings as secret CP member) and Fred Stover of Iowa Farmers Union as co-chairmen; Elinor Gimbel, Hugh Bryson, Christine Walker & Senora Lawson as vice-chairmen; Corliss Lamont as treasurer; and C B "Beanie" Baldwin as secretary.

Delegates went home...from both sides...with their morale broken. A brave front will be maintained for a while, but "Gideon's army" is crumbling. Communists are its main strength...it can't go on without them... and it can't go on with them.

NOTE: "National Guardian", Progressive Party's weekly, is begging for money to guarantee its publication for the coming year.

STATE DEPT REFUSES VISAS TO RED "PEACE" MISSION. The "Red Dean" of Canterbury, Pablo Picasso, and other members of the World Congress of Partisans (Defenders) of Peace will not be able to present their Communist "peace" program to Congress...they have been refused visas to enter U S.

The delegates were "known Communists and fellow travelers", State Dept said. It backed Counterattack's statement of last week when it added that sponsoring committee was "a major Soviet instrumentality for propaganda and political pressure". State Dept also pointed out that the group backed every campaign of Stalin's Cominform.

"A powerful American clerical committee" is planning to invite the "Red Dean" of Canterbury to U S after Easter, the Dean says in London. But it doesn't look as though he will have much chance of getting a visa now.

American "peace mission" visits Moscow. Propaganda plan of World Congress of Partisans of Peace called for "missions" not only to U S, but also to Stalin Russia, Italy, France, Belgium, Holland & Mexico...and Americans are taking part in these missions.

Rockwell Kent, famous U S artist, Communist & Pres of Intl Workers Order, is member of "peace" mission to Moscow. Other Americans in delegation are O John Rogge, supporter of many Red fascist fronts, and Johannes Steel, pro-Communist radio commentator, who will lead the "mission" to Moscow.

The U S Govt "is not my Government and does not represent me", Kent told a Soviet audience shortly after his arrival in Moscow this week.

These "peace" missionaries will present their petition to the

"Supreme Soviet" of the USSR. This means nothing...except that whole plan is a fake. Supreme Soviet has no power in Stalin Russia. Politbureau, and no one else, makes all decisions of Soviet policy.

COMMUNIST UNION MEMBERS WANT EXPULSION FROM CIO. United Furniture Workers is only union slated for ouster from CIO which may not be expelled. This is because Morris Pizer, Pres of UFW, last November broke with CP line and issued statement that UFW would support CIO policy and remain in the organization. He has set up "UFWA Rank and File Committee for CIO", which is working to swing support of majority of union members over to CIO.

But Communists in UFW are fighting this move. Next UFW convention is in June of this year. If Communists can prevent Pizer's winning majority support by that time UFW will be expelled from CIO. Communists know that, they know it will destroy union...but in typical CP fashion they are working hard for it anyway. It's the Party, not the union, that counts.

Max Perlow and Ernest Marsh are leaders of the pro-Communist group in UFW. Perlow, Sec-Treas of the Union, was a CP member, but publicly resigned last June to sign Taft-Hartley law non-Communist affidavit. The first Communist union official to use this loophole in T-H law, Perlow publicly stated at the time that he was not giving up his Communist beliefs. Marsh has been a strong supporter of CP line in UFW affairs.

Perlow and Marsh have formed a Committee to oppose Pizer's pro-CIO group. It accuses Pizer of "betrayal" of the union and implies that since CIO has taken action against Communists it has turned into a dictatorship.

Pizer's anti-Communist group claims to represent 70% of union's voting strength. At last meeting of UFW General Executive Board the vote was 14-10 against supporting CIO policy. Pizer claims that two additional board members, who did not vote, are pro-CIO.

Anti-Communists may win majority by June convention...and save Furniture Workers from destruction...but not if Communists can help it.

Eagerness of Communists for expulsion from CIO is an indication that they are definitely working on formation of a third labor federation of some kind. It may emerge as a fully-organized, closely knit organization or, pending further developments in labor field, start out as a very loose association. They have completely reversed stand they took at '49 CIO convention when they fought bitterly to stay in CIO.

IT PAYS TO SUPPORT COMMUNIST FRONTS. Would you like to have your picture on the cover of "Life" magazine and be described as an "azure-eyed... critic's darling"? Would you like to do the cover design for a special anniversary issue of "Fortune", or get a build-up in "Look" magazine?

Communist fronters have had the advantage of these things in last few weeks. It has given them publicity they could never pay for themselves. And it was done, in each instance, by publications that are anti-Communist.

Leonard Bernstein, part of whose pro-Communist record was given in Counterattack, Feb 24, was given a three-page splurge (the "Boy Wonder"... hopelessly fated for success) in the March 14 issue of "Look".

Marsha Hunt's picture appeared on front cover of "Life" magazine last week. Her free publicity exceeded $1,000,000 when you consider Life's circulation of almost 5½ million at 20¢ per copy.

Marsha Hunt was ringleader in fight against investigation of Communist infiltration of Hollywood. She took part in "Hollywood Fights Back"

broadcast of Committee for the First Amendment, which demanded that Un-American Activities Committee be abolished. She was a member of the ill-starred Bogart-Bacall flying mission to Washington to protest the Un-American Activities Committee's hearings, & signed a statement saying she was "shocked and outraged" at the Committee's attempt "to smear the motion picture industry".

She Spoke at meeting with Communists Lester Cole, Dalton Trumbo and Albert Matlz, under auspices of Progressive Citizens of America. She has also supported All-Arts Stop Censorship Committee and signed brief presented to Supreme Court last year in defense of the Hollywood Ten...all convicted of contempt for refusing to state whether or not they were Party members.

Life pointed out that Marsha Hunt has done more TV dramas than any other movie star. TV really needs a clean-up.

And in Feb 13 issue, Life magazine gave favorable publicity to Judy Holliday ("Dumb Blonde in Hollywood").

Judy Holliday has supported CP's chief defense front, the Civil Rights Congress, also Council on African Affairs, Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (all on Atty General's list) and Stalin's World Federation of Democratic Youth, etc. (see Counterattack Oct 28, 1949 p 4).

A "proud American eagle" adorned the 20th Anniversary (Feb 1950) cover of Fortune magazine...but the record of the man who made the cast for this eagle won't (we hope) inspire Fortune readers. They are mostly well-to-do business men. If Communists seized power in U S most of them would probably end up in slave labor camps...if they lived.

William Zorach, designer of the eagle, is a well-known sculptor who has carved himself a niche in the Communists' Hall of Front Supporters. Since end of World War II he has supported Stalin's foreign policy through foreign affairs fronts such as the Natl Committee to Win the Peace, Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, and the Mexico City "American Continental Congress for Peace" (a function of the World Congress of Partisans of Peace, whose delegation State Dept has just refused entry to U S).

He was an initiating sponsor of Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, which Louis Budenz says was formed in his office at Daily Worker hq. Zorach also supported this committee's successor, Progressive Citizens of America...as well as Natl Council of Arts, Sciences & Professions, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, etc.

WHAT CAN YOU DO TO HELP BEAT THE COMMUNISTS? Write letters to:

Gardner Cowles Jr, Pres, Cowles Magazines, Inc, 511 Fifth Ave, NYCity, publisher of Look magazine.

Henry R Luce, Editor-in-Chief, Time Inc, 9 Rockefeller Plaza, NYCity, publisher of Life and Fortune magazines.

Tell them that by aiding those who support Communist fronts they are helping build power of CP in U S, and that this is incompatible with the anti-Communist stand both men have taken in their publications. Remind them that there are many artists with PRO-AMERICAN records who would make good feature stories, are attractive enough to adorn the cover of a magazine, or talented enough to create artistic magazine cover designs.

Yours faithfully,

March 10, 1950

Counterattack

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FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 4-1458

Letter No. 144
February 24, 1950

Dear Subscriber:

COMMUNIST PARTY (CP) STEPS UP DRIVE TO AID MINERS. CP wants desperately to impress John L Lewis and striking miners with its strength and its "solidarity" with labor. Its Nat'l Committee has made two appeals for support to miners. The Daily Worker, CP national newspaper, editorializes again & again on the subject...and so do its columnists.

And it gets results. Harry Bridges' Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union in San Francisco wires Pres Truman not to use Taft-Hartley injunction. Ben Gold, CP member & Pres of Fur & Leather Workers, calls for general labor stoppage to protest injunction against miners. Locals of Communist-controlled United Electrical Workers (ousted from CIO) in Pittsburgh, Cleveland, and Bridgeport, Conn, appropriate funds and collect food, money and clothing to be sent to the striking miners.

They are joined by United Public Workers (also ousted from CIO) in Louisville, Ky, the Int'l Workers Order & new youth front, Labor Youth League, in Youngstown, Ohio. "Progressive" Party makes appeal for all members to bring food for miners to Nat'l Convention mass meeting in Chicago, Feb 24.

The Daily Worker office in NYCity has turned its basement into a warehouse where food, medicine & clothing is stored until it can be shipped to the mine fields in trucks...accompanied by Communist propagandists.

John L Lewis was approached last year by two CP-controlled unions which have since been expelled from CIO. They asked for a charter from United Mine Workers or its District 50, the "catch-all" section of the UMW for non-related industries. Lewis turned down the request...but offered to let them join any Local of UMW's District 50. This offer wasn't accepted... it would not give the Communist-line unions enough independence.

There are several reasons for CP's support of miners.

1. It is wooing John L Lewis and all labor. Maybe it can soften the growing anti-CP stand of organized labor. Perhaps it can win Lewis over to a more conciliatory frame of mind so that unions expelled from CIO will be given a UMW or Dist 50 charter of their own.

2. It wants to weaken and disrupt U S economy as much as possible, and encourage labor enmity toward Government and management.

3. This is part of the CP fight against Taft-Hartley Law. Govt use of Taft-Hartley Act against Mine Workers has provided greatest opportunity for intensified anti-Taft-Hartley campaign.

4. CP always poses as the true friend of the workingman & organized labor. Mine walkout gives it an excellent opportunity to press this hypocritical stand for its full propaganda value.

LET'S DEFEAT THE CP ON THIS QUESTION. On Feb 20 the Senate Judiciary Committee began hearings on the Mundt-Ferguson-Johnston bill. This bill would require registration of all CP members in U S. It was first

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drafted by Rep Rich M Nixon in 1948. It passed the House, but did not get out of Committee in the Senate. Since then some revisions have been made in it to remove features that were questioned on constitutional grounds.

CP has called for a mass protest against the bill. Party members and fellow travelers will deluge Sen Pat McCarran, Chrmn of Senate Judiciary Committee, and all U S Senators with telegrams & letters in a final effort to kill the bill.

The call for protests was made in the CP press by Marion Bachrach. She is public relations director of CP...and sister of John Abt. Abt was named by Whittaker Chambers as member of govt espionage ring in Washington. He married the widow of Harold Ware, who originally organized the Communist cells in govt offices in Washington.

Marion Bachrach testified before Un-American Activities Committee in Hiss-Chambers hearings. But her testimony was typical of that given before Congressional Committees by all Communists...it was negative. She refused to tell whether or not she knew Alger Hiss, whether she had lived in Washington, or had seen a typewriter in the Hiss home there.

Now Marion Bachrach says that the Mundt-Ferguson-Johnston bill must be killed. She is afraid that if it passes Senate Judiciary Committee it will be "difficult to defeat" on the Senate floor, and "almost impossible to stop" in the House.

That's your cue. The CP has ORGANIZATION. It has been using it to great advantage in fighting all measures that will weaken its power. Here's a test for those who are for and those who are against. Don't let the Communists score another victory.

Write to your Senator & Senator Pat McCarran, Chrmn of the Senate Judiciary Committee. Tell them to approve Mundt-Ferguson-Johnston bill to help fight against Stalin's U S agents...and let them know, too, of the pressure campaign the CP is conducting against the bill.

PAUL DRAPER INCIDENT DID NOT PLEASE CP. The "Party" doesn't like it when front supporters lose their effectiveness. Spontaneous protest a few weeks ago against appearance of Paul Draper on "Toast of the Town" TV program was an indication that the public is changing its way of thinking. The incident couldn't have happened a few years ago...nothing would have been said or done then in protest against his part in the show.

But the fight is far from won. There's still a lot of confused reasoning about the CP...and about Communists or front supporters being featured on radio & TV programs, in moving pictures and plays.

"You should laugh at the Communists," some people say, "you help them if you treat them seriously." Others can't see that it matters if Communists or fellow travelers write scripts that are non-political in nature.

Communism is a "trivial matter"...you are "encroaching on civil liberties" if you deny a Communist a featured entertainment spot. These are a few of the arguments you hear AGAINST doing anything to stop the Communist conspiracy...and they are all fallacious.

Here are some things that should be considered when you are deciding what steps YOU can take to help fight Communism:

1. Eleven leaders of the CP were recently convicted of conspiracy against the U S Govt. A Communist front...by its very name...is an agent of that conspiracy. And EVERY Communist front member or sponsor is, by that very act, a supporter of the CP's plot against the U S.

This statement isn't far-fetched...it's starkly true. During past decade tens of millions of dollars have been raised by Communist fronts to strengthen CP in this country and help spread Stalin's dictatorship abroad. Billions of words in propaganda have been spread by these fronts for the same purpose. Here are two examples:

International Workers Order, Communist "insurance" front, frequently buys large ads in CP national newspaper, the Daily Worker...in effect subsidizing it. And it made direct contribution of $4000 to the defense of the 11 convicted CP leaders.

A relatively new Communist front, the China Welfare Appeal, Inc (established in 1949) is now collecting a "Friendship Cargo for China". Thousands of dollars worth of materials of all kinds have been collected. The "cargo" will be shipped to Communist China to strengthen regime of Mao Tse-tung who has just sold out his people to Stalin.

2. Giving feature spots in radio, TV and moving pictures to Communists and fellow travelers increases their ability to weaken U S. It gives them added prestige...so they can more easily sell fronts to gullible innocents who are impressed by glamorous names.

More important, it gives them big money so they can make larger contributions to Communist causes. Fellow-travelling "celebrities" are expected to make big donations...they know it, accept it, and DO it. It's the price they pay for the cheap publicity and acclaim they get from the CP.

And it gives them more power in their field. It enables them to help other CP members and party-liners gain prominence & influence...and gives them a club to hold over those who are anti-Communist.

3. Communists will never give an anti-Communist a job. They help Communists and fellow travelers...no one else. Even when they want to buy insurance, books, radios or apples they go to one of the "proletariat".

Why should you give them a position of prominence? Is it fair to any non-Communist or anti-Communist who is out of work? Can you say that you are being LOYAL to your fellow citizens...and to the best interests of your Govt...when you knowingly hire a Communist or fellow traveler as long as there is anyone else who can fill the job?

4. Would you give a job to a traitor? Giving a Communist or front supporter an important role in any production is doing that. The term "cold war" is misleading...a euphemism. Stalin Russia is at war with U S politically, economically & ideologically...and there's nothing "cold" about it.

U S and Stalin Russia came to blows in Greece. Albanians and Greek Communists fired the guns for Russia, and Greek people fired guns for U S. That's the reality...that was war.

And modern war is TOTAL war. Every citizen is in it...he doesn't have to wear a uniform. In actual warfare a member of U S armed forces who gave ammunition to the enemy would be tried for treason, and shot or hanged if found guilty.

And that's just what the Communists and fellow-travelers are doing. They are giving CP and Stalin Russia ammunition in form of money and propaganda...to help them fight a very real economic, political and propaganda war against U S.

Should you laugh at people who do that? Is it a "trivial matter"? Or are you "encroaching on their civil liberties" when you try to reduce their power by refusing to give them any chance for publicity?

And what attitude are large U S organizations taking toward Communists, fellow travelers and front supporters?

When the liberal Americans for Democratic Action was founded in 1947 it formally rejected "any association with Communists or sympathizers with Communism" because they were "hostile to the principles of freedom and democracy".

The CIO, which has millions of members and is considered the farthest to the "left" of all major U S labor organizations, decided at its 1949 convention to oust 11 unions controlled by Communists.

Think these things over. Then decide for yourself what you can and SHOULD do to break power of CP and its supporters.

PHILHARMONIC SYMPHONY SOCIETY BOOSTS ANOTHER COMMUNIST FRONT SUPPORTER. An important event to music-lovers all over U S is weekly Sunday afternoon concert of NY Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra over CBS network. Communist front supporters such as Norman Corwin, Ray Lev and Jose Ferrer have been featured on this program in the past.

Leonard Bernstein conducted NY Philharmonic Symphony on Feb 19 program...and is to conduct the Feb 26 broadcast, which will feature his new symphonic work, "Age of Anxiety". Bernstein is an accomplished conductor of symphony music...and an accomplished advocate of Communist causes. He has conducted Philharmonic Symphony on other occasions.

Bernstein was a sponsor of the Waldorf "Peace" Conference held in NY last March to boost Stalin's major propaganda line. He cabled greetings to Dmitri Shostakovich, Russian composer, before Shostakovich left Russia to attend conference. Fact that Shostakovich has debased his talent by producing musical paeans to Stalin's "accomplishments" did not deter Bernstein.

When convicted CP leader, Ben Davis, ran for re-election to NY City Council in 1945 he was supported by Bernstein...who has also supported the Civil Rights Congress, which provided bail for Davis & other CP leaders following their conviction for conspiracy. Some other fronts Bernstein has supported: Natl Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, etc.

Philharmonic Symphony Society broadcast is a "prestige program". CBS pays the Orchestra for the concert...and wins acclaim for itself as patron of arts and public benefactor. William S Paley, Chrmn of Bd of CBS is also a member of the Bd of Directors of the Philharmonic Symphony Society.

WHAT TO DO: Write letters to:

Chas Triller, Pres, Philharmonic Symphony Society, 113 West 57 St, NYC. Tell him that he and subscribers who support Philharmonic Symphony should be more interested in defeating supporters of CP conspiracy against U S than in listening to any particular conductor...no matter how good he is. Fact that Bernstein is an outstanding conductor does not excuse his supporting agencies which are helping Stalin in his war against U S.

Wm S Paley, Chrmn of Bd, Columbia Broadcasting System, 485 Madison Ave, NYCity. Tell him that he has a double responsibility in this case. As Bd of Directors' member of Symphony Society he should see that no Communists or front supporters are featured by the Symphony...and as head of CBS he should refuse to allow such artists to appear if Symphony Society persists in selecting them.

Yours faithfully,

February 24, 1950

Counterattack

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FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 4-1458

Letter No. 143
February 17, 1950

Dear Subscriber:

ANTI-COMMUNIST FIGHT HELPED BY TWO IMPORTANT DECISIONS. Federal Judge Vincent L Leibell (NY) and Maryland Court of Appeals (highest State court) made importance decisions in fight against U S Communist Party (CP).

1. Judge Leibell ruled that it was constitutional to deport an alien for PAST membership in a subversive organization. This decision was made in case of Peter Harisiades, who has admitted CP membership from 1925 to 1939. Judge Leibell's decision was based on a Smith Act amendment (passed in 1940) which provides that an alien can be deported if he has EVER belonged to a group advocating forcible overthrow of U S government.

Many of most dangerous Communists are aliens. They are concentrated in sensitive industrial areas such as New York, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Detroit & San Francisco. Govt has proof of their past membership in CP in many instances, but has been stymied by lack of proof that they are still enrolled members of the Party. Now Judge Leibell's decision will make govt action against them possible.

CP was further injured by Judge Leibell's ruling that it is "the instrument of revolution in the violent overthrow" of the U S Govt. This strengthens recent jury decision that CP leaders advocated violence.

"The real danger to our national security," Judge Leibell ruled, lay in the "judicial" interpretation of the writings of CP leaders, and of resolutions & programs drawn up at CP conventions.

This was a blast at the U S Supreme Court which ruled in the Schneiderman case (1943) that the CP merely gave "doctrinal" approval of violence under hypothetical conditions at some indefinite future time.

Judge Leibell found that force and violence were an integral part of CP policy. And he attacked the "fallacy and delusion" of past decisions which ruled that the element of the "clear and present danger" in the statute on freedom of speech did not exist as far as the CP was concerned.

That danger is clear and present, Judge Leibell decided, when the CP teaches that it is "stupidity and not revolutionariness" for Communists to reveal whether they will fight and when.

2. Ober Law reinstated by Maryland Court of Appeals. Decision of Judge Joseph Sherbow of Baltimore Circuit Court that Ober Law was unconstitutional has been overruled by Maryland's highest court.

Ober Law would "dissolve" the CP in Maryland...but not by name. Actually it calls for dissolution of "any subversive organization or foreign subversive organization". And it defines these organizations:

Subversive organization: one that engages in or teaches any activities intended to overthrow the U S or Maryland Govt by force.

Foreign subversive organization: one controlled by foreign Govt and which engages in or teaches any activities intended to overthrow or

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alter the U S or Maryland Govt and set up any Govt controlled by "any foreign Govt, organization or individual" (specifically does NOT apply to organizations promoting world govt, world federation or int'l alliances by constitutional means).

The courts would dissolve any organization of the above type after a trial...just as they would dissolve a monopoly.

And persons who help form or manage these organizations can be fined, imprisoned, or both. This also applies to members.

Law also provides for a Special Assistant Atty Gen'l in charge of subversive activities to gather evidence & present it to grand jury. Grand jury will issue reports on subversive activities at the end of its term. (For fuller description of Ober Law see Counterattack Apr 29 '49 pp 1 & 2.)

In reinstating Ober Law the Court of Appeals denied the presence of any question of its constitutionality. None of the plaintiffs, it ruled, had been materially affected by the law. Therefore the court could not "intimate that any of its provisions are valid or invalid".

It is important that none of the judges of the Maryland Court of Appeals gave any hint they thought the Ober Law invalid. And two judges, Chief Judge Ogle Marbury & Judge Stephen B Collins, in a minority opinion, said that the law was valid in all its major aspects.

CP & "Progressive" Party have renewed their fight against Ober Law. Court's decision is being appealed. But until its constitutionality is decided by Supreme Court it should be given complete support.

Feinberg Law, which would bar members of subversive organizations as teachers in NY State, may be affected by Maryland decision. It contradicts opinions of Justices Harry E Schirick and Murray Hearn of NY who have ruled Feinberg Law unconstitutional.

MOSCOW JOINS IN NAT'L LAWYERS GUILD ATTACK ON FBI. Jacob A Malik, Soviet delegate to UN, charged on Feb 10 that FBI was tapping UN telephone wires and was "using" responsible UN executives "for obtaining information concerning the internal affairs" of the Secretariat and UN employes.

Abraham Pomerantz, Nat'l Lawyers Guild member, had previously made the same charge. Pomerantz is defending Valentin Gubitchev, Russian UN employe, now on trial with Judith Coplon on charges of conspiring to give American defense secrets to Russia.

Radio Moscow has now joined the campaign to vilify the FBI. It says FBI has been turned into organization for "intimidating" U S citizens by "all forms of violence, blackmail, terror and other police measures."

Malik was merely copying charges of Pomerantz, and Radio Moscow was aping the line of the CP and Natl Lawyers Guild. They hope to discredit FBI, weaken case against Valentin Gubitchev & impair U S ability to cope with their espionage agents.

Atty Gen'l J Howard McGrath has rejected Nat'l Lawyers Guild demand for investigation of FBI. He couldn't very well do otherwise. One of his predecessors as Atty Gen'l, Robt H Jackson (now Supreme Court Justice), resigned from the Guild in 1940 because it was Communist-controlled. Other prominent ex-govt officials who resigned at same time for same reason were Ass't Sec of State Adolph A Berle Jr, Nathan R Mangold, Solicitor for Dept of Interior & Chas Poletti, Lt Gov of NY.

But Senate Judiciary Committee consults Nat'l Lawyers Guild for their recommendation on all persons nominated by Pres Truman for federal judgeships. This is absurd. Why should an organization identified as a

Communist front by a Congressional Committee, and by former high-ranking CP officials have anything to say about who will be federal judges?

Will any effective anti-CP legislation be upheld by courts as long as Nat'l Lawyers Guild is consulted on federal judgeships?

MANY FALSE AFFIDAVITS HAVE BEEN FILED UNDER TAFT-HARTLEY LAW. The CP gave one away the other day. Its national newspaper, the Daily Worker, printed an "In Memoriam" notice signed by the Shoe Workers Section of the CP. Signers mourned the loss of "our beloved comrade" Julius Crane, who died in Chicago, Feb 6, and promised to "build the Communist Party" in his memory.

Crane was int'l VP of United Shoe Workers (CIO). In 1947 he filed non-Communist affidavit in compliance with the Taft-Hartley Law.

United Shoe Workers is not Communist-controlled. There was strong Communist influence in 1946 when its president, Frank McGrath, resigned, but anti-Communists now hold most of top positions. N Y City's District Council 13 is still under CP domination. Isadore Rosenberg, mgr of Dist Council 13, has been called a "notorious Communist" by Un-American Activities Committee.

The incident of Julius Crane is additional proof that you can't believe Communists. They will sign or testify to anything under oath to advance their objectives. Perjury & laws of U S mean nothing to them.

And Dept of Justice has done nothing to prosecute any one of the many individuals who have filed false Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavits. Months ago there were reports that it was preparing to take action...but nothing has happened. Communists are strengthened in belief that they can indiscriminately flout laws of U S and get away with it.

COMMUNISTS MAKE CLEAN SWEEP IN AFL ELECTION. Local 6, Hotel & Restaurant Workers Union, the largest CP-controlled AFL local in U S, has about 30,000 members. It controls restaurant and hotel industry in NYCity. Complete control of local was retained by Communists in recent election.

Michael J Obermeier was elected president of Local 6. Govt has proof that Obermeier was a CP member. He denied this in his naturalization proceedings...then later admitted he had been a CP member from 1930 to 1939. He has been indicted for perjury. And Govt has ordered him deported on grounds he was affiliated with an organization advocating overthrow of U S.

Obermeier was not eligible for election to office on two counts. Union constitution forbids aliens to run for office...also persons who associate themselves with Communism. But Hugo Ernst, Pres of Hotel & Restaurant Workers Union, from his Cincinnati, Ohio, office waived both restrictions for Obermeier. Pro-Communist locals in the union congratulated Ernst for this. Most anti-CP locals in union opposed his decision.

Ernst's action in this case was inexcusable. There might have been some excuse if Local 6 could secede from Union (as Jay Rubin, known as the "Red Commissar" in the hotel industry, had threatened in 1949), or if Ernst had made any concerted effort to develop an anti-CP movement in Local 6.

But there wasn't even an opposition slate except in one dept of the Local. It was apparent from the beginning that Communists would win complete control if Ernst gave his OK to Obermeier. This was largely due to fact that Ernst had discouraged the anti-CP group in Local 6. At 1948 convention he gave his blessing to the left wing administration. Now, by his action in Obermeier case, he has just about broken back of right wing group which has been fighting to break hold of Communists in Local 6.

Stories that a crackdown by Ernst on left wing would force Local 6

to secede are false. It would hardly secede from AFL when it would stand no chance of being accepted in CIO which is expelling Communist-line unions. If it tried to get along as an independent or join the new left-wing Distributive Workers Union, the AFL Teamsters Union could cut it to pieces by refusing to deliver to hotels & clubs controlled by Local 6.

What Ernst could have done is indicated by this fact: Of the 15,000 members who turned out for the election 5,000 refused to vote. They did this because there was just one slate...the left wing administration candidates...and they would not cast their ballots for them.

Hotel & Restaurant Workers Union is organized in all parts of U S. If Communists in other regions are treated as gingerly by Hugo Ernst as they are in NY their strength in AFL will increase rather than decrease.

COULD U S POLITBURO MEMBER BEN DAVIS SELL ECA TO EUROPEANS? It's not likely that he could. But it looks as though the Economic Cooperation Administration thinks a supporter of his might be able to.

The chief of the ECA radio operation which beams shows into all Marshall Plan countries is Ed Gruskin. He is now in U S on trip from his Paris headquarters...and is negotiating for someone to supervise the radio activities of the Paris office of ECA.

He has offered the job to documentary writer Robert Lewis Shayon.

Shayon supported Ben Davis, recently convicted CP nat'l committee member, for re-election to the NY City Council in 1945.

Shayon was active in the Progressive Citizens of America, Communist front which has been succeeded by Henry Wallace's "Progressive" Party. He signed open letter published by PCA in latter part of 1947. This letter denounced Hollywood motion picture producers for their firing of the Hollywood Ten, who are now free on bail pending an appeal of their conviction for contempt of Congress.

And at time of hearings on CP infiltration of Hollywood, Shayon took part in PCA's "Conference on Cultural Freedom and Civil Liberties". He spoke at the same conference panel with Albert Maltz, Ring Lardner Jr and Larry Parks. CP membership cards of Maltz & Lardner were produced at Hollywood hearings by Un-American Activities Committee. Conference passed resolutions demanding end of this Committee and Pres Truman's Loyalty Order.

Shayon, according to the PCA propaganda of the moment, believed at the time that "in America, if you are an artist, writer, scientist, actor or educator, your activity and the basis of your life are under attack" and that this attack was against "all art, all literature, all learning."

How can Shayon accept ECA job without compromising his beliefs? House Un-American Activities Committee has been strengthened since he gave his talk at the PCA Conference. FBI activity has been stepped up and it has just "attacked" a leading British scientist. Things have gone from bad to worse.

It will be interesting to watch Shayon juggle his beliefs into the ECA anti-Communist fight in Europe...if he gets the job.

Yours faithfully,

February 17, 1950

Counterattack

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FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM
55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 4-1458

Letter No. 142
February 10, 1950

Dear Subscriber:

HYDROGEN BOMB IS A "BOGEY OF WALL STREET" SAYS MOSCOW. This statement was broadcast as a deliberate lie. Stalin Russia knew U S could make hydrogen bomb, but called it "a myth...a fairy tale" for propaganda purposes.

But arrest of Dr Klaus Fuchs, one of top British atom scientists, who has made a complete confession that he gave Soviet agents atom and hydrogen bomb information, gave considerable basis in fact to Moscow's statement. Fuchs, while in U S, had access to top secret information concerning the atom bomb...and to an unpublished amount of information on hydrogen bomb.

Fuchs' espionage activity...and success of Canadian spy ring...made U S atom bomb nothing but a "bogey" to Communist Russia. And maybe hydrogen bomb, too, is little more than that now. U S would never start offensive war with H-Bomb. Russia will wait until she has it. Meanwhile, value to U S of H-bomb as a deterrent to Soviet aggression is lost.

And Russia may be ahead of U S in H-bomb development already. Prof Harrison Brown, atomic scientist of Univ of Chicago, said last week (before it was announced that Fuchs was a Soviet spy) that if Russians had decided to go ahead on H-bomb development "they were probably ahead of" U S now, because new developments in U S are so much slower than they were during war.

AND STALIN RUSSIA IS ON THE OFFENSIVE EVERYWHERE. In Germany the Russians are using semi-blockade tactics. There is talk of starting airlift again as countermeasure. This will weaken U S economy. Last airlift cost U S over ¼ billion dollars...and Russia is stronger in Berlin today than when airlift was started.

A Communist plot to overthrow govt's of Boliva and Chile has been uncovered. Plot was backed by Cominform. Communist leaders from Brazil, Peru and Chile went to Bolivia to direct the planned uprising.

The Peking (Communist) radio called for revolt this week. In broadcast to Southeast Asia, Kuo Mo-jo called on the youth of that area to rise and overthrow their govts as a contribution to "lasting world peace."

"We have an underground, and we know exactly what is happening twenty-four hours a day," Vittorio Vidali told a U S correspondent in CP hq in Trieste. Vidali is reputedly Stalin's top assassin. He is credited with masterminding the death of Leon Trotsky in Mexico in 1940, the murder of Carlo Tresca, anti-Stalin leftist, in NYCity in 1943...and with many other political murders. Soviet Russia gave him right of asylum when he was deported from U S in 1928. He went to Moscow and attended Comintern's school for political sabotage. Later he went to Mexico where he was in charge of planning int'l underground brigade to fight U S in case of war with Russia.

And now Vidali says that Stalin knows exactly what is going on in Yugoslavia 24 hrs a day...and that "Tito's regime must go!"

All these facts prove that Soviet espionage activity is greater

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than it has ever been before. Stalin's int'l spy ring has always been very effective. As a result he has been successful in nearly all the aggressive moves he has taken since U S recognized Communist Russia in 1933.

Vidali's statement is a hint of the extent of espionage now going on in U S. No other country is a force for Stalin to cope with - his main spy effort must be concentrated here...and it must involve all phases of U S defense...not just A-bomb & H-bomb developments.

It was the FBI which disclosed the spy activities of Dr Klaus Fuchs. At time of Canadian atomic espionage disclosure Sec of State Byrnes said there had been no U S atom bomb leaks...that U S had exclusive knowledge of A-bomb manufacture. FBI findings have disproved this & other misleading statements made by Administration officials during past few years, which have lulled Americans into false sense of security.

It was FBI, too, that developed information leading to arrest of Judith Coplon & Valentin Gubitchev. It knew of espionage activities of Alger Hiss but, being a purely investigative body, could not prosecute him. When Hiss was finally indicted for perjury, FBI successfully followed a 10 year old trail and turned up information that led to his conviction. Now J Edgar Hoover says that job of protecting U S from spies is greater than during second World War. He has asked for 677 more staff members and an increased appropriation to run FBI during coming year. FBI is the only agency with power to investigate civilian espionage in U S.

BUT NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD WANTS TO DESTROY POWER OF FBI. The Guild has come out with a new demand to cripple the only agency which can effectively fight espionage in U S. It also wants to arouse public opinion against J Edgar Hoover, FBI director, and if possible have him fired.

Earl Browder identified the Guild as a "transmission belt" of Communist Party as early as 1939. And Louis Budenz, former editor of Daily Worker, CP national newspaper, has stated "Most of the labor lawyers who work with and for the Communists are members of the National Lawyers Guild."

Six of the defense attorneys for the eleven convicted CP leaders were members of the National Lawyers Guild. Abraham Pomerantz, now defending Valentin Gubitchev, is a Guild member. So, too, is Carol King, who defended Hans & Gerhart Eisler.

Lee Pressman & Nathan Witt, Guild members, were named by Whittaker Chambers & Elizabeth Bentley as members of Washington espionage ring.

Guild joined Stalin's Int'l legal front, the Int'l Assn of Democratic Lawyers when it was set up in Paris in 1946. Martin Popper, now a V P of the Guild, attended founding convention and was elected exec secretary. Robt W Kenny, former Guild Pres, was elected a V P. At the 1948 convention of IADL in Prague, Popper urged that "observers" be sent to trial of 12 CP leaders in U S to "report to the world" the evils of their persecution. When the delegation arrived in U S in 1949 Popper went to UN with it to lodge formal protest against U S. It was claimed that by prosecuting the Communist leaders U S was violating the UN Declaration of Human Rights.

The Guild has fought many U S defense and security measures. It has opposed efforts to tighten up anti-espionage laws; fought non-Communist affidavits of Taft-Hartley law, the Mundt-Nixon bill, the loyalty oath; filed a brief in support of Gerhart Eisler, claiming Un-American Activities Committee was unconstitutional; opposed peace-time military training, & listing of organizations as subversive by the U S Atty Genl.

Communist Party has been gunning for the FBI for many years. Now

it has gotten one of its fronts (with a cloak of legal respectability) to demand that the Bureau be investigated. The CP rejoices in the Guild's claim that the FBI commits more crimes than it detects, that it "violates our laws, infringes our liberties and threatens our democracy."

This conspiracy to weaken the internal security of U S by the Guild and the CP at a time of greatly intensified Communist spy efforts should be exposed. Tell your local papers what is taking place and ask them to help. Urge that J Edgar Hoover's requests for more funds & personnel be granted.

And write to Atty Gen'l J Howard McGrath, asking him why Nat'l Lawyers Guild is not on his list of fronts.

POTENTIAL SPY ADMITTED TO U S TO ATTEND UN SESSION. Bronislaw Konstantine Gebert (also known as Boleslaw, Bill & William Gebert) is back in the U S to use the UN Economic & Social Council for anti-U S propaganda. Gebert was charter member of American CP, a member of its Central Executive Committee (now known as Natl Committee) and head of the CP's Polish federation in ~~the U S. He was one of founders of the Moscow-directed American Slav Con~~gress...also head of the Polonia Society (Polish section) of the International Workers Order (Counterattack Jan 6, pp 1 & 2).

Gebert was arrested and held for deportation by U S in 1933. But he was never deported. In 1947, without permission or knowledge of State Dept, he left U S for Poland on the Gydnia-America liner Batory...the same ship on which Gerhart Eisler fled U S as a "stowaway".

Speaking before closed CP meetings in 1932 Gebert stressed necessity of building "an iron wall of defense around the Soviet Union", of knowing "just exactly" where our war industries were located, from what places ammunition would be shipped from U S, and urged penetration of U S armed forces.

"You are our great support. You gave us information of great importance", the Communist Govt of Poland told Gebert when it decorated him in Washington, D C. Before he left U S the home office of the Polish Embassy had recommended him to its American branch as a reliable contact.

Stalin's World Federation of Trade Unions got Gebert into the U S this time. Gebert is sec'y of the Central Committee of Polish Trade-Unions and also a sec'y of Moscow's WFTU, which is one of the nine non-governmental organizations having consultative status with UN. American agreement with UN forces it to grant entry to accredited representatives of these organizations...even if U S knows they are probably espionage agents.

IT WAS A RED LETTER WEEK IN RADIO. These were the highlights.

Edward G Robinson starred in the Screen Directors Playhouse production of "The Sea Wolf" on the NBC network, Feb 3 at 9:00 P M. This program is sponsored by RCA Victor.

Robinson was a "sacred cow" to the Communists, according to the testimony of a former CP official. As a Daily Worker staff member this official was told by V J Jerome, one of the CP's cultural commissars, "to always defend Robinson, even if he was in a bad picture, with a bad performance."

Here are SOME Communist fronts Edward G Robinson has supported.

American Youth for Democracy (successor to Young Communist League)... Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences & Professions, and its successor, Progressive Citizens of America (exec bd member)...Committee for A Democratic Far Eastern Policy (which is now rejoicing because Communists have taken over China)...Nat'l Council of American-Soviet Friendship...American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born...Stop Censorship Committee.

[redacted]

Jean Muir was one of the feature players in "The Sudden Guest", presented over NBC-TV, Feb 5, by the Philco Television Playhouse.

She has attended Communist study groups, met with Communist leaders, and loaned her home and car for CP purposes, according to testimony given before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. She is a V P of Congress of American Women, whose officers were recently ordered to register as foreign agents by Dept of Justice, and has supported other fronts.

And a play written by Norman Corwin will be presented on Feb 12, by the same sponsor, Philco Radio Corp. Corwin is one of the leading supporters of Communist fronts in the U S. According to Counterattack's files he has given his sponsorship or support to over 30 front organizations. When Corwin was appointed to the Radio Division of the UN Information Dept last year Sen Pat McCarran (D-Nev) described him as a "typical example" of men who went to int'l posts "directly from fields of subversive activity".

AMERICAN CANCER SOCIETY HELPS COMMUNIST FRONT SUPPORTERS. In its laudable efforts to help prevent or cure cancer the Society has recorded a series of thirteen 15-minute dramas entitled "For the Living". This series is available free of charge to radio stations for broadcast purposes.

Edward G Robinson (see above) is narrator of all 13 transcriptions.

And there are other front supporters such as Anne Revere (a descendent of Paul Revere) and Sam Jaffe, who have parts in these dramas.

Anne Revere signed statement denouncing the indictment of the 12 CP leaders. She has supported Independent Citizens Committee of Arts, Sciences & Professions...Committee of One Thousand...Nat'l Council of Arts, Sciences & Professions...Civil Rights Congress...Committee for the First Amendment... and recently signed brief in defense of the Hollywood Ten.

Sam Jaffe was once the victim of a Communist twist. In 1939 he signed an open letter calling for closer cooperation between the U S and Stalin Russia "for the defeat of fascism". A few days later Stalin signed his pact with Hitler. Still Jaffe has supported Communist fronts such as American League for Peace & Democracy...Artists Front to Win the War...Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee...American Committee for Yugoslav Relief ...Nat'l Council of Arts, Sciences & Professions...School of Jewish Studies, etc.

It would be foolish to injure the fight against cancer in any way. There is no point in suppressing the Cancer Society's series. But you should write to the Society at 47 Beaver Street, NYC, & tell them that you strongly oppose the favorable publicity given these Communist front supporters by their participation in the series.

WHAT TO DO ABOUT THE OTHER PROGRAMS...those which featured Edward G Robinson, Sam Jaffe, and Norman Corwin's play. Write letters to:

Frank M Folsom, pres of RCA, 30 Rockefeeler Plaza, NYC.

William Balderston, pres of Philco Radio Corp, Tioga and C Streets, Phila, Pa.

Tell them there are many talented artists available who have clean records as far as affiliation with Communist front organizations is concerned. Ask them if it wouldn't be better to give these people feature spots on their big-paying radio programs.

Yours faithfully,

February 10, 1950

Counterattack

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FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 4-1458

Letter No. 141
February 3, 1950

Dear Subscriber:

A TREMENDOUS NEW "FRONT" HAS BEEN SET UP. It was formed in NY last week-end by representatives of approximately 60 nationwide organizations with a membership of many millions. It promises to be the largest "popular front" ever established in the United States.

This is good news. Because this front is ANTI-COMMUNIST.

All fields of American life were represented. Labor, religious, business, civic, patriotic, veterans', educational, professional and social organizations took part in the All-American Conference.

"World Communism is the greatest present threat to domestic security & peace on earth, and its No. 1 targets are God and our American way of life," said the resolution adopted by the 160 conference delegates. "Communism as practiced in the United States...is in fact a deliberate revolutionary conspiracy inspired, directed and financed by an alien power."

A steering committee of 17 members was established for organizing purposes. This committee will report to a second All-American Conference, which will be held within 90 days to form "a permanent pro-American, anti-Communist, unified and cohesive organization."

Outstanding feature of the meeting was the great spirit of cooperation and unity. There was no hint of bickering despite the wide diversity in economic, political & religious views of the many people represented.

Communist Party (CP) didn't like it. The Daily Worker, CP national newspaper, made a vehement attack on the conference, describing it as "the American Legion's scheme to stampede a wide array of national organizations into a pro-fascist witch-hunt."

And "Progressive" or Commugressive Party's semi-official national paper, Daily Compass, repeatedly attacked the conference editorially and in news stories. I F Stone, Compass columnist, termed the conference an "unholy crusade to destroy civil rights"...a "new vigilantism". But Counterattack took part in the conference and it knows that strong efforts are being made to prevent any "vigilante" or "hate" elements from creeping in.

The All-American Conference represents such a large cross-section of political, economic, social & religious thought that it can project only a limited program...one to which all member groups can give 100% support. But this program may become wider in time, because the conference can have a great influence on public opinion...and thus the member groups may gradually come to support stronger legislative & other measures than some do now.

SOME BUSINESS LEADERS HELP HARRY BRIDGES, REGARDLESS OF WHETHER HE IS A COMMUNIST. Last week several prominent business men went to the aid of Harry Bridges, Pres of International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union (which is slated for expulsion from CIO). He's fighting now to avoid prison & deportation. Govt is prosecuting him in Federal Court in San Francisco

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on charges of having lied under oath in his 1945 naturalization proceedings when he denied he was or ever had been a Communist Party member.

Four prominent industrialists were called by the defense as character witnesses for Bridges. They were Oscar W Pearson, Pres of Pacific Maritime Assn, which has a contract with Bridges' union...Kenneth Finnesey, V-P of States Steamship Co, and director of Pacific Maritime Assn...Hubert Brown, assistant to Pres of Pacific Far East Lines, and member of Coast Labor Committee...and Walter E Buck, director of Matson Navigation Co, and also director of several insurance, oil, distillery, banking & steamship concerns.

All these men testified for Bridges. One, Kenneth Finnesey, said that even if he heard evidence of Bridges' Communist Party membership he would still say Bridges was a man of truth, honesty, and integrity.

But if Bridges is a Communist Party member he is guilty of perjury ...and how can Finnesey then call him a man of truth?

And all four of these character witnesses should explain how they can testify that Harry Bridges is a man of good reputation when it's WIDELY known that he's the Pres of a new pro-Communist organization, the International Union of Seamen & Dockers, which was set up by Stalin's World Federation of Trade Unions a few months ago and which is endangering the national defense of the U S by trying to prevent the unloading of ships carrying American equipment to Atlantic Pact countries.

Bridges' reputation was further jolted last week by CIO when it revoked charter of Calif CIO Council, which he controlled. It did this because Calif Council, under Bridges' leadership, was "closely allied" with CP, encouraged & urged subscriptions to the Peoples World (CP's West Coast daily newspaper), opposed Marshall Plan, and generally followed Communist line.

There are many more facts about Harry Bridges' career which militate against his having what is generally regarded as a "good reputation".

Such testimony on part of business leaders is hard to understand in face of glaring facts which they should know. What effect does their testimony have on rank-and-file workers...on average U S citizen who regards CP as a real threat to security of this country?

ANOTHER ATTITUDE OF SOME BUSINESS MEN THAT HELPS COMMUNISTS was emphasized last week by Isbrandtsen Steamship Co's counsel, James W Ryan.

Hans Isbrandtsen, head of Isbrandtsen Steamship Co, likes to think of himself as a "rugged individualist". It was one of his ships, the Flying Arrow, which tried to run the Chinese Nationalist blockade of Shanghai and was shelled by Nationalist gunboats. Isbrandtsen finds blockade-running profitable and has done it before, notably in the Indonesian civil war.

Now, James W Ryan, counsel for the Isbrandtsen firm, has explained its stand. His reasoning contains amazing statements:

"The question of war or unfriendliness will not arise so long as thriving trade is maintained," Ryan says. If this is true, obviously the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Pact, the Berlin airlift and our aid to Greece & Turkey have been a waste of money. We should have concentrated on trade with Stalin Russia. There would be no cold war, no trouble at all.

Even more astonishing is Ryan's statement that "diplomacy should at all times be subordinate to trade and should further trade, and the less diplomacy or political meddling beyond that point the better and more peaceful the world will be." Ignore the gobbling up of more territory by the Soviets,

ignore their steadily growing military & economic power. Just trade with them. Trade with them, as we did with Japan, selling steel which was later shot into the bodies of U S troops in the Pacific.

Let's just trade with Stalin Russia, says Isbrandtsen's lawyer, and forget everything else. Could Stalin ask for anything more?

EINSTEIN AND OTHER LEADERS SUPPORT ANOTHER COMMUNIST CAUSE. Communist Party is conducting a lying campaign to halt contempt imprisonment of its lawyers, Harry Sacher, Richard Gladstein, Geo W Crockett Jr, Abraham J Isserman & Louis F McCabe. All were sentenced by Federal Judge Medina for contempt of court in recent conspiracy trial of 11 Communist Party leaders.

CP is anxious to reverse the lawyers' sentences on appeal, and thus discredit Judge Medina in public opinion. Effect of this might be to discredit the whole conspiracy trial, helping the 11 CP leaders in THEIR appeal.

A "Lawyers Defense Committee" has been established to carry on the over-all fight. There's also a separate committee for each of the five.

And this week the Communists released a statement by 16 prominent people to persuade the public that the sentenced lawyers really got a dirty deal. The 16 signers denounced the disciplining of lawyers who defend "political minorities, racial minorities and labor organizations."

Their statement was a summary of most of the falsehoods in the CP's campaign to smear Judge Medina and any other judge who acts similarly.

They charged an effort was being made to destroy lawyers' freedom of advocacy, that the disciplinary actions taken against these violators of our judicial system would destroy the right to a free trial and "silence millions who need the lawyer to speak for them."

These charges are completely false. All the lawyers they specifically mention have flagrantly violated all U S courtroom ethics. By their conduct THEY...not Federal Judge Medina...have threatened the people's right to a fair trial.

The 16 who signed this document included Albert Einstein, Thos Mann, famous German novelist, now a U S citizen; Prof Thos I Emerson of Yale Law School; Bishop Cameron Chesterfield Alleyne, Earl B Dickerson, Chicago lawyer; Olin Downes, music critic of NYTimes; Judge Norval K Harris of Sullivan, Ind, who has just been indicted by a grand jury in his own court on charges of embezzlement, forgery, and issuing a fraudulent check; Dr John A Kingsbury, long-time leader of pro-Soviet "friendship" groups; Prof Robt S Lynd, Columbia University; Walter Rautenstrauch, professor emeritus of Columbia; Carey McWilliams, Los Angeles writer and backer of a large number of fronts; Prof Kirtley F Mather, Harvard geologist; Prof Philip Morrison, Cornell physicist; Prof Linus Pauling, famous chemist of Calif Institute of Technology; I F Stone of Daily Compass, and Prof Colston E Warne, Amherst economist.

HOWARD BAY, LEADING SCENE DESIGNER, HEADS DEFENSE COMMITTEE FOR HARRY SACHER. Bay, Pres of AFL Scenic Artists Local 829, is chairman of "Committee of A F of L Unions to Defend Harry Sacher". He recently led a delegation to Washington, which called on Justice Dept officials and asked that Atty Gen J Howard McGrath join with Sacher and the other CP defense lawyers to procure a reversal of their contempt sentences.

The choice of Howard Bay to head this committee was a typical Communist move. Bay is more than a minor labor leader. He's well known as a scenic artist. Bay designed the sets for Theater Guild's production of "Come

Back, Little Sheba", which will open shortly on Broadway...and he has worked on many big productions, such as Mike Todd's musical, "As the Girls Go".

Bay also does the television settings for the Fred Waring show on CBS-TV every Sunday night. This show is sponsored by General Electric. Young & Rubicam is the advertising agency handling the show.

Bay's name is expected by the Communists to rally many theatrical & radio personalities behind Harry Sacher and the other sentenced lawyers.

Howard Bay has supported a long list of Communist causes, including: American Peace Mobilization (during Stalin-Hitler Pact)...Artists Front to Win the War, which demanded that the U S ignore its own military necessities and hurry up with a so-called "Second-Front" in the West so as to divert German troops from Russia...Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges... Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder...Natl Federation for Constitutional Liberties...also its successor, Civil Rights Congress.

And the Theater Arts Committee...also Stage for Action...Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee...American Committee for Yugoslav Relief (before Tito split with Stalin)...Natl Council of American-Soviet Friendship ...the phony "peace" conference at Waldorf-Astoria Hotel last March...Natl Council of Arts, Sciences & Professions...May Day Parade 1946...campaign of Communist Leader Benj J Davis for election to public office.

MILLIONAIRE FREDERICK VANDERBILT FIELD HELPS CHINESE COMMUNISTS IN GRAB FOR CONTROL OF MILLIONS HERE. Chinese Communist Govt last week tried in Federal Court in San Francisco to prevent funds of Bank of China from being turned over to representatives of Chinese Natl Govt. A motion to that effect was filed by NY law firm of Wolf, Popper, Ross & Wolf.

Martin Popper, member of this law firm, and Robt W Kenny, former Atty Gen of Calif, appeared in court to argue for this motion. Popper is a V-P of Communist front, Natl Lawyers Guild, and Kenny is its former Pres.

Popper & Kenny were indirectly hired by Chinese Communist Govt. The motion was filed by American-Chinese Export Corp, which is headed by Frederick Vanderbilt Field, millionaire Communist angel. He was lately commissioned by Chinese Communist Govt to act as Atty in Fact for the men it appointed to seize Shanghai hq of Bank of China and to operate the bank.

Communist Field is a specialist in Chinese matters. He writes on that subject for Daily Worker. He sat in at a 1937 meeting of top CP officials when it was decided Chinese Communists should be "sold" to the American people as "agrarian reformers" (Counterattack Jan 20, pp 2 & 3).

Martin Popper's law firm represented Field's American-Chinese Export Corp when it was formed in 1946. Popper attended founding convention of Stalin's international front of lawyers, the Int'l Assn of Democratic Lawyers, in Paris in 1946 and is now one of its international secretaries.

Federal Judge Louis E Goodman deferred action on Communist Millionaire Field's motion after hearing arguments. Immediate question at issue concerns $625,860 of funds of Bank of China...but later suits may involve assets of between 50 & 75 million dollars.

Yours faithfully,

February 3, 1950

Counterattack

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FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 4-1458

Letter No. 140
January 27, 1950

Dear Subscriber:

COMMUNISTS AND APPEASERS START CAMPAIGN TO DISCREDIT HISS VERDICT. They're misrepresenting facts about the trial in an effort to whitewash Hiss.

The Communist Party cries out that "the Hiss trial was rigged by men who want to outlaw the peace movement in our America". This refers to the fake "peace" movement which Moscow has created to sabotage U S defense.

The CP (Communist Party) links the Hiss verdict to recent conviction of 11 of its leaders for plotting against the Govt. It declares: "Taking off from the Foley Square frame-up," (meaning the conviction of the 11 party leaders) "the 'inevitable war' mob in Washington will see in the Hiss verdict the opportunity to press the outlawing of the Communist Party."

And the Progressive or Commugressive Party's unofficial national newspaper, the Compass, has begun a campaign of violent denunciation of the Hiss verdict, the House Un-American Activities Committee, and the FBI.

Mrs Eleanor Roosevelt has made a queer statement in defense of her friend Alger Hiss, who used to be a White House visitor. She says Alger Hiss may be guilty of perjury but not of espionage.

At first glance this doesn't seem to make any sense, because Hiss was convicted of perjuring himself in DENYING espionage.

But was Mrs Roosevelt making a veiled allusion to something else... to a story spread around by money-raisers for the Alger Hiss defense?

Large sums have been collected, especially from Hiss' fellow alumni of Harvard Law School. And the story told by the money-raisers is that Hiss has confidentially admitted he perjured himself but has said he did it to protect somebody else, who really typed the State Dept documents.

Is Mrs Roosevelt trying to spread that wild yarn? If she is, let her come out and say so. At any rate her statement needs explaining.

The reason for the jury verdict is simple.

Hiss had no case. That's all. He changed his stories of the same events repeatedly. He kept revising, revising, revising.

Newspaper readers couldn't see it, because no newspaper could devote a full page or two every day to the intricate details of the trial.

But the jury could see it. On one important point after another, the jury learned that Hiss had continually changed his stories. And all his stories were smashed not only by Whittaker Chambers' version and Chambers' documents but by many other witnesses and documents dug up by FBI.

A crushing analysis of Hiss' many stories has been made by one of his fellow trustees of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

This is former U S Solicitor General William Marshall Bullitt, a lawyer of wide experience. (He's a cousin of Ex-Ambassador Wm C Bullitt.)

Wm Marshall Bullitt says Hiss deceived Chairman John Foster Dulles of the Carnegie Endowment, as well as the other trustees. Bullitt proves

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J. G. Keenan, President; K. M. Bierly, Vice President; T. C. Kirkpatrick, Secretary-Treasurer

that Hiss repeatedly lied in getting the $20,000 job as president of the endowment and in hanging on to it long after Chambers publicly accused him.

Bullitt's pamphlet, "A Factual Review of the Whittaker Chambers — Alger Hiss Controversy", was written primarily for his fellow trustees.

Point by point, Bullitt analyzes the conflicts in Chambers' and Hiss' testimony before House Un-American Activities Committee. Says Bullitt:

"In reply to the committee's 176 pointed questions (concerning Chambers' alleged acquaintance with Hiss), Chambers' answers were short, clear, and positive, never ambiguous, and rarely even qualified as 'I think'."

Bullitt contrasts Chambers' testimony, "which was rarely, if ever, subsequently modified", with Hiss' evasive testimony, "which was constantly modified to conform to unexpected and uncontradicted evidence of entirely impartial and disinterested third parties." And here is Bullitt's summing up:

"Mr Chambers' testimony appears as a blunt, straightforward, positive, unqualified statement of facts, unsupported by legal assistance or anything else, except an unaided memory of facts within his personal knowledge— none of which have been shown to be inaccurate; but, on the other hand, unexpectedly corroborated by Mr Hiss himself, and by many disinterested third party records and oral evidence.

"Mr Hiss' testimony appears as that of an able, highly educated man, of professional training, with an amazingly accurate memory of every detail of the testimony heard at each prior Committee meeting, with great dialectical skill and mental alertness; but cautious in expression, always with an anchor thrown to windward to cover any inconsistency or proven contradictions; and yet his statement of facts within his own personal experience has been constantly contradicted and torn to shreds by indisputable third party public and private written records, and disinterested oral evidence."

And you can be sure the jury drew the same conclusion.

Hiss' defenders have been picturing Chambers as an "admitted perjurer". Fact is Chambers years ago made up his mind that he would tell the truth about his underground Communist activities if called on by any court or other public body...but that he would conceal one part of it, so as not to inflict great harm on some persons who were involved.

The one part he made up his mind to conceal was the espionage. He did conceal it when questioned in 1948 by House Committee and soon afterward by grand jury. He denied knowledge of it. That's the only point on which he has admitted perjury. Of course he should have told about that part too, without delay. But how many other ex-Communists have been willing to go as far as he had already gone, exposing themselves to such savage attack?

Rep Richard M Nixon of California deserves chief credit for seeing to it that Chambers' testimony didn't come to nothing. Nixon kept the House Committee from dropping the investigation when it was stymied by Hiss' denials. He took personal charge of it. Nixon's work led to Hiss' indictment.

The FBI did a splendid job of digging up additional evidence. And Asst U S Atty Thomas F Murphy prosecuted the case with great ability.

A book, "Seeds of Treason: the Hiss-Chambers Trial", will be published by Funk & Wagnalls Co in about two months. The authors are Ralph de Toledano of Newsweek magazine and Victor Lasky of NY World-Telegram & The Sun. They've followed the Hiss-Chambers controversy from the beginning, and their book should be one of the illuminating events of the year.

NEW COMMUNIST-RUN NAT'L UNION IS IN THE MAKING. Founding convention of Union of Distributive Workers will be held in NY on Feb 4-5.

Party-line locals seceded from Retail, Wholesale & Dept Store Union, CIO, in fall of 1948 and formed the Distributive Trades Council. Now they are converting it into a national union.

At first they'll concentrate on NYCity. Later they'll organize big department stores, retail chains, and warehouses in other cities, including Philadelphia, Chicago, Minneapolis & St Paul, San Francisco, etc.

Arthur Osman, identified as delegate to Communist Party Convention in 1945, will be president of the new union. Other key positions will go to Wm Michelson, David Livingston, and Nicholas Carnes, who have all been identified as Communist Party members.

COMMUNIST PARTY URGES ONE-DAY STOPPAGE IN ALL BIG INDUSTRIES TO ENCOURAGE MINERS' UNION. The CP is adopting a super-militant pose to egg the miners on and to spread the coal strike. It hopes to build its strength in United Mine Workers and other unions on basis of its militancy. And it wants to cause many strikes, so as to cut U S production during cold war.

CP's demand for one-day stoppage was quickly echoed by Communists in unions. Among first responses were those from Westinghouse local of United Electrical Workers in East Pittsburgh, and Fisher Body local of CIO Auto union in Cleveland. Both these party-line locals urged a one-day stoppage.

Communist Party has also issued a four-point program on coal strike:

1. Support from all unions to John L Lewis' union.
2. Protests to Truman against use of courts and Taft-Hartley procedure against United Mine Workers.
3. Insistence that Wm Green & Philip Murray and other labor leaders support the miners' strike, despite all differences with Lewis.
4. Prompt, aggressive action by all "progressive trade unions and organizations" (party-line unions & Communist fronts) to help the miners.

This program was announced by Steve Nelson, CP organizer of Western Penna. Nelson was born in Yugoslavia and entered U S on false passport under name Joseph Fleischinger. Later the Govt forgave this sin because he seemed to be behaving himself. Still later he attended Lenin School, Moscow, under name Louis Evans, traveling on a fraudulently obtained passport.

Afterwards Steve Nelson was a Comintern agent in China. He was a Lt Col in Communist-run International Brigade in Spanish Civil War, after going to Spain on a U S passport under name Joseph Fleischinger...the same name he had falsely used in coming to U S originally.

And he helped steal atomic secrets in U S during Second World War, according to report of House Un-American Activities Committee. Witnesses testified that Steve Nelson guided Communist infiltration of University of Calif radiation laboratory at Berkeley...and atomic security officers reported that he received documents from Dr Joseph W Weinberg ("Scientist X") and turned them over to Peter Ivanov, Soviet Vice-Consul at San Francisco.

Now Steve Nelson is the Communist leader in the great Western Penna industrial & mining district, and is maneuvering among the coal miners.

COMMUNISTS IN LARGEST FORD PLANT SING "HAPPY BIRTHDAY, DEAR STALIN". Communist Party says pictures of Stalin were hung on bulletin boards in Motor Bldg at Ford River Rouge plant on his birthday...one large picture hung all day on time clock in one department. And that wasn't all:

"Shortly before lunch a worker invited one of the union leaders to eat his lunch with a group of men near their machines. When they were all assembled in a semi-circle, all heads came together and a song started. There between the machines in Ford's Rouge plant they sang 'Happy Birthday, Dear Stalin, Happy Birthday to you.'"

AND THE COMMUNIST ISSUE HIT FORD in another way last week-end...in connection with one of its television programs.

"Toast of the Town" is sponsored by Ford's Lincoln-Mercury Dealers on CBS-TV every Sunday night. Ed Sullivan, newspaper columnist, is master of ceremonies. On Jan 22 he had Paul Draper, dancer, as a star of the show. Draper has supported Communist fronts. His mother is Muriel Draper, Communist and Pres of leading Communist front, Congress of American Women.

Draper and Larry Adler, harmonica player, are suing Mrs John T McCullough of Greenwich, Conn, for $200,000 libel because she protested their appearance in a concert there. Her case has won wide sympathy.

After Draper danced, the spotlight was turned on Mr & Mrs Benson Ford, who were introduced from the studio audience. Benson Ford is president of Lincoln-Mercury Division of Ford Motors.

Protests at once poured in to CBS and Ed Sullivan from TV audience, many from Counterattack subscribers. Sullivan at first stood pat.

But soon Sullivan yielded to the flood of protests. He wrote to Kenyon & Eckhardt, ad agency in charge of the program, saying the agency and the sponsor had allowed him a free hand in picking the talent, and he was sorry that some people had been "offended by the performance...of a performer whose political beliefs are a matter of public controversy."

But the matter at issue isn't beliefs...it's ACTIONS. People who object to Paul Draper aren't worried about the thoughts inside his head. They complain about the things he has DONE to assist Communist fronts.

Ford is eliminating the Draper part of the program from the rebroadcast of "Toast of the Town" Sunday night, Jan 29, in seven cities... Los Angeles, Kansas City, St Louis, Louisville, Miami, Atlanta, Schenectady.

COMMUNIST PARTY WILL HOLD LENIN RALLY IN CITY-OWNED HALL. On Feb 3 Communist Party of Wisconsin will hold "Lenin-Lincoln" rally to commemorate 26th anniversary of Lenin's death (Jan 21). The name of Lincoln (born Feb 12) is joined to Lenin's as camouflage. A typical Communist trick.

Meeting will be held in one of the halls of Milwaukee Auditorium, which is jointly owned by city of Milwaukee and a private corporation. Protests against the use of city property by Communists were made to W C Maas, manager of Milwaukee Auditorium, who reportedly answered by saying it's illegal to discriminate against ANY group in renting the auditorium. This is the usual excuse rattled off in such circumstances.

WHAT TO DO: Write to Mayor Frank P Zeidler of Milwaukee. Ask him if he, as mayor, would tolerate use of city-owned hall by Ku Klux Klan or by a Nazi party. Tell him the city of Milwaukee should bar use of its property by such organizations or by Communist Party.

Yours faithfully,

January 27, 1950

Counterattack

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FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 4-1455

Letter No. 138
January 13, 1950

Dear Subscriber:

AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE 7 TO 1 IN FAVOR OF FORCING COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS TO REGISTER. That's the report of the Gallup Poll.

And yet Mundt-Nixon Bill for registering Communist Party members and otherwise controlling the party is stymied in Congress.

This bill was drafted in 1948 by Rep Richard M Nixon of Calif, the outstanding member of House Un-American Activities Committee.

It passed the House then but didn't get out of committee in Senate. And there has been some talk about it since then but absolutely no action.

Why is this? Why is there no action when the voters are 7 to 1 in favor of the main provision of the bill?

Because there has been an organized fight AGAINST the bill but NO organized fight FOR it. The Communist Party sounded an alarm, raised huge sums of money, published lie after lie about the bill, declaring it would endanger labor unions and all liberals. And the Communists panicked many unions and liberals and even conservatives into opposing the bill.

This was the triumph of falsehood over truth. It was the triumph of strategy over confusion & ignorance. It was the triumph of ORGANIZATION.

The Communist Party launched several new fronts in 1948 to oppose Mundt-Nixon Bill. Later it merged these into one...the Natl Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill. And last year when it seemed the bill might be revived, this Communist front reopened hq in Washington, with Ex-Congressman Jerry J O'Connell in charge, and renewed its campaign.

But anti-Communists have done practically NOTHING. You yourself may be a member of more than one large organization that opposes Communism. Ask it whether it made a real effort in 1949 for the Mundt-Nixon Bill.

All these organizations have many OTHER things to do. Their anti-Communist efforts are a mere sideline.

And there isn't a single sizable organization devoted entirely to fighting the Communist Party. There are some local organizations...and some specialized ones like Common Cause (which stresses the overseas angle) and American Jewish League Against Communism. But there isn't a single big general organization that concentrates on fighting Communist Party of USA.

Main reason is that conservatives, liberals, and others in such an organization would find it hard to stick to one subject...anti-Communism... and to agree on a program. They would tend to quarrel about unions, Taft-Hartley Law, New Deal, Fair Deal, civil liberties, social security, etc.

Still this obstacle can be overcome. If some capable people with determination & tact try hard enough, such an organization can be formed.

But don't let the lack of such an organization deter you from writing NOW to your congressman and your two senators, pointing out the 7-to-1 Gallup poll, and urging them to support Mundt-Nixon Communist control bill.

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MOVIE INDUSTRY'S BAN ON INDICTED HOLLYWOOD COMMUNISTS IS AGAIN EVADED by the showing of a second movie made in England by Edward Dmytryk.

Counterattack reported Dec 16 that Director Dmytryk's first British-made movie, "Give Us This Day", was about to have its first showing in U S and would be nationally released early this year by Eagle-Lion.

Now his second movie, "The Hidden Room", has opened at Broadway Embassy Theater, NYCity. It will be released nationally in Feb by Eagle-Lion.

Dmytryk is one of the Tongue-Tied Ten, who all refused to tell Congress whether they were members of Communist Party. Two of these 10 have already been convicted of contempt of Congress. The other cases are pending.

Part of Dmytryk's Communist Party record was reported to House Un-American Activities Committee by Investigator Louis J Russell, former FBI agent. He gave numbers of Dmytryk's CP membership cards in various years.

What are movie theaters going to do about Dmytryk's two pictures?

One leading exhibitor, who has over 400 theaters in Southwest, says he doesn't care whether Dmytryk is a Communist or whether he unlawfully refused to answer questions of Congress. This big exhibitor says his decision on showing the two movies will be made without regard to Dmytryk's behavior.

And yet it was the protests of the exhibitors that forced the leading producers to ban Dmytryk and the rest of the 10 "Unfriendly Witnesses" who had obstructed the Congressional investigation of Communism in Hollywood.

The exhibitors acted in obedience to protests by movie-goers.

The producers yielded. They denied employment to the 10.

Dmytryk went to England, evaded the ban, made two movies.

But some exhibitors say they don't care whether he evaded it.

The heat is off...the public isn't protesting any more...so why should these exhibitors worry about the evasion of the industry's decision?

WHAT TO DO: Phone and/or write movie theaters in your area, even if you've already done so about Dmytryk's earlier movie, "Give Us This Day". Tell them of his second movie, "The Hidden Room". Ask them whether they intend to show these pictures, thus helping Dmytryk evade the ban which the theaters themselves forced the producers to impose on the Tongue-Tied Ten.

And ask your own organizations (unions, business, civic, veterans' groups, etc) to write and send delegations to movie theaters on this matter.

NORMAN CORWIN AND JOSE FERRER MAKE GUEST SPEECHES ON PHILHARMONIC PROGRAM ON CBS. There are many music-lovers all over the country who listen to NY Philharmonic Symphony concert on CBS, every Sunday afternoon.

During intermission there's a prominent guest speaker.

Norman Corwin, radio writer & director, was guest Jan 1. He delivered New Year's greetings to the musical world.

Jose Ferrer, actor, was guest Jan 8 and largely talked of himself.

Both Corwin & Ferrer are among top backers of Communist fronts.

Corwin & Ferrer sponsored the big Communist-front conference at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, NY, last March. This was the U S Congress of Intellectuals ("for peace"). State Dept called it a Moscow sounding-board.

During Judith Coplon's trial in Washington last year, her lawyer insisted on reading to the jury some FBI unprocessed material. Corwin was mentioned in this. Then CBS jumped to Corwin's defense, insisting he was neither a Communist nor a fellow-traveler. But CBS ignored the amazingly long list of Communist fronts which Corwin has supported. Among them are Natl Council of American-Soviet Friendship, People's Radio Foundation, Progressive Citizens of America, and American-Russian Institute.

Jose Ferrer endorsed Benj J Davis as candidate on Communist ticket. Davis is Pres of Communist Party's national paper, the Daily Worker. He's one of the 11 U S Politbureau members convicted of plotting against U S Govt.

Ferrer was a member of a committee headed by Communist Paul Robeson that supported Davis when he ran for public office in 1945.

WHAT TO DO: Write to Wm S Paley, chairman, Columbia Broadcasting System, 485 Madison Ave, NY, asking him why Norman Corwin & Jose Ferrer were honored with radio time Jan 1 & 8. Even if Philharmonic chose them, CBS shouldn't have accepted them.

And write to Chas Triller, Pres, Philharmonic Symphony Society, 113 W 57th St, NYCity, asking him the same question. Can't Philharmonic get interesting speakers who don't help Communist fronts & Communist candidates?

"WOMAN'S HOME COMPANION" TAKES PROMPT ACTION ON CLUB DISCUSSION PROGRAM. Counterattack on Dec 23 revealed that this leading magazine had "sent to women's clubs throughout the country a club discussion program that is pretty much down the Communists' alley." It included pamphlets, films, and other material issued by Communist fronts.

Counterattack pointed out that there are cunning Communists on many magazines but that whether or not the pro-Stalin slant of the Woman's Home Companion material was intentional on anyone's part or accidental, certainly the magazine itself and the Crowell-Collier Publishing Co are NOT pro-Moscow.

We suggested that our subscribers write to Thos H Beck, chairman of the board of the company, recommending corrective measures.

Chairman Beck has answered a big volume of mail on the subject with the following letter: "The material referred to in Counterattack was sent wholly without our knowledge. The person responsible has been dismissed, and we are writing all recipients requesting destruction of the material.

"You may be sure that we shall not, knowingly, ever tolerate the inclusion of any such stuff in either our magazines or letters."

Crowell-Collier has taken the right attitude...right morally and right practically. This is in contrast with the attitude of some other companies, which tend to cover up an embarrassing situation.

For example, Counterattack last year pointed out some serious faults in a forum conducted by one unit of a publishing company. Some Counterattack subscribers wrote to the head office of the firm, expressing their displeasure. Instead of frankly admitting the faults, the company delayed for months...and then it answered our subscribers, saying that conferences had been held with Counterattack and that the forum matter had been explained to the satisfaction of "everyone".

This seemed to imply that Counterattack had agreed that its report on the forum was inaccurate. But in fact it was accurate and thoroughly justified. The publishing company in question is surely NOT pro-Communist ...and Counterattack has no wish to embarrass it unnecessarily. But we stand by our report on the matter, and we believe that by printing it we have discouraged a repetition of the faults we pointed out.

Crowell-Collier, on the contrary, took direct & sensible action. Recognizing the justice of Counterattack's report on the club discussion program sent out by the Woman's Home Companion, Chairman Beck made an immediate inquiry, removed the person responsible, and said so to all inquirers.

Counterattack's subscribers can take credit, in this case as in many others, for contributing to a quick corrective action against Communism.

SOME OF THE HOTTEST BATTLES AFFECTING UNITED ELECTRICAL WORKERS are taking place in Chicago. The UE has received some sharp blows there from employers and also from former party-liners.

Stewart-Warner Corp has begun its own purge of Communists. Every employee whom it suspects of Communism is required to sign a non-Communist affidavit. A number of UE leaders at the main plant have refused and all have been fired. Stewart-Warner explains that it has taken this action because the Defense Dept has laid down the policy of denying defense contracts to any company employing Communist Party members or pro-Communists.

One UE official quit UE and quit Communist Party at the same time last week. He's Lee Lundgren, who resigned as field representative of Local 1150, which represents employees in 14 Chicago companies.

Attorney Irving Krane, business manager of Local 1150, resigned that office. Krane had long been a supporter of Ernest De Maio, Pres of UE District 11 (including Wis, Minn, and nearly all of Illinois). Krane charged that DeMaio and the Communist Party controlled the local.

Communist Party Member Lundgren, in resigning from the party and the union, declared that in 1945 he had been "recruited into the Communist Party by Pat Amato, Pres of Local 1150".

But Pat Amato lately signed a non-Communist affidavit, so as to get his local accepted by Natl Labor Relations Bd.

And the Sunbeam Corp, one of the 14 companies where Local 1150 represents the employees, last week denounced the NLRB for accepting the non-Communist affidavits of the Local 1150 officers. Asking that a recent election which was won by the local be set aside, Sunbeam Corp declares NLRB "insists on admitting the Trojan horse of Communism into American factories".

NLRB should act at once. Plenty of proof is available to show that Local 1150 is Communist-run. It should lose its NLRB standing without delay.

DEP'T OF JUSTICE DEMANDS THAT CONGRESS OF AMERICAN WOMEN REGISTER AS FOREIGN AGENT, under Foreign Agents Registration Act. Communist Muriel Draper, Pres of Congress of American Women (and mother of Paul Draper, the tap dancer) virtuously denies the outfit is a foreign agent. As a result of the Dept of Justice demand, the front asserts it has disaffiliated from the Women's International Democratic Federation. This is Stalin's world-wide women's front, a women's auxiliary of the Cominform.

But in fact the Congress of American Women will continue to act as an agent of Moscow. There are some other fronts that are similarly tied up with international fronts in particular fields. Dept of Justice should get after all of them under Foreign Agents Registration Act. But in addition Congress should pass Mundt-Nixon Bill, to control CP and its fronts.

WHAT CAN YOU DO TO BEAT THE COMMUNISTS? You and your organizations should take action in favor of compulsory registration of Communist Party members (see P 1)...and should write to movie theaters about the Dmytryk evasion of the industry's ban (P 2)...and to Columbia Broadcasting System and Philharmonic Symphony about Norman Corwin and Jose Ferrer (P 3).

Yours faithfully,

January 13, 1950

Counterattack

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FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 4-1458

Letter No. 131
November 25, 1949

Dear Subscriber:

COMMUNISTS TAKE OFFENSIVE AGAINST UNITED STATES ALL ALONG THE LINE, both abroad and here. This country is acting like a big, strong fighter who contents himself with counter-punching. It's an absurd & dangerous action.

Arrests of Angus Ward and four members of his staff in Communist China, and of Robt A Vogeler, American official of International Telephone & Telegraph Co, in Communist Hungary, have all been part of a pattern.

Americans are swallowed up in Communist countries and the U S Govt asks about them and gets a blank look. Some of these Americans are worthy citizens. There are others who have records of service in Stalin's spy rings. But even in these latter cases, the U S for its own protection must at least know what has happened to such persons. Yet the Communist authorities merely stall or pretend the missing Americans left the country.

Our Govt shows many signs of planning to recognize Communist China after a preliminary period of dignified hesitation. Communist China is using the Stalin technique of punching the other fellow hard and scaring him so that he'll be grateful when the Communists let up on him a little. The jailing of Angus Ward was that kind of attack on morale of our Govt. It's pitiful that the U S should apparently be weakened under this treatment.

Owen Lattimore is one of the people who've just been consulted by State Dept on what our policy should be in Asia. Owen Lattimore was a top brain-truster for State Dept when it was taking the great steps that weakened the Chinese Nationalists and paved the way for Communist victory.

Lattimore traveled with Vice-Pres Henry Wallace to China and Soviet Asia in 1944 and is understood to have had a large hand in writing Wallace's secret report, which strongly affected our Chinese policy.

Lattimore was on Exec Committee of Institute of Pacific Relations during the crucial war years and afterwards, when it showed a sharp pro-Communist bias. One of his fellow members of Exec Committee was Communist Frederick Vanderbilt Field. Lattimore & Field had also been on editorial board of the magazine "Amerasia", which was involved in court proceedings in 1945 after secret State Dept documents were found in its office. Communist Field lately wrote an article in Daily Worker praising Communist China.

Vishinsky is almost continually taking the offensive in U N...and he affects public opinion the world over. How often do you see the name of former Sen Warren Austin in headlines, compared with Vishinsky's? Yet both Vishinsky & Austin are only obeying orders of their Govts. Vishinsky isn't nearly as important in Soviet Russia as Sec'y Acheson is here. Acheson has power to frame a U S policy for taking initiative in U N. Why doesn't he?

Stalin will stage a "peace congress" in THIS country Dec 3-5. It will be under auspices of Natl Council of American-Soviet Friendship. Stalin is on the offensive in our OWN country. WE aren't on offensive anywhere.

Here's what British Minister of State Hector O'Neil says at U N:

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"The USSR conception, dogma, of Govt is that war is inevitable and military superiority is a necessity. It is against that background that we have to ask ourselves why the warmonger has become so interested in peace.

"It is against that background that we have got to explain to ourselves why instructions are sent out that 'peace congresses' should be held in Wroclaw, New York, Paris, Prague, Stockholm, Moscow, Mexico City, Helsinki, Peiping, Rome, London, and Brussels."

Why must we let Stalin be the one who organizes "congresses" in the sacred name of peace? Why have we let the warmonger grab the "peace" issue?

Why hasn't the U S inspired the holding of GENUINE peace congresses in many countries, proving that the real threat of war comes from the Kremlin?

And why hasn't U S taken other steps, like arranging ANTI-SLAVERY congresses in many countries, to dramatize the fact that Stalin Russia holds more slaves than any country ever did before in entire history of world?

Many former slaves of Stalin can be called as witnesses, to pile up the truth so high in the world spotlight that the world will believe it.

Why doesn't the U S stop counter-punching and take the offensive?

COMMUNISTS' LAWYERS PUBLICLY URGE PRESSURE ON U. S. SUPREME COURT. The two chief lawyers for the 11 U S Politbureau members in Communist conspiracy trial were and are Richard Gladstein & Harry Sacher. These two drew the stiffest of all the sentences that Judge Medina imposed on the Communists' lawyers for repeated contempt. They both got six months.

Richard Gladstein, San Francisco lawyer, has spoken pretty bluntly at a meeting of Los Angeles chapter of a Communist front, Natl Lawyers Guild.

"It would be a mistake to think the Supreme Court will reverse this decision (conviction of Communist leaders) on the basis of cold law alone," he said. A reversal will come "only if it is shown that the thinking of the American people is sufficiently strong to support it." In other words, as he said, lawyers & the public should protest...and Supreme Court will hear.

And Harry Sacher speaks in the same way. Communist Party quotes his comment on the lawyers' contempt cases. "Appeal from the lawyers' conviction is set for Dec 12," says the CP. "Sacher expressed confidence that the American people will not permit the verdict to stand."

This means the Communists have taken the offensive against Supreme Court, just as Stalin takes the offensive against our State Dept.

AND VINCENT HALLINAN, LAWYER FOR HARRY BRIDGES, USES SAME TACTICS that drew national attention in Communist conspiracy trial.

Vincent Hallinan succeeded Richard Gladstein, who had to withdraw as Bridges' chief lawyer because Judge Medina sentenced him for contempt. Bridges is charged with perjury in getting his citizenship papers, and two other officers of International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union are on trial with him for conspiring to defeat naturalization laws.

And at once a new Judge Medina appeared, in the person of Federal Judge Geo B Harris. For Vincent Hallinan repeatedly disobeyed orders of the judge. And Communist Party immediately denounced Judge Harris for rebuking Hallinan. In accordance with regular Communist practice of standing the truth on its head, the CP misstated the facts in this way: "Harry Bridges' lawyers are getting the now notorious 'Judge Medina treatment'."

In fact Judge Harris was getting the treatment Judge Medina got.

And it's essentially the same treatment the State Dept gets.

All the world over it's the same thing. Why should we be surprised?

But Judge Harris did something about it this week. Unlike the State Dept, he answered the offensive with a counter-offensive. He gave Hallinan a six-month jail sentence for contempt, to be served at end of trial.

COMMUNISTS MAY LOSE CONTROL OF FURNITURE UNION...BUT THEIR NINE OTHER CIO UNIONS STAND PAT. Ten CIO unions have been slated for expulsion (besides the two expelled during recent convention). Now one of these 10 shows signs of yielding to Philip Murray's demands so as to stay in CIO.

This one union is United Furniture Workers.

Communists have more strength in the nine other unions than in Furniture. This union has been run by a COALITION of the Communists and a group headed by Pres Morris Pizer.

Pizer is a former member of CP. He broke with it during Stalin-Hitler Pact, but kept on playing ball with it in union affairs.

He differed from the party early in 1948 on question of filing with NLRB. He wanted the union to file. But Communists licked him on that issue, and he didn't persist. They changed their minds last May (along with leaders of most party-line unions). So Furniture filed with NLRB. And Max Perlow, the union's Secy-Treas, announced he was resigning from CP to sign non-Communist affidavit. But he said he still believed in CP's ideas.

And Pres Morris Pizer and the Communists remained strong allies.

But now he surrenders to Philip Murray, because he thinks the union will be weakened by raids if it leaves CIO. This isn't true of all party-line unions. Pizer announces he'll do his best to make Furniture follow CIO policy. No more support of Stalin's foreign policy, etc.

But Communists fight Pres Pizer on this new plan. Sec'y-Treas Max Perlow and Organization Director Ernest Marsh publicly oppose the surrender.

Whether or not the Communists win this fight, they're stronger in the nine other unions and are better able to maintain an anti-CIO line there.

IT TOOK A LOT OF FIGHTING BY ANTI-COMMUNISTS IN SCREEN WRITERS GUILD TO WIN ANNUAL ELECTION. Results of voting were announced last week. Communists lost for third straight time. Anti-Communists elected whole slate.

Albert Maltz was the party-liners' key man in the race. He's one of the 10 Hollywood Communists indicted for refusing to tell Congress whether they are CP members. He ran for Exec Bd of the Guild.

Michael Blankfort, former writer for Communist Party's Daily Worker, was a candidate for Vice-President and was also defeated.

But Maltz & Blankfort drew large votes, despite or perhaps BECAUSE of the fact that their political records are widely known in the Guild.

The truth is that Stalin still has a strong appeal to many practitioners of the arts and the quasi-arts in this country, particularly writers ...and this is exceptionally true among writers for movies.

Therefore such anti-Communist leaders as Allen Rivkin had to campaign hard to get out the vote and to dissuade many unstable, timorous or confused members from yielding to the Communists' persuasions.

One weakness of anti-Communists in Screen Writers Guild is that some of them fear the Guild will be hurt unless they cover up the substantial amount of Communist power in its membership.

But they can't cover that up without hampering their own fight. For the confused or faint-hearted members of the Guild, the undecided members, won't vote anti-Communist unless the public wants them to. Other

things being equal, they tend to respond to public pressure. It was because of public pressure that most of the undecided members voted against the Communists in the recent election. The public is the great ally of the anti-Communists in the Screen Writers Guild.

So the anti-Communists should now make one paramount decision: that they'll expose the Communists not only in internal Guild discussions but in public statements...that they'll brand them PUBLICLY as reactionaries & warmongers, who are helping Stalin to prepare a Third World War.

By taking the offensive in this way and by publicly naming many Red Fascists, the anti-Communists can build up strength for next year's election.

NBC NEEDS TO TAKE A LOOK AT SOME OF THE PEOPLE IN ITS OWN YARD. Last Sunday, Nov 20, NBC broadcast a play, "In Henry's Backyard."

Peter Lyon wrote it. Counterattack reported July 1 that Peter Lyon has backed many Communist fronts, some of which we named...and he has even been listed as a supporter of Communist Party's May Day parade.

Tom Glazer was featured as a folk singer in the show. Tom Glazer has an unmistakable record in Communist fronts. He was a star of People's Songs, a front that dissolved early this year because of money troubles but has been continued under other names. The top-flight CP front, Natl Council of American-Soviet Friendship, held a big mass meeting last Dec 13, with the British "Red Dean", Rev Hewlett Johnson, as a speaker. Tom Glazer wrote the new text for a Bach chorale on the program. Glazer is also author of a song dedicated to Stalin's World Federation of Trade Unions. Yet NBC chose Tom Glazer to sing on its program at opening of baseball season this year. And it featured him in Peter Lyon's play last Sunday.

And there was also Dr Gene Weltfish of Columbia University. She wasn't on the program personally...but Peter Lyon based his play on a book by two anthropologists...the late Ruth Benedict & Gene Weltfish. Dr Weltfish is one of the brighter stars of Communist fronts.

Various people have urged Gen Eisenhower, as Pres of Columbia, to dismiss her. But he has sent answers, usually through a subordinate, to the effect that Columbia hasn't any evidence she's actually a member of Communist Party. It's true she hasn't announced herself as a member. But until lately she was Pres of CP's women's front, Congress of American Women. And now she is its honorary Pres. And the number of fronts she has supported is so large they can't be listed here.

NBC has been less hospitable to Communists and to backers of fronts than most of its competitors. Even so it doesn't do a really good job of barring them. The Lyon-Glazer-Weltfish program is an example.

WHAT CAN YOU DO TO BEAT THE COMMUNISTS? You and your organizations (unions, business & civic groups, etc) can write to Sec'y of State Dean Acheson, Washington, DC, urging the U S to go on the offensive in the world propaganda campaign...for example, by encouraging genuine Peace Congresses and Anti-Slavery Congresses here & abroad...and in general to take the initiative away from imperialist, warmongering Stalin Russia. See pp 1 & 2.

Yours faithfully,

November 25, 1949

Counterattack

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REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 4-1458

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Letter No. 127
October 28, 1949

Dear Subscriber:

NOW COMES THE FATAL WEEK FOR COMMUNISTS IN CIO. Now in the convention in Cleveland, beginning Oct 31, Philip Murray will get overwhelming support for a crushing crackdown. Though Communists know this is coming, they can't be sure of details, and especially of answers to following questions:

What combination of methods will Murray use to bounce them out of CIO? Communists know some of his moves and are trying to limit the injury to themselves. How can they exit from CIO most impressively? How can they best put blame on Murray & Co? How can they take their members with them?

Murray is to blame...so members of party-line unions should follow their Communist leaders out of CIO...that's the theme the Communists will emphasize all through the convention and in the later months of struggle.

And that's the theme the Communist & fellow-traveling press is emphasizing right now, to prepare minds of unionists and the pro-labor public.

There's a series of articles this week in Daily Worker, Communist Party's national newspaper, putting the blame for the split on Murray.

There's been a similar series in Natl Guardian, unofficial weekly publication of "Progressive" or Commugressive Party.

And there's the same kind of series by Edwin S Smith, of all people, in the unofficial Commugressive national daily newspaper, The Compass... which is published by Ted O Thackrey, with financial backing of Mrs Emmons Blaine (Anita McCormick Blaine), 83-year-old Chicago harvester heiress.

Edwin S Smith is the former member of NLRB who has been named as a Communist Party member by Louis F Budenz, the one-time managing editor of Daily Worker. When Smith was a member of Natl Labor Relations Bd, its Sec'y and chief administrator was Nathan Witt, who has been identified by Whittaker Chambers as the leader of the Communist underground cells in Washington. Witt is now a law partner of Lee Pressman, also identified by Chambers. Pressman was general counsel of CIO till Murray began purge of Communists.

Edwin S Smith, during Stalin-Hitler Pact, openly denounced foreign policy of his own chief, Pres Roosevelt. So FDR didn't rename him to NLRB.

Smith was later director of Natl Council of American-Soviet Friendship, and after that he headed another Communist front.

And this is the man chosen by Ted O Thackrey to write a series of articles in The Compass rehashing all the arguments the Communists have been making so as to take largest possible number of union members out of CIO.

"'COME LIVE WITH US,' SAID GIMBELS TO THE BOOK FIND CLUB." That's the opening line of a big ad by one of biggest department stores in the country, Gimbel's of NY. In an ad that fills half a newspaper page, Gimbel's exultantly announces its delight at arranging a deal so that "now you can buy all the wonderful Book Find books right at easy-to-get-to Gimbels."

Department stores in a number of cities may be invited by Book Find

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Club to tie up with it, if the deal with Gimbel's is financially successful. And Book Find Club is now using mailing list of Natl Guardian, Commugressive national weekly, to send sales letters to readers all over U S.

Book Find Club was named by Counterattack in its very first issue, May 16, 1947. This club is outstanding among other book clubs because of large proportion of party-line books it sells to its members. Along with these are some "neutral" books that either don't follow the party line or do so to only a small degree. Authors of these books are often party-liners.

Gimbel's in its big ad names "The Crusaders" by Stefan Heym as one of the Book Find Club books that can be bought by Gimbel customers. "The Crusaders" has been warmly applauded by Communist press, as Counterattack reported Dec 3, 1948 (p 4). When Ted O Thackrey started The Compass last May, he at once began running "The Crusaders" serially. Its author, Stefan Heym, is a long-time supporter of Communist fronts, such as the fake "peace" congress at Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, NY, last March.

Among the other "wonderful Book Find books" have been these:

"The American" and "Freedom Road", by Communist Howard Fast... "Stalin Must Have Peace", a fluent message of appeasement by Edgar Snow... "Fear, War and the Bomb", by Prof P M S Blackett, British fellow-traveling scientist who supports Stalin in the dispute on atomic energy..."North Star Country", by Meridel LeSueur, writer for Daily Worker..."The Situation in Asia", by Owen Lattimore, backer of various Communist fronts and long a defender of the Chinese Communists..."The Cross and the Arrow", by Albert Maltz, Hollywood screenwriter under indictment for refusing to tell Congress whether he's a Communist Party member...and "A Mask for Privilege", by Carey McWilliams, party-liner who denounced Roosevelt during Stalin-Hitler Pact.

Geo Braziller is founder & head of Book Find Club. First group of employees he hired were Communist Party members & sympathizers. The club's publication, Book Find News, has listed a number of Communists as "close friends" of the club.

A frank & excellent article on Book Find Club, by Norbert Muhlen, was published in Oct 15 issue of New Leader, liberal-labor weekly which opposes all totalitarianism (7 E 15th St, NYCity...10¢ a copy). Maybe nobody at Gimbel's saw this article. Anyhow a few days later Gimbel's came out with its half-page ad happily announcing the deal with Book Find Club.

Bernard F Gimbel, Pres of Gimbel Bros, is nationally known as a merchant and a sports enthusiast (he was long a backer of Gene Tunney). Apparently he's much less familiar with Communist techniques...despite a long and sad experience with a store union local under CP control. From his office in Herald Sq, NYCity, he supervises a huge business, including Gimbel Bros stores in Phila, Pittsburgh & Milwaukee. One of the things he might well consider is whether those stores, too, should tie up with Book Find Club.

COUNTERATTACK'S ANALYSIS PROVIDES BASIS FOR GOV'T ARGUMENT AGAINST BAIL FOR COMMUNIST LEADERS. After Gerhart Eisler jumped his $23,500 bail and fled to Europe, Counterattack analyzed the comment in Communist Party's press and got conclusive proof that the CP favored what Eisler had done. CP never said in so many words, "We're glad he jumped bail"...but in a number of ways it said practically the same thing.

Counterattack published the results of this analysis May 20 & June 3. We declared June 3 that the Communist Party is "a bail-jumping party" and that the 11 U S Politbureau members on trial for plotting against the

Govt should be locked up at once. In "the Communist Party's official paper, the Daily Worker," as Counterattack reported, the CP had "repeatedly applauded Gerhart Eisler's action in jumping bail."

U S District Atty John F X McGohey based his argument on this analysis when he opposed bail for the 11 conspirators after their conviction. Pointing to Gerhart Eisler's flight, he declared that "these men, in their official organ the Daily Worker, applauded the act."

O John Rogge, as a new defense lawyer, argued that these men are unlike the fugitive Eisler, because they "have roots in this country", so they're unlikely to skip bail. Fact is that three of them are in midst of deportation proceedings right now. Expecting to be deported anyway, what would keep them from jumping the country now to escape a prison term?

And if Eugene Dennis and the other 10 "have roots in this country", what does Rogge say about PAUL WALSH? Didn't he have roots too? "Paul Walsh" is the name Frank Waldron assumed when he got a passport in 1930 and fled the country to avoid doing six months in a Los Angeles jail for rioting. When he came back from Moscow, China, etc, he took the name "Eugene Dennis".

Bail-Jumper Waldron, alias Walsh, alias Dennis, and the other 10 should all stay in jail, as Judge Medina ruled. Judges in higher courts to whom appeal is made should take a good look at CP's bail-jumping record.

WHAT TO DO: Write letters to newspapers or see to it that letters are written, giving facts on bail question, to offset CP's false propaganda.

BIGGEST PROPAGANDA DRIVE IN C.P.'S HISTORY IS NOW UNDER WAY, TO FREE THE 11 LEADERS. Millions of leaflets are being distributed in streets, at shop gates, etc...radio time and big newspaper ads are being bought... pamphlets and a complete book are being published...all to give American people a brazenly UNTRUE story of trial of the 11 U S Politbureau members.

Gifts of $63,400 have already been pledged to CP defense fund, to be paid by Nov 1. And campaign has just begun. A fund of "hundreds of thousands of dollars" is being raised as fast as possible. Some poor, misguided rank-and-file CP members or supporters are giving up their entire savings in response to cleverly emotional appeals from party Hq.

30 DEMOCRATIC LEADERS IN CALIFORNIA PUBLICLY ASK TRUMAN TO DROP ENTIRE PROSECUTION OF COMMUNIST CONSPIRATORS. Several of these petitioners are members of Los Angeles County Democratic Central Committee, others of Alameda County committee, and some of Democratic State Central Committee. Counterattack on Aug 12 gave facts to show big Communist strength on Los Angeles committee, and urged Truman and other national Democratic Party leaders to take corrective action against this infiltration.

RAY LEV, CONCERT PIANIST, RUNS FOR OFFICE ON COMMUGRESSIVE TICKET. For years one of leading party-liners in world of art has been Ray Lev, pianist who has been soloist with Philharmonic Symphony, the St Louis and Indianapolis symphonies, and other important concert companies.

Ray Lev has played in England under royal auspices. She played at White House for Pres & Mrs Roosevelt and members of Congress. And yet she has long been signing so many party-line statements, and has been sponsoring or speaking at or playing the piano at so many Communist affairs, that no veteran Communist could be expected to do more.

A mere summary of her party-line activities would run into half a dozen pages. Here are a very few of the high spots:

Marched in May Day Parade, controlled by Communist Party.
Participant, "Salute to Young America", held under auspices of American Youth for Democracy (formerly Young Communist League).
Sponsor, U S Congress of Intellectuals for "peace" (at Waldorf-Astoria Hotel last March), which State Dept called a Moscow sounding-board.
Sponsor, Testimonial dinner for Rep Vito Marcantonio.
Signer of petition for pardon for Communist Perjurer Morris U Schappes.
Member, Citizens Committee for Robt Thompson & Benj J Davis, CP nominees for office. Both are among the convicted 11.
Speaker, Testimonial Dinner for Benj J Davis.
Joined with Paul Robeson in a concert for benefit of Natl Council of American-Soviet Friendship, and another concert for benefit of United Public Workers of America (CIO), a Communist-controlled union.

That's enough to give you an idea. And now Ray Lev is Commugressive candidate for City Council in NY at Nov 8 election. She doesn't call herself a Communist in this campaign. Just says she's progressive.

FORD'S TELEVISION PROGRAM WILL PRESENT MARSHA HUNT & JUDY HOLLIDAY next Friday. They'll be stars Nov 4 on Ford Television Theater (CBS-TV).

Marsha Hunt ran for Recording Sec'y of Screen Actors Guild two years ago but was defeated. The anti-Communist group won most of the contests in that election and it's still in control. Marsha Hunt has supported various activities promoted by Progressive Citizens of America, Committee for the First Amendment, and All Arts Stop Censorship Committee.

She spoke at a meeting with Communists Lester Cole, Dalton Trumbo, and Albert Maltz, according to a Calif legislative committee. The meeting was in honor of these three screenwriters and the other Hollywood witnesses who refused to tell Congress whether they are members of Communist Party.

Judy Holliday has backed many CP fronts, conferences, etc, such as:

Civil Rights Congress, legal defense arm of Communist Party.
"Progressive" or Commugressive Party.
People's Songs.
Council on African Affairs.
Stop Censorship Committee.
Message of Greetings to Moscow Art Theater on 50th anniversary last November. (This once-great theater has degenerated. The message was prepared not as an artistic act but as a political one.)
U S Congress of Intellectuals (for "peace").
American Committee for Spanish Freedom. She led one of its picket lines.
World Federation of Democratic Youth.
Veterans of Abraham Lincoln Brigade (two of the 11 convicted CP leaders are members of this front).

Please don't assume that Judy Holliday really pretends to know a great deal about Africa, Spain, the Russian theater, the world, progress, democracy, intellectualism, or peace. But she has shown that she's ready to sign statements, lead a picket line, etc, when asked by party-liners.

Yours faithfully,

October 28, 1949

Counterattack

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FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 4-1458

PLEASE RETURN TO
CBS REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

Letter No. 122
September 23, 1949

Dear Subscriber:

MAIL FOR "LABOR PEACE CONFERENCE" IS SENT FROM COMMUNIST PARTY HQ. Ever since Spring the CP has been organizing a so-called Natl Labor Conference for Peace. This is to be held in Chicago Oct 1 & 2 (Counterattack Aug 26 p 3). The hq of the conference is at 179 W Washington St, Chicago.

But now Counterattack learns that some mail which bears the name of the Natl Labor Conference for Peace, at the above address, has really been sent out from the Illinois District Hq of the Communist Party, in Chicago.

It was mailed by a Communist front, the Chicago Committee for Progressive Railroad Labor Legislation. This committee has its office in Hq of CP's Illinois District. The committee has circulated its mailing list with letters urging railroad union locals to send delegates to the Natl Labor Conference for Peace. But the letters bear the name & address of the "peace" conference, not of the committee or of the Communist Party.

Unionists who get this mail haven't any way of knowing its origin.

THE ORDER TO HOLD A "NATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE FOR PEACE" WAS MADE IN MOSCOW. It came to the U S Communists through Stalin's World Federation of Trade Unions. Moscow had decided that intellectuals' congresses for "peace" were not enough...that unions must get into the act. So for half a year the CP unionists here have been arranging the October conference.

The Communists want the State Dept to admit a delegate to the "peace" conference from the WFTU (World Federation of Trade Unions). He's a Frenchman, Michel Quatrepointe, who has been named by the French General Confederation of Workers. A Russian from the Soviet trade unions would have been even better...but it was a pretty safe bet that the State Dept wouldn't let him in. So the WFTU's next most important member, the French labor federation, was picked to send a man to the Chicago conference.

And now Natl Labor Conference for Peace has wired the State Dept urging it to approve the application of Delegate Michel Quatrepointe for a visa. Of course Delegate Quatrepointe should be kept out. The U S Communists and their stooges & dupes will make plenty of appeasement oratory in the Chicago conference. There's no need to let the WFTU send a French delegate here to cut loose with another deceptive speech attacking the U S.

COMMUNISTS FIGHT TO CONTROL NATIONAL FARMERS UNION. Although its chief strongholds are in Middle West, the Natl Farmers Union is active in most of the country, from one coast to the other. It's an organization of small farmers. And it has long been deeply infiltrated by the Communists.

Even the non-Communists in the leadership have tended to let the Communists have their way on many questions. For example, the Board of Directors voted unanimously this month to oppose any step by the U S to help any country rearm itself for defense against Stalin Russia.

Now there's a bitter fight between Communists and non-Communists for control of Farmers Union. The struggle will be fought in some state

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conventions this fall...and later in the national convention. And the important Minnesota, Iowa & Wis divisions of FU are in the thick of the fighting.

Pres Einar Kuivinen of the Minn division is praised by the Communists as a "progressive". And they denounce the biggest Farmers Union wholesale cooperative, Farmers Union Grain Terminal Assn, for cutting off its gift of an educational fund to the Minnesota division.

Communists are angry at Sen Hubert Humphrey of Minn and at Americans for Democratic Action, of which he's national chairman. They blame Humphrey and ADA for fighting to unseat Pres Einar Kuivinen.

Fred Stover, the Iowa president, was a speaker last week at the convention of the Communist-controlled Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, CIO.

Stover is also a leader in the Communist-run Midwest Farmer Labor Alliance. This was formed in a conference in Davenport, Ia, in June.

Wisconsin division of Farmers Union is strongly anti-Communist, under leadership of Pres Kenneth Hones. Communists call him a "red-baiter" and they're sabotaging the state division, to reduce its members & income.

The struggle in the Farmers Union mustn't be allowed to end in a compromise. Any compromise can only be temporary. Farmers Union will have no peace & no chance of big progress till it expels its Communist members.

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION IN GREATEST MUNICIPAL PUBLIC LIBRARY IN U. S. has been exposed by American Jewish League Against Communism. Its chairman, Alfred Kohlberg, has written to Morris Hadley, Pres of NY Public Library, citing facts about two men:

One is Communist Perjurer Morris U Schappes. He has written a long serial article for a publication issued by the library.

The other man is Dr Joshua Bloch, chief of Jewish division of the library. For years he has been a backer of Communist fronts.

Importance of matter is increased by high standing of the library trustees, some of whom have national reputations. Among them are Henry Bruere, banker...Pres Harry Woodburn Chase of NYUniversity...Sen John Foster Dulles...Roy E Larsen, Pres of Time magazine...Newbold Morris, Republican, Liberal & Fusion nominee for mayor...Francis Cardinal Spellman...and Myron C Taylor, former U S Steel chairman and now Pres Truman's emissary to Vatican.

These men direct the greatest library in U S, except for Library of Congress and Harvard Library. NY Public Library is run under a double system. Circulation Dept and all circulation branches are controlled and financed by NYCity. But main library, with its great reading rooms and vast stocks of books for students & research workers, is controlled by the trustees.

Now here are the facts that these trustees must consider:

Morris U Schappes, Communist Party member and convicted perjurer, is author of a 68-page article in three issues of library Bulletin. The Bulletin has a wide circulation in the main library and more than 60 branches.

Schappes served a term in Sing Sing for perjury as a result of a legislative investigation of City College, where he was a teacher. He lied to conceal identities of many other faculty members who also belonged to Communist Party. Since his release from prison he has been a functionary of Communist Party, teaching in its schools and writing for its publications.

Why was Communist Schappes accepted as a writer for the library Bulletin? As is often true in such cases, he was recommended.

The man who recommended him is Dr Joshua Bloch, chief of Jewish Division of the library. Chairman Kohlberg of American Jewish League Against Communism points out that Dr Bloch has long been a supporter of Communist fronts. One of these is the School of Jewish Studies. This is on the Dept of Justice list of fronts. Communist Schappes is on faculty of the same school. Dr Bloch was also a sponsor of the U S Congress of Intellectuals (for "peace"), at Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, which State Dept denounced.

Not only Dr Bloch himself but whole staff of his division should be investigated, says Chairman Kohlberg.

But the library director, Ralph A Beals, refuses an investigation. He says it isn't necessary. He praises Dr Joshua Bloch for his "integrity". He says he can't control "the outside conduct" of the staff, "so long as they are law-abiding citizens." In other words, it doesn't matter if they support Communist fronts. Presumably, then, the same rule would apply if they supported Fascist organizations. Or would it?

The library director also defends Communist Schappes' long article in the library Bulletin. He asserts it's scholarly, impartial...not slanted. Would Director Beals publish an article by an avowed Nazi or by someone like Gerald L K Smith, on the ground that it wasn't slanted?

Evidently Director Beals doesn't understand how a Communist can slant an article. The fact is that Communist Schappes' article is a clever, indirect plug for such fronts as CP's fraternal insurance society, the International Workers Order. Also, as Kohlberg says, "the linking of his name with the NY Public Library gives Schappes the prestige which Communist leaders sorely need." And it harms the library, even if Beals doesn't admit it.

The leading citizens who are trustees of the great library should correct Director Beals. He is taking the usual conservative, rigid position of many administrators in Govt, libraries, universities, and even business when the subject of Communist infiltration in their staffs is first mentioned. They just don't believe it's possible. "Absurd!" they say stiffly. "Preposterous!" So they stand pat. At least they try to.

The trustees should see to it that Director Beals doesn't stand pat very long. They should order a thorough inquiry into Communist infiltration.

ASSOCIATED PRESS DISTRIBUTES A WHITEWASH OF HOLLYWOOD COMMUNISTS. Last week the A P sent its members an article which was more interesting than most, and which cost the A P nothing. The publicity department of Metro Goldwyn Mayer was doubtless glad to prepare it. The article was written, or at least signed, by Allen Rivkin, a screenwriter who has written dozens of movies, including "The Farmer's Daughter" and MGM's forthcoming "Tension".

In this article Rivkin knocks down some arguments against Hollywood. He does it by the familiar device of relating a conversation. This device is often effective, regardless of whether such a conversation ever really took place. Anyway, Allen Rivkin says a friend of his, a rich manufacturer from Syracuse, NY, came to Hollywood, and they talked things over.

"Aren't all Hollywood writers Reds?" the visitor asks nonsensically.

Of course the true answer is No. But Rivkin makes it stronger.

"No, all Hollywood writers are not Reds," he says. "There are 1200 writers in the Screen Writers' Guild. Maybe one or two of them are Reds."

One or two? Allen Rivkin wouldn't fool the newspaper readers, would he? What about all those screenwriters who were questioned by the

House Committee on Un-American Activities in Oct 1947...and the Communist Party card of every one of them was produced by a committee investigator?

Now let's return to Screenwriter Rivkin's tale. He writes:

"But what about 'The Unfriendly Ten'? our inquisitor asked. The Supreme Court, I answered, will have the opportunity to clear the air on that question."

That's a thoroughly misleading answer. The Supreme Court won't have any opportunity at all to deal with the question, namely, whether those 10 witnesses are Communists. It will only decide whether House committee had the right to ASK them the question...which they all refused to answer.

And those 10 were only the beginning. There were many more "unfriendly witnesses" who were never questioned at all...because Hollywood turned on a terrific heat of denunciation against the committee, and this was echoed by many newspapers and radio commentators...and so the committee dropped its examination in the middle. There are a great many more Communists in Hollywood, besides those 10 who were called to the stand.

The Associated Press and Metro Goldwyn Mayer, in this article signed by Allen Rivkin, have given newspaper readers the impression that even those 10 defiant witnesses aren't Communists and that "maybe one or two" of all the Hollywood screenwriters are Communists...and that all the talk about Communist power in Hollywood is wildly exaggerated & imaginary.

That's a misleading story, a whitewash...and the Associated Press ought to counterbalance it by sending out a truthful article on the Hollywood situation, written by one of the able anti-Communist screenwriters who are now out of work because they went to Washington and testified about Communists in Hollywood, when the industry was trying to hush the truth up.

MILLARD LAMPELL, LEADER IN COMMUNIST FRONTS, USES THE U N PROGRAM ON NBC NETWORK to express some of his views. Counterattack on Aug 12, pp 3 & 4, named some of the many Communist causes that Lampell has promoted.

A play written by Lampell was presented by United Nations last Sunday, Sept 18, as one of its six weekly U N documentary programs on NBC.

It was an extremely clever play. Again & again, in subtle, indirect ways, Lampell planted certain ideas in the minds of the listeners. For example, the CP's national newspaper, the Daily Worker, warmly praises the "splendid sequence in which Werner (the hero) cries out against the rebuilding of the Nazi war machine in Germany, and exclaims, 'Three years from the end of a war to stop Fascism — and we come to this!'"

Yes, that's a splendid sequence, all right. Brilliant. It comes just before the end of the show...so the listeners won't forget it. By tremendously exaggerating the importance of the Nazis in Germany today, Lampell dramatically leaves in the listeners' minds this vivid conviction: the U S is now on the side of Fascism.

Lampell doesn't SAY that. No. He doesn't have to. He knows how to suggest it vividly without saying it.

NBC asserts it has no responsibility for this program. It says only U N is responsible. But you might write to Pres Niles Trammell, NBC, Rockefeller Center, NYCity, and ask him how NBC can shift responsibility.

Yours faithfully,

September 23, 1949

Counterattack

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PLEASE RETURN TO
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Letter No. 119
September 2, 1949

Dear Subscriber:

COMMUNISTS PREPARE ALIBI FOR THE COMING SPLIT IN CIO. In order to take as many members as possible out with them, they've been holding a series of regional conferences "on Autonomy and Democracy". First there was a conference in Chicago some time ago. There have been others since in other regions, from Pacific to Atlantic. Purpose of these conferences is to maintain morale, calculate strength of opposing sides, improve tactics, and cook up a persuasive story to sell to the union members back home.

Main theme is to put blame for split on Philip Murray and the other anti-Communist leaders, such as Walter Reuther of Auto and Emil Rieve of Textile. Communists know the members don't want to leave CIO. Members fear a change...they want stability. And they aren't pro-Communist. And most of them are attached to the name "CIO". In their eyes it has color & appeal.

So the Communists are trying to rob CIO of this color. They're saying the CIO has degenerated...it was marvelous in its beginning, when they played a big part in organizing it...but now it's about as malodorous as the AFL was then. And they assert they and their unions now play the same role that the original CIO unions did in its early days. Here's what CP says:

"Just as some 10 unions who in 1935 formed the Committee for Industrial Organization to advance industrial unionism and organization of unorganized WITHIN THE AFL were expelled, so an approximately like number of unions with about a like number of members, are facing expulsion now from the CIO." (It isn't a like number of members...it's much less.) "The CIO is fast taking on the image of the AFL of 1935," says CP.

The Communists intend to stick to their story of expulsion, not secession. No matter what may be the exact circumstances of their leaving CIO, they'll insist they were expelled by degenerated, bureaucratized leaders.

The struggle will reach its climax in CIO convention, beginning in Cleveland Oct 31. There the Communists will fight & finagle for role of martyrs. They'll dramatize themselves as true militants of early CIO vintage, persecuted by AFL-minded bureaucrats. And on that basis, if they leave CIO, they'll try to take largest possible number of members with them.

WHAT WAR VETERANS SHOULD AND WHAT THEY SHOULDN'T DO IN OPPOSING COMMUNISTS has been made plain repeatedly by responsible spokesmen for some ...but not all...veterans' organizations. On Feb 11 Counterattack quoted Karl Baarslag, staff member of American Legion's National Americanism Commission (and author of "Communist Trade Union Trickery Exposed"). He said the duty of Legionnaires is to study the Communist problem thoroughly and to support sound measures against the Communists.

"No Legionnaire and no private citizen enjoys any police or investigative authority," said Baarslag. "The American Legion is not a self-appointed vigilante organization nor is it a Federal Bureau of Investigation. We cannot take the law into our own hands, no matter how provocative the

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situation. To do so would be to degrade the Legion to the level of the Communists or to that of Hitler's Brownshirts."

That policy is a sensible, lawful, and moral one for any veterans' organization. But it was violated last week by several hundred members of the Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Catholic War Veterans, and Jewish War Veterans who unlawfully blocked traffic on a side road near Peekskill, NY, and prevented people from entering or leaving the picnic grounds where Communist Paul Robeson was to sing & speak for the benefit of a Communist front.

There was rioting, a number of people were hurt, some cars were overturned, the picnic grounds were invaded, the platform and some benches were set afire, and someone burned a small wooden cross, in Ku Klux Klan fashion...although there has been NO evidence to link the cross with the Klan, which doesn't seem to exist in the area.

It is contended that much of the rioting was done by non-veterans. And there are suggestions that Communists deliberately provoked violence or committed it at some stage of the incident, and may have burned the cross themselves. All this may be true. Certainly the Communists make a practice of provoking violence, in order to pose as martyrs. But that doesn't alter the essential fact: there would have been no riot if members of some veterans' organizations hadn't broken the law in the first place.

The fact that Communists often break the law by obstructing meetings of other organizations is no excuse for the veterans' doing the same. To behave in that way, as Legionnaire Baarslag said, would be to degrade veterans' organizations to the level of the Communists or Hitler's Brownshirts.

It is the right and duty of veterans to urge owners of property not to rent it to Communist Fifth Columnists. But nobody, and not even the Govt, has the right to prevent a meeting by physical obstruction. On the contrary, it's the duty of the Govt to protect even Communists in their Constitutional rights. At the same time it's the duty of the Govt to protect the people as a whole against the Communists. It should do that through a strong law against the Communist Party and Communist fronts. And veterans should fight the Communists by demanding that Congress enact such a law.

WHAT'S THE REASON FOR THE PROTEST of Roy Wilkins, acting Sec'y of Natl Assn for the Advancement of Colored People, against the riot at the Robeson concert? Wilkins is hated by the Communists...they denounce him often in their meetings and their press. Yet as a high officer of the greatest mass organization of Negroes, he is protesting in behalf of civil liberties in general and in defense of the rights of Paul Robeson, a Negro, in particular. But there's much more to it than that.

Though the concert was to be given by People's Artists, a Communist entertainment front, it was intended to raise money for Harlem branch of Civil Rights Congress, a top Communist front. And the Harlem branch is mainly Negro. This means that many of the people arranging the concert and many of the visitors were Negroes. Some of these visitors weren't pro-Communists...they were simply Negroes who lived in the Peekskill area or were vacationing there and who wanted to hear Paul Robeson sing. But even those who were Communists had as much right as anyone else to attend the concert.

It should have been plain to the local leaders of the veterans' organizations who planned a "demonstration" against the concert that the physical obstruction of the road and of the entrance to the picnic grounds

would bring a large crowd of white veterans into conflict with many Negroes. They should have considered the possibility of a major race riot. What actually happened was bad enough. But it could have been much more tragic.

Suppose several Negroes had been killed in the riot. Then there would have been deep grief and indignation on the part of immense numbers of people, both white and black. But in addition what a windfall for the Communists! They would have capitalized on it all through the country and all over the world. It would have won them many recruits and sympathizers among Negroes and even among whites. It would have been featured in Communist propaganda for a dozen years or perhaps much longer.

We should be thankful things didn't turn out as badly as that. But they were bad enough. They have brought the CP an enormous gain.

The inexperienced local leaders who arranged the "demonstration" had no idea that they were amateurs going up against the craftiest professionals in the field of politics & propaganda. The Communist Party has already begun to use the Peekskill riot for the following purposes:

To make people believe the U S is on the road to Fascism.

To whip up enthusiasm for Robeson's friend & comrade, Benj J Davis, one of the defendants in the Communist conspiracy trial, and to get him the votes he needs in his present campaign for reelection to NYCity Council.

To raise money and win moral support for defense in that trial.

To spread the idea that any restriction of Communists is a threat to the civil liberties of ALL the people...and thus perhaps to influence some Supreme Court justices, who are sensitive to the climate of opinion... and who will rule on the appeal of the CP leaders if they are convicted.

To fight the revised Mundt-Nixon bill and other anti-CP legislation.

In all these aims, and more, the CP has been helped by the riot.

NOW HERE ARE TWO THINGS VETERANS' ORGANIZATIONS CAN DO TO BEAT THE COMMUNISTS. One is largely negative (but necessary), the other is positive.

1. Prepare and put in the hands of every member a simple pamphlet showing him how violence ALWAYS plays into the hands of Communists, who are experts in violence, knowing how to use it themselves and how to gain from its use by others. Communists, or Red Fascists, and their friendly competitors, the other Fascists and the Klan and similar outfits, are the only ones who can benefit by violence. Everybody else loses. ALWAYS.

2. Put on a real campaign for the revised Mundt-Nixon bill, now known in Senate as Mundt-Ferguson-Johnston bill. Isn't it strange that at a time when most veterans are eagerly anti-Communist, not a single veterans' organization appears to be making a nation-wide drive for the best anti-Communist bill in Congress? The national leaders of these organizations should really STUDY the bill (S. 2311) and tell their members about it, in simple terms...and should especially show it does NOT violate civil liberties. And the veterans' organizations should promote a rank-and-file demand in every state and Congressional district for passage of this bill. In this constructive way the veterans can really hit the Communists hard.

RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION REFUSES TO OUST COMMUNIST FRONT. Rabbi Benjamin Schultz, Exec Director of American Jewish League Against Communism, recently told House Un-American Activities Committee of an unusual situation. Communist Party has a fraternal insurance society, International Workers Order (IWO). This is on Atty General's list of CP fronts. In Los Angeles the

IWO is affiliated with the Jewish Community Council, which is a combination of the leading Jewish organizations there.

Rabbi Schultz explained that the Los Angeles Jewish Community Council is one of the few such councils in the country where the IWO is accepted.

Since he gave his testimony, a new and strong effort has been made to oust IWO from the Council. But it has failed...the IWO stays in. Reason: the Council leaders fear "dissension" at this time, when the Council is raising money for United Jewish Appeal and for local causes. Most Los Angeles Jews don't know that any Communist front is a part of the Council. When they find it out, they'll speak up and you can expect the IWO to be ousted.

HERE'S HOW COMMUNISTS ARE PUSHING THEIR BOYCOTT OF RADIO SPONSORS as reprisal for firing of Wm M Sweets, who was director of "Gangbusters" and "Counterspy" programs. Sweets doesn't deny he's a Communist Party member.

Use of chain letters in the boycott was reported by Counterattack Aug 19. Now the boycott has been taken up in Hollywood, where it's being pressed vigorously. And the CP's national newspaper, Daily Worker, tells its readers of the Hollywood method...and urges them to use it.

The boycotter's first step is to notify in writing all grocers, liquor stores, and filling stations with which he trades that he'll stop trading with them until they stop selling Pepsi-Cola (sponsor of Counterspy). Also he notifies grocers he won't trade with them "until they cease giving prominent display to advertising & products of General Foods (Gangbusters)."

Next, he urges friends & acquaintances to write similar letters at once and to notify the two sponsors and their agents of this action.

It's necessary to act NOW, according to the Daily Worker, because "the campaign around Sweets is approaching a climax and won't wait for your action and your letter some other time." Letters are to be written to:

General Foods Corp, 250 Park Ave, NY (sponsor of "Gangbusters").

Pepsi-Cola, Inc, 3 W 57 St, NY (sponsor of "Counterspy").

Phillips H Lord, Inc, 501 Madison Ave, NY, the radio "package" firm that produces the two shows and was Sweets' employer.

Young & Rubicam, 285 Madison Ave, NY, ad agency for General Foods.

Biow Co, 9 Rockefeller Plaza, NY, agency for Pepsi-Cola.

WHAT TO DO: If you or your family see any signs of this boycott in any place where you trade, apply counter-pressure at once. The nature of this counter-pressure will depend on the circumstances. At any rate it should be strong enough to offset what CP is doing.

And take time NOW or as soon as you can to write each of the five firms named above, urging them to stand fast against Communist tactics. And tell them where you trade and what you've done to counteract the CP pressure. Ask them to notify you if any of these stores or filling stations begin yielding to the Red Fascist boycott.

The Sweets case is regarded by Communists as a test. If they can force reinstatement of Sweets, they expect to be able to prevent the dropping of any party-liners. Anti-Communists should accept the challenge of the Sweets case and should get busy at once to fight the Communist boycott.

Yours faithfully,

September 2, 1949

Counterattack

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COUNTERATTACK

REG U S PAT OFF

FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 4-1458

PLEASE RETURN TO
CBS REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

Letter No. 117
August 19, 1949

Dear Subscriber:

COMMUNISTS START BOYCOTT OF TWO BIG RADIO SPONSORS, TO PUNISH THEM FOR ALLEGEDLY FIRING A PARTY-LINER...and to warn other sponsors not to do the same. This scare scheme was launched at meeting of two Communist fronts.

Wm M Sweets, who was dropped as director of General Foods' "Gangbusters" and Pepsi-Cola's "Counterspy", was chief speaker. Sweets doesn't deny he's a Communist Party member. Counterattack in its July 22 issue gave part of his history. He resigned presidency of Radio & Television Directors Guild last fall after refusing to sign non-Communist affidavit.

The two fronts that ran the meeting are: Voice of Freedom Committee, which claims it has 2000 "monitors" who listen to programs and put pressure on sponsors, networks & stations...and Radio-Television Division of Natl Council of Arts, Sciences & Professions, top Communist "cultural" front.

Sweets denounced Counterattack for its exposures of conditions in radio. He said he had been fired because he had sponsored a "peace" conference and other "progressive" activities (all Communist-controlled).

Despite all assertions that Sweets has been "blacklisted", he admitted that there seems to be no actual blacklist. As Counterattack has pointed out, the only known blacklist is the one the Communists use when they get control of a program. Then anti-Communists are barred from work.

Millard Lampell, radio & movie writer, whose party-line record was disclosed by Counterattack last week, was chairman of meeting. Lampell is now writing a script for United Nations, which NBC will broadcast free.

Lampell announced the boycott plan when he called on the audience to take out pencil and paper and write down the name and address of Phillips H Lord, Inc, the radio "package" firm that produces the Gangbusters and Counterspy programs. Lampell instructed his listeners to write to Phillips Lord saying they aren't going to drink Pepsi-Cola or eat General Foods products until the blacklist (alleged) is dropped.

Also he instructed them to start chain letters. Each of them is to make 14 copies of his letter to Phillips H Lord, and send them to 14 friends, urging each friend to write similarly to Lord and to make 14 copies.

And he indicated the League of Women Shoppers may support the campaign. This is a CP front, with long experience in pro-Communist boycotts.

Elliott Sullivan, actor, held up July 22 issue of Counterattack and denounced it. He made a collection speech to finance a "fact" sheet to "counterattack Counterattack". Sullivan has backed some of CP's top fronts.

Hester Sondergaard, actress, and sister of Actress Gale Sondergaard, also spoke. Gale is wife of Herbert Biberman, screenwriter now under indictment for contempt of Congress. Hester drew a parallel between the so-called radio "blacklist" and the case of the 10 Hollywood Communists who were barred from employment in movie industry after refusing to tell Congress

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whether they were CP members. One of these is her brother-in-law Biberman. Hester Sondergaard is now wife of Hugh DeLacy, former Seattle congressman who has been identified in legislative hearings as a CP member. He now heads up "Progressive" or Commugressive Party organization in Ohio.

Other speakers were Communist Chas A Collins, John T McManus, and Actor Paul Mann. Collins, vice-chairman of Voice of Freedom Committee, is a leader in Communist-led wing of AFL Hotel & Restaurant union.

McManus is manager of unofficial Commugressive weekly, Natl Guardian. He was a leader in Communist caucus that used to run Amer Newspaper Guild.

Paul Mann in his speech denied Norman Corwin is pro-Communist. Mann once starred in a radio show that Corwin wrote for Natl Council of American-Soviet Friendship. Corwin, now a radio writer & director for U N, sent greetings to meeting. So did Peter Lyon, CBS writer (Counterattack July 1).

Adelaide Klein, actress, another backer of CP fronts, was an approving member of the audience. She has acted on "Gangbusters", which Wm M Sweets used to direct. Clearly she hasn't suffered from any alleged "blacklist"...for on Aug 14, three days after the protest meeting in behalf of Sweets, she played in Philco's "Summer Playhouse", on NBC television network.

Now what should General Foods and Pepsi-Cola do about Communists' boycott threats? And what should other sponsors and the radio industry do?

And you, as a member of the general public...what should YOU do?

The answer to all these questions is to fight the Communists vigorously. Never be scared into appeasing them. In the present case they're largely bluffing...the CP has too many court troubles now to spare the time and energy for a really damaging boycott. But even if it could do so, that would be all the more reason for pounding away at CP to lessen its power.

"Communists and Communist sympathizers have no place on our air," declares the radio magazine, "Broadcasting", this week. "Radio memories would be short indeed to forget the performances of the Lord Haw-Haws, the Axis Sallies and the Tokyo Roses. Or the armed guards around station transmitters and the 'No Admittance' signs at studios; the bans on audience participations and Man-on-the-Street pickups.

"Can you conceive of anyone more potent when an emergency strikes than the man at the mike -- the network mike? That should be sufficient to guide broadcast management in the screening of personnel."

Stations & networks & sponsors & agencies should all be alert to bar the Red Fascists. And you, even if you're not connected with radio, should still be interested enough to protest whenever you learn of a Communist or fellow-traveler on radio...ESPECIALLY on any sponsored program.

COMMUNISTS OVERJOYED WHEN JUDGE SAYS GOV'T CAN'T REGULATE THEM. This week the Communist Fifth Column got biggest encouragement in a long time. A judge ruled against the strongest, most carefully drawn anti-Communist law in the country...the Ober Law, in Maryland.

Both the states and the U S Govt are powerless to do anything practical against Fifth Column, if decision of Judge Joseph Sherbow in Baltimore Circuit Court is sustained. He says in effect the Federal Constitution ties Congress and state legislatures hand & foot. But his decision is being appealed...and anti-Communists needn't be disheartened.

Many able lawyers predict a majority of U S Supreme Court will in the end take realistic view of Communist problem. But if Supreme Court and highest state courts should eventually construe the Federal and state

constitutions so as to protect the Fifth Column, those constitutions will have to be amended. For the Communist Fifth Column must be crushed.

Some remarkable statements in Judge Sherbow's decision will strike all students of Communist problem as far-fetched. For example he harks back to the ancient argument that a member of a party doesn't necessarily support its full program. True as this is of an ordinary party, it's flatly UNTRUE of CP, which is built on military lines. DISCIPLINE is the keynote. "Violation of decisions...may be punished...by expulsion," says CP constitution.

AND IT'S TIME THAT NOT ONLY JUDGES BUT SOME OF OUR BIG NEWSPAPERS woke up to the facts of life. For example, a great newspaper, of international fame, whose opinions are often copied by many other newspapers all over U S, has applauded Judge Sherbow's decision...and this is what it has to say. First, it's against "thought control". Well, the Ober Law doesn't control thought...it controls ACTIONS. Next, the newspaper misinterprets the Ober Law and shows it hasn't even read it, by making this comment:

"The Maryland law...provides heavy fines and prison sentences for belonging to organizations held to be subversive....Mere membership in an organization found by state authority to be 'subversive' — which normally means following the Communist line — is hardly in a class with conspiracy to overthrow the Government by violence."

That sounds plausible to anyone who hasn't read the Ober Law. A man shouldn't be jailed just because he belongs to an ordinary Communist front...to some organization "found by state authority" (such as a state Atty General) to be subversive. That would be too harsh a penalty.

BUT the provision really applies to CP members...NOT members of fronts. And the Ober Law provides that a "subversive organization" shall be found to be such by a COURT AFTER TRIAL...NOT by a "state authority" acting without trial. And the court shall order such an organization to dissolve.

Also the Ober Law DEFINES what "subversive organization" means. It does NOT mean merely "following the Communist line". A "subversive organization" is one that engages in or teaches any activities intended to overthrow the Federal, state or local Govt by force. This definition fits the CP.

Members of such an organization...meaning the CP...are all to get trials, entirely separate from the trial of CP itself. And they are to be punished precisely because they ARE engaged in a conspiracy to overthrow Govt by violence. That's what Ober Law provides. It's a law that should be understood by every newspaper in the country. Get copies of it by writing to Dept of Legislative Reference, State House, Annapolis, Md. And take a copy to the editor of every newspaper in your town and ask him to read it.

LOOK AT THE COMMUNIST LABOR LEADERS RUSHING TO SIGN NON-COMMUNIST AFFIDAVITS. They're nearly all flocking to file with NLRB now...Jas J Matles & Julius Emspak of United Electrical...Maurice Travis of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers...Donald Henderson of Food, Tobacco & Agricultural.

Counterattack predicted July 29 that United Electrical Workers (UE) would soon file. And this week Pres Albert J Fitzgerald of UE said its national officers will sign affidavits after next month's UE convention. But he didn't indicate what method will be used by the Communist boss of UE, Jas J Matles, director of organization, and his Number 2 man, Sec-Treas Julius Emspak ("Comrade Juniper"). Will they switch to appointive jobs, and put trusty henchmen in as national officers, who will sign the affidavits? Or will they themselves sign...and announce that they've quit the CP?

Maurice Travis, Communist Sec-Treas of CIO Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, this week used the "I'm Signing With Tears in My Eyes" technique that was invented recently by Max Perlow, Sec-Treas of United Furniture Workers (CIO). Travis announced that he has reluctantly resigned from Communist Party but will keep on fighting for Communist goals.

Donald Henderson has harpooned himself in a comedy of errors. As Counterattack reported July 29, Henderson had used the Communist trick of formally resigning the presidency of Food, Tobacco, Agricultural & Allied Workers of America, CIO, and immediately getting himself appointed to a newly created job, Natl Administrative Director. A subordinate, John Tisa, became acting president and signed a non-Communist affidavit.

BUT...Henderson was a little too confident. His Exec Bd tipped a broad wink to the members. It told them Henderson's appointment to his new post "well assures our members of his continued service as a leader". Trouble was the NLRB caught the wink too. It wanted to know what difference there would be between Henderson's old duties as president and his new duties in his appointive job. It said Henderson still seemed to be an officer, and it demanded an affidavit from him or a satisfactory explanation. Otherwise the union wouldn't get on the ballot in some pending elections.

Henderson frantically tried to get elections postponed while the union lawyers fixed up a new way to de-officerize him satisfactorily. But NLRB refused postponement. So, rather than keep the union off the ballot in the important elections, Henderson came through with an affidavit.

And in order to do that, he had to announce his resignation from CP. That was what he had been trying to avoid by giving up title of union president. For years he hadn't even been admitting he was a CP member.

Now he'll have to watch his step...like Perlow and Travis and the others. Now he has to avoid any conduct that may show "affiliation" with CP...otherwise he may be jugged for signing affidavit falsely. He wouldn't have to be so extra careful if he hadn't made the mistake of issuing that statement, through his board, boasting he would continue as a "leader".

Moral: Avoid overconfidence, even if you're a Communist.

HERE'S WHAT ONE MAN DID TO BLOCK THE COMMUNISTS. Bernard Hartnett recently became a member of Jersey City Board of Education. A small group of spray painters had lately joined United Public Workers, CIO, in order to bargain with the school board. Hartnett at once declared that UPW was Communist-led. What's more, he collected the facts about UPW from a responsible source, and he submitted those facts at a board meeting. Quick result: The painters quit UPW and made another, non-Communist CIO connection.

WHAT TO DO: Does UPW or any other Communist-controlled union have any dealings with your local or state Govt? If so, talk with public officials and offer to submit facts about Communist control (unless the union local in the case is already definitely anti-Communist, fighting against the national officers). See what effective use YOU can make of facts. If you need helpful information, ask Counterattack.

Yours faithfully,

August 19, 1949

Counterattack

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COUNTERATTACK

REG. U. S. PAT. OFF

FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 4-1458

Letter No. 116
August 12, 1949

Dear Subscriber:

COMMUNIST PARTY DESPERATELY GIVES TOP PRIORITY TO ITS DRIVE AGAINST TRIAL OF ITS LEADERS. The 11 U S Politbureau members in Federal Judge Medina's courtroom are scared. Three of them are in jail for contempt. All of them have seen the judge suddenly begin to crack down on the stalling methods of defense lawyers. The way things are now going, the trial may be over before Thanksgiving. This prospect frightens the CP.

For the defendants are afraid they'll be convicted...and they'll have to take C P underground. So they have reacted strongly.

First, they've begun an intensified campaign to "Free the Three". That's the slogan they're using. The three defendants in jail for duration of trial are Henry Winston, Gus Hall, Gilbert Green.

"Free the Three"...how? By some legal steps? No, by renewed pressure on Judge Medina and Dept of Justice. By telegrams & letters to Medina and Truman. By picketing the courthouse. By sending delegations from near and far to try to see the judge. By stirring up a nation-wide agitation.

The freeing of "the Three" would be only the first step. It would be an enormous psychological victory, making a deep impression on the public and the jury, and helping to acquit all 11 defendants.

"No other issue is more immediate or important," says U S Politbureau in a directive that requires "every member of the Communist Party to make the freeing of the three comrades...your main concentration right now."

The defendants openly call for pressure on the judge. They make no bones about this in their directive, which says bluntly:

"All possible organizations must be urged to send delegations to Judge Medina. Wires should be sent by masses of people to Pres Truman...and to Judge Medina....In all districts civic leaders, attorneys, ministers, youth, women, and especially leaders of the Negro people, should...speak out, demanding Henry Winston's immediate release, along with his two comrades."

And the defendants openly abuse the judge, through their newspaper, the Daily Worker. Defendant John Gates is its editor, and Defendant Benj J Davis is its president. In news stories and editorials, the Daily Worker fantastically misrepresents the trial and the judge's conduct. It calls him "surly", "ill-tempered", "insulting", "irascible". It says he "sneered", "snapped", "bristled", "growled"...he "reached the very depths of his evil repertoire of judicial wrath to find the stinging insults."

Spurred on by such wild distortions of the facts, Communists and their sympathizers throughout the country are agitating in their places of work and at meetings of unions and other organizations, collecting money to defend the CP leaders, and offering resolutions of protest.

This week the defense suddenly unloosed a new maneuver to delay the trial. Like some other maneuvers, it involves an appeal to Negroes, and to

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vast numbers of unionists and others who strongly want a square deal for Negroes. Alleged sickness of Henry Winston is given as a reason for delay.

Winston, Natl Organization Sec'y of CP, is a Negro. He's one of the three defendants in jail for contempt. To start the campaign to "Free the Three", the CP designated last week as Free Winston Week. Why Winston? Why not Hall or Green, who are also in jail? Because they aren't Negroes.

"Free Winston Week" was only the first step in the carefully staged drama. This week the defense suddenly asserted Winston had a severe heart ailment. Judge Medina cancelled the court session and had Winston examined by a U S Public Health Service physician. When the trial was resumed, the judge said the medical examination had disclosed that Winston's heart was normal "except for an occasional extra beat, which is not significant."

Yet later in the day the defense won a short recess because Winston was "feeling weak". And the Daily Worker blasted Medina in a front-page editorial, "Winston's Life Endangered", asserting that his health had "been dangerously undermined by...brutal imprisonment" and that Judge Medina was arrogantly anti-Negro. Said the Daily Worker: "Meetings must be organized over the week-end. The telegrams to Medina must be redoubled. Let the cry for Winston's freedom go up across the land!"

COMMUNIST-LED OFFICE UNION TAKES LICKINGS IN INSURANCE ELECTIONS. United Office & Professional Workers of America (UOPWA) is one of the CIO unions that Philip Murray has blamed for failing to organize its field. Now it's in even worse shape than when he rebuked it at last year's CIO convention. UOPWA's insurance division isn't a total wreck, but it lost an NLRB election at Prudential Insurance Co recently, and it has suffered a partial beating in elections at Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.

An AFL union took UOPWA's biggest insurance contract away from it in a run-off election at Prudential, where UOPWA represented 14,000 industrial insurance agents. AFL union is Natl Federation of Insurance Agents.

The AFL union won by stressing Communist control of UOPWA. And the company many months ago published a 20-page booklet with photostats of signatures of Pres Jas H Durkin and other UOPWA officers on CP nominating petitions, and with other information of a similar kind. (Counterattack issued a special report on UOPWA in July, 1947, proving CP control of the union.)

UOPWA has lost some of the contracts it formerly had with Metropolitan...and may lose more. Ten separate elections among Metropolitan agents gave these results: UOPWA won in Greater NYCity and NJ. "No union" won in Ill, Mich, Ind. There will be run-offs between UOPWA and "no union" in Ohio, Penna, Mass, Rhode Island...and between AFL and "no union" in Conn.

Metropolitan will probably fight UOPWA in court. Months ago it demanded that UOPWA's non-Communist affidavits be thrown out by NLRB, on grounds of inadequacy and fraud.

UOPWA's only important consolation in this period of loss is that it lately renewed its contract with John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Co. But the total defeat at Prudential and the partial defeat at Metropolitan may lead the way to eventual elimination of UOPWA from the insurance field.

MYSTERY OF HENRY WALLACE'S MISSING REPORT should be investigated by Congress. There are men who used to be in State Dept who say Vice-Pres Wallace wrote a report for Pres Roosevelt after visiting China & Soviet Asia in 1944. And they say U S policy on China was largely based on his report.

But now the State Dept says it knows nothing about it.

In regard to China, the State Dept last week ran up the White Flag ...and called it a White Paper. It's a document of surrender. Theme: Stalin has got China and there's nothing we can do about it.

Although this queer, defeatist document is over 1000 pages long, it's mainly notable for what it OMITS. You won't find Wallace's report in it. Instead, on p 549, there's this note: "The files of the Department do not contain any indication of the existence of a report in written form made by Mr Wallace to Pres Roosevelt or of the nature of any oral report made."

Interesting if true.

Even more interesting if NOT true.

Congress should investigate. It should call Patrick J Hurley, former ambassador to China, and other ex-officials and ask them what they know of Wallace's report...and whether they were told U S policy was based on it.

And where are the reports from MacArthur? China is part of his command. He has sent reports to Washington on China. Where are they?

And where are the missing reports from Hurley? He sent some of his top assistants home from China because they were working against his policy and trying to help the Communists. They are liberally represented in the alibi White Paper. But there's relatively little from Hurley. Why is this?

The White Flag, or White Paper, needs explanation...largely because of what it omits. And it's the job of Congress to compel that explanation.

GOV'T VS. GOV'T IN CASE OF PHILIP C. JESSUP. The White Paper was prepared by the same State Dept officials who insisted for years that Chiang Kai-shek should form a coalition Govt with the Communists. Final editorship of the paper is said to have been done by a man who largely aided that policy from outside the Govt. He's Prof Philip C Jessup of Columbia University, now on leave to serve the State Dept as Ambassador at Large.

Ambassador Jessup was a character witness for Alger Hiss in the recent trial for perjury during espionage investigation. Jessup gave his testimony by deposition. And although he's a high Govt official, the Govt cross-examined him about his own connection with pro-Communist organizations.

He sponsored a dinner of American Russian Institute, which is on Dept of Justice list of Communist fronts. He sponsored Natl Emergency Conference (1939) and Natl Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights (1940), both Communist fronts. He held the chairmanship and other high offices in Institute of Pacific Relations, which in 1943 fired the first shot in campaign against Chiang Kai-shek and in favor of Chinese Communists. The Institute declared "Communist China" should be called "Democratic China".

The man who backed that astounding idea, and whose own affiliations were lately questioned by one Govt department (Justice), is in high favor with another Govt department (State). And he's head of the new three-man board to invent a new U S policy on Asia, based on the White Flag paper.

This means that the same men and the same State Dept policies that have brought the U S to terrible danger in Asia are still in control.

MILLARD LAMPELL AND NORMAN CORWIN ARE RADIO WRITERS FOR U. N. There's been a lot of dispute lately about the United Nations. Its officials deny it is a shelter or cover for Communists and pro-Communists. Even though some of the charges against U N are exaggerated, the facts are plain that U N has employed some American citizens despite their glaring records as supporters of Communist fronts and other Communist projects.

Norman Corwin and Millard Lampell are shining examples. Corwin

has joined staff of U N Radio, and will supervise a series of documentary programs on NBC, beginning Sept 11. (NBC says it has no responsibility for this, as it can't interfere with U N's choice of personnel. But if NBC will think the matter over, it will see it can't shirk responsibility.)

Norman Corwin's record as a supporter of Communist fronts was given in some detail by Counterattack on June 10 and July 1, as well as on previous occasions. The record of Millard Lampell is less well known.

Millard Lampell is a radio & movie writer, 30 years old. He is co-author of a series of documentary U N programs that were originally broadcast by American Broadcasting Co on Saturday afternoons, and are now being rebroadcast Saturday nights. Lampell is also doing part of the writing on the new U N series on NBC, which will begin Sept 11.

Millard Lampell became co-chairman with Communist Benj J Davis of a Communist front, the Committee to Aid the Fighting South, which was formed two years ago. Davis is president of the Daily Worker. As a U S Politbureau member, he's one of the 11 defendants in the Communist conspiracy trial.

Lampell can't pull the old excuse that he didn't know the Committee to Aid the Fighting South was a Communist front. He became co-chairman with one of the top CP leaders in the country. That fact speaks for itself.

Lampell was Sec'y of the Communist-controlled Duncan-Paris Post of American Legion, which lost its charter when Legion leaders got wise to it. They had issued a charter without knowing that one of the two men after whom the post was named, Gregor Duncan, was a CP member, a Daily Worker employee.

Lampell has also supported the following CP fronts, all of which are on the Dept of Justice list: Civil Rights Congress...Natl Committee to Win the Peace...United Negro & Allied Veterans...People's Radio Foundation ...Jefferson School of Social Science.

And all this only scratches the surface of Millard Lampell's record. It's a record even more convincing, in some ways, than Norman Corwin's.

Now what does U N propose to do about this? Evidently it isn't going to revise its procedures drastically, in imitation of the U S Govt Loyalty program. It isn't going to ask pointblank: "Millard Lampell, are you a member of the Communist Party?" But when a man's record is as conspicuous as Lampell's, when a man is co-chairman of a Communist front with Communist Leader Benj J Davis, is U N going to continue to shrug its shoulders?

WHAT TO DO: Write Sec'y Dean Acheson, State Dept, Washington, DC, citing above facts, and urging him to tell U N that the U S objects to its employment of American citizens who are Communists or Communist-fronters.

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF LOS ANGELES COUNTY DEMOCRATIC CENTRAL COMMITTEE has been evident a long time. One of its latest manifestations is adoption of a resolution urging Congress to defeat the revised Mundt-Nixon bill (which would force registration of CP and its members, and would otherwise control Communist activities). In a number of ways the Communists have repeatedly shown their strength in the Los Angeles County Democratic Central Committee. This is a scandalous situation, and it's one that Pres Truman and other national Democratic Party leaders should do something about.

Yours faithfully,

August 12, 1949

Counterattack

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REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 4-1458

Letter No. 110
July 1, 1949

Dear Subscriber:

COMMUNISTS REJOICE AS NEW LABOR BILL IS KILLED AND TAFT-HARTLEY ACT REMAINS. That's exactly what they've been aiming at. That's why Communist-controlled unions held a national "emergency conference" in Washington last Sunday, June 26, "for complete repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law and the re-enactment of the Wagner Act without amendments."

Of course they knew they couldn't get what they formally asked. It was either a compromise or nothing. They preferred NOTHING. Therefore they used the time-honored strategy of demanding EVERYTHING.

There are two main reasons for the way the Communists acted:

1. Non-Communist affidavit provision. This wasn't in Wagner Act. It's in Taft-Hartley. And it was sure to be retained in any compromise. Not being able to get rid of it, the Communists preferred to keep it as part of Taft-Hartley Law, bearing Taft-Hartley stigma. They wanted to be able to curse the provision as a "reactionary, Fascist" device, an integral part of the entire hated T-H law. They didn't want to have such a provision in some new labor law that would be passed with the blessing of both CIO and AFL.

2. Communist Party was eager to put Philip Murray on the spot. Now the Communists in CIO think they can convince many union members that they've been right all along...that their "Progressive" (or Commugressive) Party is the only hope for labor, and Murray has been dead wrong.

It's true that Murray and the AFL leaders, too, were overconfident. Now the Communists expect to cash in with the old "We told you so!"

COMMUNISTS PUSH THEIR PLAN TO SMEAR AND WRECK THE FBI. They and their stooges & dupes are urging investigation of FBI...but what CP really wants is to WRECK it, as far as its work against Communist Fifth Column is concerned. FBI can continue its activities against non-Communist criminals, its investigations of bank robberies and other crimes...but it must stop all investigation of efforts to destroy the country. Says the CP, "The American people must rid the nation of the 'undercover network'."

Now the truth is that J Edgar Hoover has followed a moderate course ...that he has impressed on his agency the necessity of safeguarding the rights of the people, instead of trampling on them in the manner of a Nazi or Communist secret police. If Hoover hadn't tried hard to make the FBI an impartial Govt agency, conscientiously enforcing the law, he would have been involved in many public squabbles long ago. Even so, of course, he hasn't been able to avoid making some enemies. The Communists hate him. And there are politicians in Washington who think their side may lose votes if the embarrassing disclosures of Communist infiltration in Govt aren't stopped. Some of these politicians would like an excuse to hamstring the FBI.

WHAT TO DO: Write Pres Truman and your senators and your congressman, telling them the FBI should be encouraged to increase its investigation

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of the CP...and that any Govt action unfriendly to the FBI will be PRO-Communist in its results, no matter what its avowed purposes may be.

OUR BIGGEST CITY HAS COMMUNISTS & FELLOW-TRAVELERS ON RADIO STATION. It isn't merely a local matter, it's a national scandal when largest city in US puts CP members and other party-liners on its station, WNYC.

Oscar Brand, "the shoeless troubadour", is master of ceremonies on a folk song program on the New York municipal station every Sunday night. Brand was listed as a singer at a party given by a CP branch a few months ago. And he has openly supported Communist fronts, including such a powerful and dangerous one as Civil Rights Congress...the outfit that put up the bail for Gerhart Eisler and for the 11 U S Politbureau members now on trial for plotting against the Govt.

When a Communist front holds a presentation ceremony on the air, that's something. Recently the Young Progressives of America, which is the youth section of the Communists' Third Party, gave Oscar Brand an award. The presentation was made on Brand's WNYC program.

Woody Guthrie is typical of the Communist Party members who sing on Brand's program. Guthrie is a star of the Communists' singing & playing troupe, People's Songs, which is now being reorganized under other names.

Kenneth Spencer, who has sung at Lenin Memorial rallies and other CP functions, also sings occasionally on Oscar Brand's program.

Pete Seeger, who led the singing at Communists' Third Party convention in Phila last July that nominated Wallace for President, is one of Brand's frequent guests. Another is Lee Hays. Seeger & Hays staged a political show of "songs and topical satire" under auspices of Cultural Division of CP a few weeks ago, in honor of the Politbureau members now on trial.

Earl Robinson is "also known as Robert Earl on Communist pamphlets", according to a Congressional committee report, and he's "one of the most prominent American Communists of recent years". Robinson wrote the music of the song, "Ballad for Americans". He's another of Brand's guest stars.

Josh White, one of the top folk balladists in Communist fronts, has also appeared on Oscar Brand's program. So have Richard Dyer-Bennett, Susan Reed, Norman Atkins, Ernie Lieberman, Laura Duncan, Sonny Terry, Hallie Wood, Alan Lomax, Betty Sanders, Maxine Sullivan, and other fronters.

Oscar Brand also appears on television. He sings folk songs on some of the Americana shows on WNBT.

And now he'll sing on CBS, July 10, in a program described below.

CBS IS THE MOST SATISFYING NETWORK FOR THE COMMUNISTS. Exact degree of infiltration by Communist Party members and other Communists in CBS or any other network is hard to determine. But it's plain that NBC and Mutual are LEAST satisfactory to Communists...that American Broadcasting Co is about at halfway point between most satisfactory and least satisfactory ...and that CBS is tops as far as Communists are concerned.

Of course no network is preponderantly on CP's side. A network couldn't do that without being OPENLY pro-Communist...and in that case it would lose most of its advertisers and couldn't survive. But there's such a thing as allowing Communists & pro-Communists an exceptional amount of time on the air...and hiring writers, actors, etc, who support Communist fronts.

Communist Party praises CBS, saying: "CBS has given more leeway to progressive voices in American radio than any other network." When CP uses

the word "progressive", it means anyone or anything that is either Communist or pro-Communist or in accord with the Communist line of the moment.

CBS USES NORMAN CORWIN AND OTHER COMMUNIST-FRONTERS AS WRITERS of documentary programs. These are "fact" programs, dealing with historical and other public events. And CBS takes great pride in them. It uses them for prestige purposes. They're all unsponsored but CBS spends money freely on them, hiring talented people and giving them ample time to do their work.

For these prestige programs, surely only writers with proved anti-totalitarian records should be chosen. But note the CBS writers in 1949.

First was Shirley Graham (biographer of Communist Paul Robeson). She wrote the Jan 25 program, which was in honor of Negro History Week. There are many talented Negro writers who are non-Communist or even definitely ANTI-Communist. How come, then, that CBS picked Shirley Graham?

It isn't necessary to ask whether Shirley Graham is a member of CP. That question becomes largely irrelevant in view of her known record. She OPENLY supported CP's nominees for public office in 1946. She writes for CP's "cultural" magazine, "Masses and Mainstream". She has backed CP's May Day Parade and many Communist fronts, including U S Congress of Intellectuals (for "peace"), which was held at Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, NYCity, in March.

Arnold Perl, highly praised by Communist press, was picked by CBS to write a documentary that was broadcast Feb 2, and another that is coming in September or later. The CP's national newspaper, Daily Worker, used a full column to praise Perl when his documentary was produced. Perl was one of the speakers at the meeting last year that organized a Communist front, Stop Censorship Committee. He was also listed as sponsor of a "cultural conference" arranged by several Communist fronts.

Walter Bernstein, writer for the Communist press, was chosen by CBS to write the Feb 6 documentary. Bernstein has written for CP's "cultural" magazine, "Masses and Main Stream". He has supported CP's May Day Parade, Civil Rights Congress, Jefferson School of Social Science, and the recent U S Congress of Intellectuals. He was a leader of Duncan-Paris Post of American Legion, which lost its charter because of Communist control.

Peter Lyon, backer of many Communist fronts, wrote a documentary for CBS that was broadcast May 22. He has been listed as a supporter of the CP's May Day parade. And he was one of the faculty & advisors of "School of Political Action Techniques", which was held in 1946 by Natl Citizens Political Action Committee, a Communist front. He also sponsored another top front, Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences & Professions. In Dec 1946 these two fronts merged as Progressive Citizens of America... and Peter Lyon went on its board of directors.

He supported People's Radio Foundation, a front set up by the Communist Party to try to get an FM license. Surely CBS knows People's Radio Foundation was a front...the whole radio industry knows THAT. Yet Columbia hires Peter Lyon as one of its top writers.

Norman Corwin will be back on CBS July 10...and how the Communists are delighted! Note remarks of Voice of Freedom Committee, a pressure group that fights to put pro-Communists on the air and to keep anti-Communists off. This Communist front sent a directive lately to its "monitors"..that is, its supporters who write pressure letters and make pressure phone calls to radio stations, sponsors, etc. The directive began in capitals:

"NORMAN CORWIN IS BACK. He is writing a new documentary for CBS... Write to CBS, 485 Madison Avenue, N.Y.C., and Norman Corwin at CBS to let them know how much we have missed the Corwin Documentaries, their depth of vision, their wholesome honesty and their rare poetry. Let them know that we are looking forward to the coming broadcast."

Counterattack on June 10 gave a few facts about the raptures of the CP in 1946 when Corwin made a series of 13 broadcasts on CBS, after his "One World" global trip. CP exclaimed that Corwin's broadcasts more than met its high expectations. And Wm Z Foster himself later quoted Corwin admiringly.

Corwin has backed such fronts as American Russian Institute, Natl Council of American-Soviet Friendship, and People's Radio Foundation, which are all on Dept of Justice list of subversive organizations. When Hollywood Communists in 1947 resisted investigation of movie industry by Congress, they held a conference that dishonestly purported to be against "thought control". This conference was under auspices of a big front, Progressive Citizens of America..and Norman Corwin was keynote speaker.

CBS sprang to Corwin's defense when he was named in unprocessed FBI material which Judith Coplon's lawyer recently insisted on reading to jury. CBS said it was sure Corwin was neither a Communist nor a fellow-traveler. But CBS said nothing of the staggeringly long list of CP fronts that Corwin has supported...including U S Congress of Intellectuals, which even the cautious State Dept called a Communist sounding-board. How come that CBS presents Corwin as writer of a documentary on the work of various United Nations agencies that have indirect bearing on subject of peace? What sort of "peace" slant can be expected from a man with Corwin's record?

Lee J Cobb, star of the prize play, "Death of a Salesman", will be narrator on the Sunday, July 10, broadcast of Corwin's documentary. Cobb was listed as a sponsor of U S Congress of Intellectuals. During Stalin-Hitler Pact the records show he supported the big Communist front, American Peace Mobilization, which was then picketing the White House, calling Roosevelt a warmonger. The Daily Worker praised him last year for rejecting an important role in the anti-Communist movie, "The Iron Curtain". Cobb was a speaker at the same fake "anti-thought-control" conference in Hollywood in 1947 at which Norman Corwin made the keynote speech.

CBS picked Corwin...and Cobb...and Oscar Brand, the folksinger, who will be on Corwin program. Where does CBS get its knack of picking such persons, who at the very least are comrades of the comrades?

"DEAR COMRADE"...HERE'S A SECRET COMMUNIST PARTY DOCUMENT, now in possession of Counterattack. It's very short, very simple. It was received by a Chicago member of the CP recently. We reproduce it here exactly:

"Dear Comrade: SPRING! CLEAN UP TIME IS HERE - Your desks, files, pockets and your homes - all excess baggage to be destroyed."

It was signed "Claude" (name of an important Chicago CP'er).

Get rid of all telltale papers...that's the meaning. And similar messages, in writing or by word of mouth, have gone out all over the U S.

Yours faithfully,

July 1, 1949

Counterattack

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FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 4-1458

Letter No. 108
June 17, 1949

Dear Subscriber:

PHILIP MURRAY'S METHOD OF FORCING THE COMMUNISTS OUT OF THE CIO is made a little plainer now. In CIO convention, beginning in Cleveland Oct 31, he'll put through a Constitutional amendment to bar Communist-run unions from representation on CIO Exec Bd or its state & city councils.

If these unions are barred from the Exec Bd, they surely aren't going to stay in CIO. It's hard to imagine them paying their per capita (membership) tax to an organization in which they have no vote at the top. They may maneuver awhile in order to force Murray to THROW them out...which he doesn't want to do. He wants the Communists to go out "voluntarily"... and he'll try to hold as many of their members as possible.

CIO News this week declared Communists are NOT left-wingers. "They Don't Deserve 'Left-Wing' Title", according to a headline. The CIO paper asserts that "in many respects they're more reactionary than the Republican Old Guard and more 'right-wingish' than the Natl Assn of Mfrs." In the CIO that's cruel & inhuman language. When Philip Murray reaches point of comparing Communists to NAM, you can bet the Communists are on the way out.

WILL $52,000,000 LAWSUIT OF 10 DEFIANT HOLLYWOOD WITNESSES AGAINST MOVIE STUDIOS be affected by this week's strong decision of Federal Court of Appeals of District of Columbia? The court unanimously upheld the jail terms and fines imposed on the two leaders of the Hollywood Communists.

And the Communist Party expresses fear that this decision will influence outcome of $52,000,000 anti-trust suit filed last month against major movie companies by the same 10 men, who complain that they were blacklisted because they refused to tell House Committee on Un-American Activities whether they were Communist Party members. Idea of the suit is that if employers act together in barring Communists, they're restraining trade.

Another suit, for $61,000,000, was filed last year against major companies and two industry associations by the same plaintiffs...eight writers, one director, one producer. They charged that their rights were violated when they were barred from employment. Moreover some of them filed individual suits for many millions, alleging breach of contract.

Now Judge Bennett Champ Clark has read a strong, sweeping opinion, supported by two other judges of the Court of Appeals in Washington.

John Howard Lawson used to be Communist commissar in Hollywood. He was tried last year for contempt. A jury quickly convicted him. Then the next most important Communist among the 10, Dalton Trumbo, was tried. A jury gave him the bad news too. At that the defense lawyers decided there was no use in letting their eight other clients go through a jury trial. So it was agreed the trials should be postponed and the eight should stand or fall by the eventual decisions in the Lawson & Trumbo cases.

Thus all 10 will go to jail for a year unless an appeal is allowed and the Supreme Court upsets decision of Judge Clark and his two colleagues.

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Communist Party expresses fear that in $52,000,000 anti-trust suit by the 10 plaintiffs, the court will be influenced by Judge Clark's clear statement: "Neither Congress nor any court is required to disregard the impact of world events." It was that impact that caused the Congressional investigation of Hollywood...and the barring of the 10 defiant witnesses.

The civil suits probably won't be decided before the Supreme Court rules on the appeals of John Howard Lawson & Dalton Trumbo from their contempt convictions. It's the Supreme Court decision, not Judge Clark's decision, that may DIRECTLY influence the courts that will hear some of the civil suits. These suits are of different kinds. Some involve contracts... some don't. If Supreme Court adopts Judge Clark's line of reasoning about taking into account "the impact of world events", then the outcome of at least some of the suits brought by the Hollywood Communists may be affected.

The Clark decision should encourage House Un-American Activities Committee to renew its investigation of Hollywood. And if any actors, writers, directors, etc, refuse to say whether they are or have been CP members, it will be the duty of the major movie companies to apply the agreement they made in December, 1947, after the former investigation. They then decided that such persons should be denied employment.

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS AT LAST EXPELS TWO COMMUNIST FRONTS. Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order, which is a section of International Workers Order, was expelled by top committee of American Jewish Congress last week. Also expelled was American-Jewish Labor Council.

American Jewish Congress shouldn't be confused with American Jewish Committee, which of course has always been ANTI-Communist.

Pressure by financial contributors to United Jewish Appeal is believed to have been partly responsible for the tardy action of American Jewish Congress in expelling the two fronts. Part of the money raised by NYCity section of the Appeal is given to the congress. And some people objected, on the ground that the congress was Communist-infiltrated.

International Workers Order (IWO) is the second biggest Communist front, outranked by nothing except "Progressive" (or Commugressive) Party. IWO was put on the first list of subversive organizations issued by Atty Gen Tom Clark, in November 1947. Yet American Jewish Congress waited a year and a half before expelling the IWO's subsidiary, Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order. American Jewish Labor Council was put on Clark's list April 21 this year.

American Jewish Congress admitted all along that these outfits were CP fronts. It called them "'friendly' and affiliate organizations" of CP.

The expulsions aren't based on charges of Communism. Both fronts are thrown out on charges that their national legislative program differs in some minor ways from program of Amer Jewish Congress...also that they duplicated the congress's work by setting up the Joint Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism. Counterattack exposed this on Apr 1 as a Communist front.

There's no doubt the American Jewish Congress's action does reflect the growing anti-Communist sentiment in the country, even though this wasn't stated in the formal charges. The congress has begun at long last to clean house. It has a lot of work ahead of it. Communists dominate Los Angeles section of the congress. They're also strong but not to the same degree in NY & Chicago as well as some other places. One of the Detroit chapters, in which Communists were powerful, was lately dissolved by the national office.

Communists will fight in the convention of the congress next fall to upset the expulsions and to prevent the further actions necessary to do a

good house-cleaning job and to regain for American Jewish Congress the esteem in which it was held until 1945, before it accepted Red Fascists.

ACTION BY U. S. GOV'T AND LABOR IS NEEDED IN HAWAII. For six weeks the Hawaiian Islands have been suffering from a creeping paralysis, because of a strike controlled by Communist Party. Two thousand longshoremen, members of International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, CIO, have stopped work...and the result has been such a slashing of Hawaii's supplies that all business has been affected and many employees have been laid off.

The same union, with Harry Bridges as president, has organized the workers in the sugar & pineapple industries, the heart of Hawaiian economy. In direct charge of the longshore strike is Henry Schmidt. He has been indicted in San Francisco, along with Bridges, for perjury when Bridges got his citizenship papers. Both men swore Bridges wasn't a CP member.

The American people can't afford to overlook the Communists in Hawaii. World peace depends on our military strength. A Communist-led union that can tie up shipping between Hawaii and the mainland is a danger not only to Hawaii but to all America. A nest of Communists that can spy on military activities at Pearl Harbor and elsewhere in Hawaii is intolerable.

The hold of Harry Bridges' union on Hawaii must be broken. Congress should investigate situation there thoroughly, and adopt new legislation if any is needed. And part of Philip Murray's job, as he maneuvers and pushes the Communist-led unions out of CIO, is to fight Harry Bridges in Hawaii and deprive him of control of labor there.

COMMUGRESSIVE WEEKLY PAPER IS EDITED BY MAN NAMED BY MISS BENTLEY. Nearly a year ago...July 23, 1948...Counterattack reported that Cedric Belfrage had been called as a witness by the Federal grand jury investigating espionage...and also that he was to become editor of a weekly paper soon to be established that would plug the "Progressive" or Commugressive Party.

Cedric Belfrage got an Army commission during the war, despite a long record as a backer of Communist causes. He was with Psychological Warfare Division as its press control officer at SHAEF (Eisenhower's hq).

Now Elizabeth Bentley has named him as one of additional group of persons who slipped her information which she secretly handed over to Soviet Embassy for transmission to Moscow. She says that at time of her dealings with Belfrage, he was with British Intelligence Service. This was before he entered U S Army. Belfrage is British-born. He came to this country long ago and in 1930's began supporting Communist fronts in Hollywood and elsewhere, like League of American Writers and Amer League for Peace & Democracy.

"National Guardian, the progressive newsweekly" is the paper Belfrage is editing. It has been endorsed by Commugressive Party. (Originally its name was intended to be Natl Gazette, but a change was made.)

John T McManus, a leader in Communist caucus that used to control American Newspaper Guild, is general manager of Natl Guardian.

Richard A Yaffe, CBS correspondent who has a record as a supporter of Communist fronts, and who interviewed Gerhart Eisler on Polish Communist ship Batory, is writing from Iron Curtain countries to Natl Guardian.

Emil Carlebach, a Communist leader in Germany, is the German correspondent of Natl Guardian.

That will give you an idea of the paper edited by Cedric Belfrage ...who of course denies he was in Communist spy ring with Elizabeth Bentley.

ONE OF THE GREATEST AMERICAN VICTORIES AGAINST COMMUNISM was won last week when the leading educational organization in the country formally recognized the facts of life. The old academic ostrichism, the old bland smugness of college presidents with their imperturbable heads in the sand, is doomed. Now the Educational Policies Commission of Natl Education Assn, including such top-notchers as Eisenhower of Columbia and Pres Conant of Harvard, has come up with a report which says flatly that members of the Communist Party shouldn't be allowed to hold jobs as teachers.

That's an enormous gain. As recently as a year ago it would have been incredible. Only a few months ago the University of Washington made history when it fired three professors, two of whom admitted (belatedly) that they were CP members, while the third still didn't admit it. The university, because of its act, has been attacked hotly on campuses in most parts of the country by Communists, pro-Communists, and academic innocents. Pres Raymond B Allen of the U of Wash has been portrayed as practically subhuman. But now along come Eisenhower & Conant, with others, and they say: Yes, that's right. Communist Party members aren't fit to teach.

Well, what next? Where do we go from here? Of course that report is only the beginning. Eisenhower & Conant themselves are troubled with some faculty members they would secretly like to get rid of. Some Counterattack subscribers have communicated with Columbia & Harvard about some of the gentry there, and have received pretty lame replies. A bit of cleaning up is essential at those universities and many others.

And of course Eisenhower & Conant and their associates on the commission are right in saying that universities must provide their students with facts about the Soviet Union and the Communist movement...and that textbooks giving such facts shouldn't be assailed as pro-Communist.

But there ARE some textbooks that are pro-Communist. And there are a lot of college presidents who shut their eyes to it. In the past few days the presidents of Cornell, Wellesley, and some other colleges have sounded off scornfully because the House Un-American Activities Committee asked for lists of college textbooks. The committee should get such information...and should examine it with the help of a highly expert group of educators.

We don't want any congressmen clumsily butting in to the educational machinery of the country. We do want congressmen making a sensible inquiry, with expert help, in order to reach right conclusions and to cooperate with the colleges in doing a better job for this country and the world.

WHAT CAN YOU DO TO BEAT THE COMMUNISTS? Here's what one company did recently. It arranged to have one of the pamphlets of the House Committee on Un-American Activities sent to nearly 1,000 people, including employees, company representatives, business friends. Company chose the pamphlet it wanted, which sells for 10¢...and it sent list of names to Supt of Documents, Washington, DC, with a check equivalent to 10¢ per name. This paid for pamphlet, Govt envelopes, postage & mailing expense. You or your company or union or other organization can use this method. Ask House Comm on Un-American Activities for list of titles available in quantity, and for prices. Then pick out the pamphlet you prefer and arrange for the mailing.

Yours faithfully,

June 17, 1949

Counterattack

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FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM
55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 4-1458

Letter No. 107
June 10, 1949

Dear Subscriber:

PAUL ROBESON HAS HIGH VALUE FOR STALIN IN WEAKENING U S & BRITAIN. On June 4 Robeson arrived in Moscow, the city where he lived for a considerable time, where he had his son educated, and where his wife once held a job in the very heart of Soviet authority...in the Kremlin itself. After giving several propaganda concerts in Stalin Russia, Robeson will fly back to U S.

Here he'll be welcomed June 19 in a mass meeting honoring him for his great services to Communist propaganda in his European tour.

Soon afterwards he is to be a witness for defense in trial of 11 U S Politbureau leaders for plotting against the Govt.

In summer he'll go to Communist China, according to an announcement at Czechoslovak Communist Party Congress, where he was a guest in late May.

In recent months he has sung & spoken in a number of countries, from Britain to the Balkans. In all of them he has smeared America, vastly exaggerating what is wrong in American life, and suppressing what is good. Correspondents have reported that in Warsaw he received a five-minute ovation at Polish trade union congress, where he spoke in Russian. Also that he was booed by a large part of a concert audience in Stockholm, because he sang Communist songs...and in Copenhagen he tried to sing the "Song of the Soviet Fatherland" but was drowned out by the protests of the audience.

In Paris, when he declared American Negroes would never fight against Soviet Russia, he won enormous applause & cheering from Stalin's fake World "Peace" Congress. Many Negro leaders here at once repudiated his statement...but it had a strong impact abroad.

"There are not half a dozen people in the world who stir up such enthusiasm in Europe as Robeson does," says another delegate to the Paris conference, Dr W E B DuBois, who was dismissed a few months ago as research director of Natl Assn for the Advancement of Colored People. DuBois is vice-chairman of the Council on African Affairs...and Robeson is chairman.

What is Communist Party Member Robeson's chief value for Stalin? Is it his influence among American Negroes? Or his effectiveness as a defamer of America in European eyes? Or, rather, his influence in Africa?

Robeson himself stresses the military importance of Africa. "When you talk about Negroes," the CP press quotes him, "you mostly think about the 14,000,000 in the United States but you are apt to forget the 40,000,000 colored people in the West Indies and the 150,000,000 in Africa." And Stalin's Fifth Column is getting stronger in a number of African countries. "British military strategy depends on a defense in depth in Africa." says Robeson. "What happens in the Middle East depends on Africa. What happens to the British and American fleets in the Mediterranean depends on Africa. Africa has become a very decisive point. Therefore, the attitude of the African peoples can really determine the question of peace or war."

Now what can the U S do to combat Robeson's work for Stalin Russia?

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One thing, of course, is to improve protection of Negro rights here. Another is to make a really big effort, for the first time, to show the world and especially Africa that human slavery exists in Stalin Russia on a scale never approached in this country when Robeson's ancestors were slaves.

And one thing more. The revised Mundt-Nixon bill, like the original bill last year, forbids issuance of passports to Communist Party members. Congress should pass Mundt-Nixon bill. Then Robeson and other CP members won't be able to propagandize abroad for destruction of America.

WHAT CHANCE HAS GOV'T TO CONVICT COMMUNIST LABOR LEADER PERLOW? Last week Counterattack again pointed out a loophole in the non-Communist affidavit provision of Taft-Hartley Act...and we explained that it was through this loophole that Communist leaders of United Furniture Workers, CIO, would be able to file with NLRB. This week Counterattack's statement was confirmed by the top Communist in that union, Sec-Treas Max Perlow. He announced he was resigning from CP so he could sign the affidavit.

Then came a threat from Dept of Justice. It said if Perlow signed the affidavit, he might be prosecuted for making false statements.

Can the Govt make this stick? Affidavit reads, "I am not a member of the Communist Party or affiliated with such party." Well, Perlow says he's resigning from the party. How can the Govt prove continuing membership or affiliation? Not much chance.

Next sentence in affidavit reads: "I do not believe in and I am not a member of nor do I support any organization that believes in or teaches the overthrow of the United States Government by force or by any illegal or unconstitutional methods." Perlow says he still believes in Communism, but he asserts that the CP has never advocated violence and he himself doesn't believe in it. Where does that leave the Dept of Justice?

Perlow has acted shrewdly. Don't give him credit for "frankness" or "honesty" in avowing his position. He knew the Dept of Justice had lately been talking vaguely about prosecuting some affidavit signers in a few months. And he obviously figured that by issuing a public statement... a SEEMINGLY frank statement that he was resigning from the CP but still believed in Communism (non-violent brand)...he would put himself in the clear. And it looks as if he's right. We doubt whether a jury would convict him.

Well, what's the remedy? How can we keep Perlow and other Communists from using NLRB facilities? In other words, how can we avoid forcing employers to deal with Communists? When Taft-Hartley Act was passed two years ago, Counterattack pointed out the loophole...and a way to plug it up.

An amendment should be adopted requiring NLRB to go behind affidavits in all doubtful cases and to make its own investigations (with FBI aid). And it should reject any union controlled by party-liners, regardless of whether they can be proved to be CP members and whether they hold union office.

WHAT TO DO: Ask Congress to amend the law in above manner.

COALITION OF PRES. RALPH HELSTEIN & COMMUNISTS DOMINATED THE CONVENTION of CIO PACKINGHOUSE WORKERS last week. This coalition kept full control. Anti-Communists got licked again. Helstein implied he's opposed to Philip Murray's "red-baiting"...but he didn't go beyond that. And Murray is tolerably satisfied. Doesn't want to start a fight against Helstein now. He can leave that till he has victoriously finished his war with heads of Communist-run unions. Then, when they are out of CIO, he can tame Helstein.

Packinghouse union isn't considered Communist-controlled, despite

Helstein's tie-up with the party boys. No matter what his personal inclinations may be, it's expected that if the party-line unions are pushed or goaded out of CIO, and if Communists in Packing union are weakened, Helstein will then try to save his own job by making peace with anti-Communists.

NEW COMMUNIST LABOR MAGAZINE has been launched. Name: "March of Labor". Editor: John F Ryan, a leader in Communist caucus that used to control American Newspaper Guild (not any more). Managing editor: Maurice Forge, who headed Airlines Division of Transport Workers Union, CIO, till Pres Michael J Quill turned against CP and expelled Communist leaders from union. "March of Labor" contains articles plugging whole CP line in labor.

WHAT KIND OF MOVIE WILL JOHN HUSTON MAKE AS HE FOLLOWS IN CORWIN'S FOOTSTEPS AROUND THE WORLD? The One World Award Committee has given John Huston, the movie director, its annual award of a trip around the world... and he'll make a documentary film of his travels. Three years ago the same award went to Norman Corwin, writer & director for CBS. Corwin made recordings of many conversations, street scenes, and other interesting noises.

John Huston was chairman of a testimonial dinner in Hollywood in March of last year, honoring the 10 Hollywood hostile witnesses who refused to tell Congress whether they were members of CP. $15,110 was collected.

Norman Corwin introduced Huston at that dinner.

Huston has supported such Communist fronts as Natl Wallace for President Committee...Freedom from Fear Committee...Committee of 1000...and Natl Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions.

Norman Corwin's global trip and its results brought joy to the CP. Its official organ, the Daily Worker, went into raptures over his recordings. It began its review of the first program of his CBS series with these words:

"We waited a long time. We waited a long time with hope and excitement because to us Corwin has become not just a great radio artist but a voice articulate with the many hopes and dreams of what has become a familiar term, 'the little people.'" And the long review ended on the same exultant note: "Here is the show we've been waiting for. Be there next Tuesday at 10 when CBS presents Corwin."

Now it's Huston's turn. Will the Communists be as satisfied with Huston's documentary movie as with Corwin's documentary recordings?

Huston expects to spend three months on his tour, beginning in November. He'll go to Russia if admitted, as Corwin did. And he indicates his movie will show that people are human beings everywhere.

But will Huston's movie carry a message of appeasement, as Corwin's recordings did? The American people have no quarrel with the people of Stalin Russia or any other country. If Huston's movie shows the Russian people are likable, will it also hint we needn't worry about the Russian rulers?

Now take a look at a movie Huston recently made, "We Were Strangers". Its theme is an attempted revolution against a tyrannical regime in Cuba many years ago. Star is John Garfield, who has supported many CP fronts.

The movie, "We Were Strangers", has been attacked by Los Angeles District of Calif Federation of Women's Clubs. They charge it's "cleverly disguised propaganda to advance the Communist Party line".

But the CP shakes its head sadly over the movie. Its national paper, the Daily Worker, intimates that Huston was forced to pull his punches.

It praises Huston personally, in terms which it never uses for anyone unless he has befriended Communist fronts or other Communist causes. It calls him "that fine director" and "one of Hollywood's best artists." But it adds: "Cuba's politics and class struggle are either too touchy or unfamiliar for Huston....John Huston demonstrates with the failure of 'We Were Strangers' that political censorship can take the heart out of a story."

By "political censorship" the Communists mean fear of disapproval by the press, public & Govt. Columbia Pictures, producer of the movie, is in business to make a profit and therefore it has to avoid offending the public. But Huston's documentary movie of his round-the-world-trip won't be produced commercially. He'll have a free hand. What will he do with it?

MURIEL DRAPER ON THE PICKET LINE...MURIEL DRAPER IN LOTS OF PLACES. From one coast to the other, Muriel Draper makes her presence felt. She was lately elected Pres of Stalin's top front for women in U S, the Congress of American Women (till then she had been Exec V-P). And as soon as she was elected she led a large delegation of members to United Nations hq, where she presented a petition about atomic bomb. Not to regulate the bomb. Not to inspect atomic energy production in U S, Stalin Russia, and other countries. No. Just to outlaw the bomb. To deprive this country of a weapon.

Muriel Draper made a speaking trip to West Coast lately, drumming up members there for Congress of American Women.

When the CP a few days ago picketed the jail in which Judge Medina had locked up three high CP leaders for contempt during their trial before him, Muriel Draper was among the pickets. She told reporters she was picketing because of "threats to civil rights". She didn't say she's a Communist.

COMMUNIST MURIEL DRAPER'S SON PAUL DRAPER AND LARRY ADLER ARE PUSHING THEIR LIBEL SUITS against Mrs John T McCullough, the young Greenwich, Conn, woman who has described them as backers of Communist fronts. Tap Dancer Draper & Harmonica Player Adler, like many other supporters of fronts, are talented entertainers, drawing large audiences and making a lot of money.

IT HAS ALREADY COST MRS. McCULLOUGH $11,000 TO DEFEND THE LIBEL SUITS. Do you think you have the right to speak up about backers of Communist fronts? Well, Mrs McCullough thought she had that right...but Paul Draper & Larry Adler slapped two $100,000 libel suits on her, and at once attached her home and bank account. And she has discovered that lawyers & investigators cost much more than she and her husband can afford.

Strain of the suit has affected her health, bringing a partial paralysis. And the monetary worries are sure to continue.

Why should she fight this battle alone? If she were a Communist who needed help, the CP would hold meetings in her behalf and would distribute hundreds of thousands of leaflets and get on the radio and perhaps picket the homes of her adversaries. It would make a political issue of the case. But anti-Communists don't act that way. Mrs McCullough has received a little help but not enough. Contributions so far total $1200.

Money is needed to protect her rights...and YOUR rights. If you want to help, write Mrs John T McCullough, Parsonage Road, Greenwich, Conn.

Yours faithfully,

June 10, 1949

Counterattack

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Letter No. 104
May 20, 1949

Dear Subscriber:

WHEN GOV'T GIVES SCHOLARSHIPS TO KNOWN COMMUNISTS, the officials responsible for this should get immediate attention of Congress.

Atomic Energy Commission is going to spend over $23,000,000 on scholarships for advanced study. And some of the students who've been chosen to receive this money are Communists.

One of them, Hans Freistadt, 23 years old, a graduate student and part-time physics teacher at U of N Carolina, testified this week before joint Senate-House Atomic Energy Committee. Winner of a $1,600 fellowship, he's an open member of Communist Party, which he says he joined in 1946 at University of Chicago. He's also an editor of "New Foundations", CP magazine for young writers. He asserts glibly that the CP is peaceful & loyal. Since Congress knows better, it should bar all Communists from fellowships.

Senate should hold up nomination of Prof Henry DeWolf Smyth as member of Atomic Energy Commission till this matter gets settled...and settled right. Smyth is a distinguished physicist, the author of the famous "Smyth Report" on the atomic bomb. And he's chairman of physics department at Princeton. Like many eminent scientists, Smyth seems to have a meager understanding of the Communist conspiracy. He told the Senate-House Atomic Energy Committee this week the Atomic Energy Commission is right in postponing the loyalty investigation of a student till he seeks restricted work.

Smyth also thinks Communists should be allowed to hold Govt jobs that don't require secrecy. Few senators know that Smyth is of this opinion. It's part of the policy of Scientists' Committee on Loyalty Problems (Counterattack Oct 22 '48, Nov 26, Dec 3). This committee, with Smyth as its spokesman, was formed to ease loyalty restrictions on scientists. It favors rescinding or drastically changing the President's Loyalty Order. Some illustrious members & sponsors of the committee are ardent supporters of Communist fronts. This is NOT true of Prof Smyth...but what IS true is that he believes in letting Communists hold many Govt jobs.

WHAT TO DO: Write or wire Sen Brien McMahon, chairman Joint Atomic Energy Committee, Washington, DC, and your own senators, urging them not to approve Smyth or anybody else as member of Atomic Energy Commission till he agrees to screen Communists from Govt payroll. And urge the above senators and your congressman to block scholarship program till there's real screening...an FBI loyalty check...not a flimsy affidavit, as proposed this week.

COMMUNIST PARTY DEFENDS EISLER'S ACT IN JUMPING BAIL. It was plain from the beginning that Eisler's flight wasn't undertaken merely on his own say-so. He had authorization from higher authority...probably straight from Moscow itself. The CP here may not have known about it beforehand. But it reacted promptly, expressing "admiration" for him. "He had many friends," says the CP, "whom he did not take into his confidence" (in jumping bail)

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"evidently because he did not want to complicate their own problems." And CP assails those who "dare to spit at the high morality of a man who preferred to risk dangers for himself than make complications for others."

CP and its fronts are raising bail money for Communists all the time. It's a system. There are bail funds, supported by prosperous Communists & sympathizers. Plainly this system would get messed up if any defendant were allowed to skip bail whenever he wanted to. He's forbidden to do that. He must show up whenever the party says so.

Two Communist fronts raised the $23,500 bail for Eisler. They're the Civil Rights Congress, legal defense arm of CP, and the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (which really is just for protection of those foreign-born who are Communists). Perhaps neither of these fronts knew Eisler was going to skip the country. He isn't taking orders from them...in fact he used to GIVE orders to them and the whole CP.

He came to U S from Moscow for first time in 1933 as the "C I Rep" ...the Communist International Representative...Stalin's supervisor of the CPUSA. He has been operating under direct orders from Moscow since 1920's. His authorization for skipping bail probably came directly from Moscow.

When "Big Bill" Haywood, leader of Industrial Workers of the World, jumped bail soon after First World War and fled to Moscow, it was with Kremlin's approval. Otherwise he would never have been admitted to Russia. He died there years later, a sad man, disillusioned with the tyrannical regime.

When Fred Beal jumped bail a decade later, during a prosecution after the Gastonia, N C, textile strike, it was on direct orders from CP. He, too, went to Russia. But what he saw there so appalled him that he came back to America, an enemy of the Kremlin. For quite a while he remained in hiding. But CP knew where he was, and it secretly tipped off N Carolina authorities. Beal was extradited to N Carolina, served four years in prison, then was paroled...and last year got a pardon through efforts of Workers Defense League. Recently, under auspices of the league, he has made speeches opposing the CP and Wallace's misnamed "peace" tour.

Another bail-jumper is Frank Waldron, alias Eugene Dennis, General Sec'y of CP. Waldron is still under a six-month jail sentence in Los Angeles for rioting. If he ever goes back there he can be locked up. He skipped bail in 1930 and, with a passport under name "Paul Walsh", went to Moscow, where he was trained in Communist insurrectionary methods, fomenting military mutiny, etc. After that he served in China and elsewhere.

When Frank Waldron returned to U S and became Eugene Dennis, about 1936, Gerhart Eisler was here, secretly supervising the CP, under the name Edwards. Later Moscow recalled Eisler to Europe. He came back here in 1941, ostensibly as a refugee from France on his way to Mexico. For years while here he received $150 a month from a Communist front, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, most of whose contributors believe they are giving money for relief of refugees, not for financing Moscow underground agents.

Eisler's flight from U S was on a Communist ship, manned by a largely Communist crew. Govt for some time has been trying to deport Czeslaw Grzelak, VP of Gdynia-America Line, as a Communist. Idea that Eisler was a stowaway is bunk. He had no documents, yet the purser oddly accepted money from him, in violation of the line's orders, which are based on American law. Plainly Eisler boarded the Batory with the collusion of some people connected with the ship or with the line's office itself.

Eisler case now makes good Communist propaganda in England & Europe, where he's pictured as refugee from American "persecution". Dept of Justice was lax in letting him get away. But it has acted firmly to get him back. It did the right thing when it threatened to seize the Batory and to take other action against Gdynia-America Line if he wasn't surrendered.

Eisler should be brought back and prosecuted to the limit. And Dept of Justice should move to double or triple the bail of high Communists in criminal cases...especially the 11 U S Politbureau members now on trial. For any of them may jump bail, like their former chief, Eisler.

AFL & CIO JOIN HANDS ON WORLD SCALE...AND CIO HAS CIVIL WAR AT HOME. This week the AFL Exec Council was meeting in Cleveland, and CIO Exec Bd met in Washington. And the meetings fitted together on Communist question.

AFL reversed its previous stand by voting to participate with CIO in setting up a new world labor organization at Geneva, Switzerland, next month, to oppose Stalin's World Federation of Trade Unions.

Meanwhile CIO was engaged in deepening the cleavage between its anti-Communist majority, led by Philip Murray, and its Communist minority.

Both the AFL-CIO partnership and the CIO cleavage are different aspects of the same thing. The partnership is to fight Communism abroad. And the cleavage is over CIO attitude toward CP line at home and abroad.

If you wonder why AFL & CIO don't merge, the answer is that this is much harder than a joint effort overseas. This joint effort is relatively easy, because it concerns ideologies. It doesn't concern the immediate practical INTERESTS of the two groups. It doesn't give either group any power, members, jurisdiction, control of jobs, or any money, at the expense of the other group. A merger would involve such matters, right here in U S.

It would be easier to crush the Communists in labor if CIO & AFL merged. They may do so in a few years, but probably not in next year or two.

WHO IS THIS CBS CORRESPONDENT ON SAME SHIP AS EISLER? Practically all the newspapers, in their stories about Gerhart Eisler aboard the Batory, have quoted a radio correspondent who was on the same Polish ship. He's Richard A Yaffe, a CBS correspondent on his way to Poland and other countries behind the Iron Curtain.

Richard A Yaffe is a former city editor of PM, the newspaper which Marshall Field poured millions into before he let it die. That paper was preponderantly pro-Communist, though Field himself doesn't favor Communism.

Yaffe has supported various Communist fronts, as Counterattack reported last Dec 17, p 1. He has been active in the pro-Communist elements that used to dominate the American Newspaper Guild. In Dec he was chairman of a mass meeting of an important Communist front, the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy. This was the meeting at which J Raymond Walsh, commentator for Sachs Quality Stores, Inc, told the wildly applauding pro-Communist audience that soon the Soviet delegate in the United Nations may "be able to say that he is speaking for more than half of the human race."

And this was the same meeting at which Agnes Smedley spoke in lyrical praise of the Chinese Communists. Agnes Smedley has been described by Gen MacArthur's Intelligence staff as a Soviet spy in Far East. In answer to this, Agnes Smedley talked threateningly of a libel suit...but Maj Gen Chas A Willoughby, chief of MacArthur's Intelligence staff, assumed personal responsibility for the statement and offered to waive his legal immunity if she sued him. She hasn't done so.

The man who presided at the Communist-front meeting in December has now become a member of the CBS corps of foreign correspondents.

This sort of thing isn't unusual at Columbia Broadcasting System. Party-liners are often used by that network as actors, writers, etc.

Artie Shaw, band leader & clarinet player, appeared May 11 at the premiere of a CBS show, "This Is Broadway". Artie Shaw was a sponsor of Cominform's recent U S Congress of Intellectuals, at Waldorf-Astoria Hotel (NY), and also a sponsor of Stalin's phony World "Peace" Congress in Paris last month. Shaw's former wife, Kathleen Winsor (author of "Forever Amber"), declared in court proceedings last year that he told her "he had recently become a member of the Communist Party, that pursuant to the usual procedure his card had been torn up immediately upon being issued to him and that he considered the Communist way the only way for the United States."

All networks let some Communists & Communist-fronters get on their programs, but CBS is worst of all. There are people at CBS who want to correct this, but the top officers somehow let things keep on as they are. And so Richard A Yaffe turns up as a correspondent for CBS.

NEW COMMUNIST YOUTH FRONT ON "MARXIST-LENINIST" LINES will be organized in Chicago during Decoration Day week-end, May 28-29. Counterattack reported the plans for this on June 4, 1948. It has taken the CP a year to clear obstacles out of the way. Lately the party folded up its American Youth for Democracy (formerly Young Communist League). Now it's ready to set up the new front, which will be openly pro-Moscow, although it will still deny any formal connection with the party.

This new front is distinct from Young Progressives of America, the big Communist youth front which is tied up with "Progressive" (or Commugressive) Party. YPA isn't openly pro-Communist and it includes many innocents. Its Exec Director is Seymour Linfield. Last July 30 Counterattack exposed Linfield as a Communist, with a record as a CP official. But this week Linfield appeared before Senate Foreign Relations Committee to testify against Atlantic Peace Pact...and nobody asked him the blunt question, "Are you a member of the Communist Party?" Why wasn't this asked?

COUNTERATTACK IS TWO YEARS OLD WITH THIS ISSUE. It was on May 16, 1947, that Counterattack began publication. It sounded a warning: "Though the Communists talk peace, they want war. Not now, of course, but whenever Moscow is strong enough to win. So they try to weaken the U S internally. To prevent war we must crush the Communist Fifth Column."

This is as true today as it was two years ago. The Kremlin is still on the march. The U S is counter-attacking, but not with enough firmness & wisdom. But the American people are wider awake than they were...and the subscribers to Counterattack have helped in this awakening by responding eagerly to our many specific suggestions for action against the Communists.

To prevent war we must crush the Communist Fifth Column. Keep on responding to Counterattack's specific suggestions, no matter how routine and unexciting they may sometimes seem. Keep on counter-attacking the Communist Fifth Column, and you'll be doing something to prevent war.

Yours faithfully,

May 20, 1949

Counterattack

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Letter No. 95
March 18, 1949

Dear Subscriber:

ENCLOSED WITH THIS ISSUE OF COUNTERATTACK IS A SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT ON THE NEW CONGRESS OF INTELLECTUALS, which the Communists will hold March 25, 26 & 27. You'll find thumbnail sketches of 32 leading Communists and other backers of Stalin's fronts who are connected with the affair.

Henry Wallace will be one of the speakers. (Since Wallace is well-known to everyone, we don't deal with him in the Special Supplement.)

A big rally at Madison Sq Garden will wind up this America-smearing show. Decision to hold such a rally was a late development this week. Communist Party is ordering its members in NYCity area to make sure the meeting is a success by attending it and filling the huge hall.

HERE'S SECRET DIRECTIVE OF C.P. TO ITS MEMBERS TO WORK THROUGH A COMMUNIST FRONT and influence American policy on China.

The following disclosure by Counterattack should interest the 50 senators who last week signed a letter urging Senate Foreign Relations Committee to act on a bill providing a billion and a half of economic & military aid to Nationalist China. These senators will now be able to observe how CP is using a front to influence Congress in CONTRARY direction.

Counterattack is in possession of a directive issued by Communist Party on this subject. It begins: "Dear Comrades: Enclosed please find Program for Action on China Policy, as voted upon by a united front action conference on China." (This was held under auspices of a Communist front, Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy.)

"You will find this material...helpful in planning actions on China in your communities," the directive continues. "A special outline has also been issued by the Natl Education Committee" (of CP) "on Communist Policy in China....The outline can be used as the basis for discussion in your sections and branches. Any inquiries in relation to further activity can be received by writing to the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy."

CP encloses two documents with this directive. One is a resolution which the Action Conference on China Policy "voted to send to every member of the 81st Congress, through the Comm for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy". Resolution demands that U S recognize Communist regime in China.

Other document is "Program for Action on China Policy". It reads in part: "Get your organization immediately to pass a resolution on China policy....Send copies of your organization's resolution to your senators and your congressmen; give it publicity in your organization's publication and elsewhere; send a copy to the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy.

"...Make a drive to get readers and subscribers to FAR EAST SPOTLIGHT, the Committee's monthly magazine."

There's an amusing but serious item in this "Program for Action". It's a CENSORED PLUG for Anna Louise Strong's latest book. The plug is there, on the mimeographed sheet...but it's blacked out in pencil. It reads:

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"Push the sale and reading of Anna Louise Strong's TOMORROW'S CHINA. Paper bound 65¢; cloth bound $2.00. Organizational orders for 5 or more: 25% discount." This book was published by Comm for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, and it ran serially in Daily Worker. But hardly had last installment been printed before Moscow announced the author had been arrested as a spy and would be deported. She has since arrived in U S but is taking her medicine uncomplainingly and has concealed Moscow's motive for discrediting her.

Always obedient to Moscow, the CP takes note of the fact that she has fallen from favor...so it crosses out the plug for her book.

The Program for Action continues: "Have meetings on the China policy issue." And after giving instructions for getting speakers, it says:

"See to it that the President and the members of Congress hear from hundreds of individuals on China policy right now. Order prepared postcards from the committee — 1¢ each. Write your own messages. Make calls — in person and by telephone — on your senators and congressmen.

"Have your organization make an immediate contribution to the work of the committee or plan to give a regular...contribution."

Senators & congressmen who read the above extracts from CP's directive and from the enclosed documents will be able to see how Communist Party and its fronts do their work...and especially how they influence Congress.

WHY DOESN'T ATT'Y GENERAL TOM CLARK PUT ABOVE FRONT ON HIS LIST? As we told you last week, there are many obvious Communist fronts which Clark hasn't listed. One of them is Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy. Clark's list is primarily intended to assist Loyalty program for Gov't employees. All organizations on the list are supposed to be out of bounds for anyone who works for the Govt.

But how can Loyalty program succeed if Clark dcesn't even list a front like Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy? If senators & congressmen read CP's directive concerning this front, they should have a few questions to ask Tom Clark...especially in view of Judith Coplon case.

They might ask whether there are any Justice Dept employees who belong to Comm for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy...and, if so, whether SOME of them are Communists...and whether OTHERS haven't been misled by the fact that their own boss, Clark, hasn't listed this outfit as a front.

ARE STATE OFFICIALS IN YOUR STATE HELPING COMMUNIST FRONTS by protecting them from local action...or by getting Federal money for them? To see how fronts are sometimes helped, take a look at International Workers Order (IWO), the Communist Party's fraternal insurance society.

American Jewish League Against Communism recently pointed out that the IWO has actually been allowed to conduct classes in a number of NYCity schools for years. It demanded that this be stopped. Board of Education, after hearings, so ruled. It ordered the classes to suspend Feb 28.

But then the IWO appealed to State Commissioner of Education Francis T Spaulding. And he held up suspension to March 21, and may continue it.

Now what was in his mind? In the hearing when he ordered the suspension, he asked for the exact time & place when the IWO had injected Communist propaganda into its classes. The very asking of this question is proof of the confusion in his own mind. Ought it to be necessary for any objector to sit in on any of these classes, watch for Communist propaganda, and then

report it to the State Commissioner of Education...with a 100-page analysis to show him it really is propaganda? Would the commissioner recognize subtle Communist propaganda if he saw it or heard it? What does he suppose a Communist front is holding classes for? Just to make children happy?

Since this front is on Justice Dept list, shouldn't that be enough for any state official? But no, Spaulding wants to know exactly WHEN propaganda was injected. And meanwhile he keeps the front in the schools.

Now what about GI benefits to schools in your state that may be run by Communists or fellow-travelers? Counterattack pointed out in its Feb 4 issue that Dr Annette T Rubinstein is on faculty of Communist Party's biggest school, Jefferson School of Social Science...and that she's also owner & principal of Robt Louis Stevenson School, in NYCity, which gives high school & vocational training courses...and the U S Govt is paying her money for training veterans under GI Bill of Rights. We suggested that our subscribers ask Veterans Administration to stop these payments.

In answer to our protesting subscribers, the VA asserts it has nothing to do with approval of schools under GI Bill of Rights. It insists this is solely the function of state educational agencies. The governor of each state designates an agency to decide which schools are qualified...and VA says that agency is boss.

This brings us back to Dr Annette Rubinstein's school...and to NY State Commissioner of Education Spaulding. His agency is the one that approved her school, despite her long affiliation with Communist projects, as shown in Counterattack on Feb 4. And he's also protecting International Workers Order by keeping its classes in public schools.

Some officials in other states have acted in similar ways. There have been other cases of schools receiving Veterans Administration money although they've been run by Communists or fellow-travelers.

How about urging your congressman and your two senators to stop this by amending the law if necessary? Tell them Congress should find out, first, whether VA is really powerless to withhold the money, or whether it is passing the buck. If it's powerless, Congress should amend law so as to forbid payments to any school that's run by Communists or fellow-travelers.

And any state official who sanctions such schools...or who protects a Communist front in public schools, as Commissioner Francis T Spaulding (Albany, NY) has done...should get a few plain letters from anti-Communists.

ANTI-COMMUNIST CIO UNIONS RAISE MONEY TO HELP PACKINGHOUSE UNION, BUT DEMAND ANTI-COMMUNIST ACTION. Communists have gained in United Packinghouse Workers, CIO, within past year. Pres Ralph Helstein has played ball with them, and at convention last summer the Helstein-Communist coalition won. Philip Weightman, V-P and anti-Communist, was beaten for reelection.

But meanwhile the Communists were losing in another way. The union had taken a bad licking in strikes, largely because it couldn't use services of Natl Labor Relations Bd...and reason for this was that its officers had not signed non-Communist affidavits. So union decided to file with NLRB.

This meant that Communist Herbert March was forced to resign as director of District 1, the big district centering on Chicago. March had long been a secret member of Communist Natl Committee. In 1947 he finally admitted it. And when decision was made last spring to file with NLRB, he had to resign as district director and as member of international Exec Board.

But the Helstein-Communist coalition put him on the payroll of the

international office, as an international representative...and in practice he had much the same power as before. Some strong anti-Communist locals got good ammunition out of this. They were fighting with the international office, refusing to make their per capita payments (tax per member). And one of their reasons was that March and other Communists were on the payroll. So the international office dropped him...and the Communists recently put him on the payroll of his home local, Armour Local 347.

Meantime some other CIO unions have begun raising money to help the Packinghouse Workers out of their hole. But these other unions insist Helstein must pull clear of the Communists. Unless he does so they won't turn their money over to him and his colleagues in the international union office.

If Helstein definitely cuts his ties with the Communists, he'll have to join hands with the anti-Communists, because his own group hasn't got enough support to run the union alone. So the upshot of the union's financial jam may be a marked strengthening of the anti-Communist wing.

COMMUNISTS ORGANIZE FRONT TO WIN SUPPORT OF MEXICAN-AMERICANS. It's a fundamental part of Communist strategy, all over the world, to control the organized life of every group of the population if possible.

Now CP has formed Mexican-American Natl Organization, which will concentrate in Colorado, N Mexico, Ariz, Calif. People of Mexican background have some real grievances, and CP will capitalize on these.

But anti-Communists shouldn't sit back and let a Communist front take leadership in fighting for any demands that are fair. Anti-Communist organizations in West, Southwest, and elsewhere should urge economic & political justice for persons of Mexican birth or ancestry. That's the right thing to do...and it's also one of the ways to beat the Communists.

APPEALS COURT UPHOLDS JAILING OF DEFIANT WITNESSES. Efforts of Federal grand jury at Los Angeles in coping with Communists have been strengthened by decision of U S Circuit Court of Appeals, at San Francisco.

Grand jury has been using the "Denver Plan"...it has been asking CP officials and others about CP membership. Its specific justification for this is that it's trying to learn whether some Federal employees who have denied being CP members are telling the truth. But many CP officials and others who have been questioned on this point have refused to answer.

U S District Judge Peirson M Hall, at Los Angeles, sentenced 10 of them to jail last fall for civil contempt. Defendants stalled & appealed... but now at last the Circuit Court of Appeals has decided. The six judges split evenly, 3 to 3. So decision of Judge Hall isn't overruled...and therefore it's in effect and his jail sentences are valid. Moreover he has lately ruled that a number of other people who defied the grand jury are in contempt (as we told you last week)...and he'll sentence them March 28.

CP will now appeal the 3-to-3 decision to Supreme Court in order to overrule Judge Hall and prevent grand juries at Los Angeles and elsewhere from summoning CP officials and examining party's books. So fight isn't over yet. But meanwhile "Denver Plan" has won important victory. And grand juries all over the country should go ahead and pry up lid of CP.

Yours faithfully,

March 18, 1949

Counterattack

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SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT
March 18, 1949

PLEASE RETURN TO
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COUNTERATTACK
REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.
FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM
55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 4-1458

MANY COMMUNISTS ARE LEADERS IN NEW CONGRESS OF INTELLECTUALS

This Special Supplement is being sent to all subscribers to Counterattack along with the regular weekly newsletter of March 18, 1949.

When the Cominform held a World Congress of Intellectuals in Wroclaw, Poland (formerly Breslau, Germany) last August, it appointed an International Committee in Defense of Peace to hold similar congresses elsewhere, in order to smear America and promote Stalin's policy of world conquest.

U S section of this congress will be held March 25-27 in NY, mostly in Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, with one session in Carnegie Hall. It's disguised as a "Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace", under auspices of Natl Council of Arts, Sciences & Professions, a leading Communist front, headed by Prof Harlow Shapley, Harvard astronomer.

In this Special Supplement we give you a condensed Who's Who of some of the leading Communists who are to speak in the congress or are sponsoring it...plus a few other well-known sponsors who aren't CP members (at least not OPENLY) but have supported Communist fronts.

Here are 32 thumbnail sketches...but they're only a small sample. We haven't space to name many other Communists & fellow-travelers who are on the program or are sponsoring the affair. Nor are we including any of the important Communists from abroad who'll take part in the congress unless they're barred from U S by Sec'y of State Dean Acheson or Atty Gen Tom Clark.

(Price of single copies of this Special Supplement is 50¢. Quantity rates will be quoted by Counterattack on request.)

WHO'S WHO IN CONGRESS OF INTELLECTUALS

BLANKFORT, MICHAEL...Sent to Hollywood by Communist Party, according to testimony given to Congress by Howard Rushmore, former CP member and movie reviewer for CP's official paper, Daily Worker (now reporter for NY Journal-American). Blankfort has been a Hollywood screenwriter many years.

BOYER, RICHARD O...He's OPENLY a member of Communist Party. Staff writer for "The New Yorker" magazine. Urges other writers to be openly CP.

COLE, LESTER...Identified as CP member (card number 47226) by House Un-American Activities Committee. Cole is one of 10 Hollywood witnesses indicted for refusing to tell committee whether they're CP members.

DESCHIN, JACOB...Photography critic of NYTimes. He has given favorable publicity to Photo League, though it's on Justice Dept list of fronts.

DOWNES, OLIN...His chief value to CP is that he's music critic of NYTimes, which is generally considered greatest newspaper in world. This

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ultra-respectable connection is big asset for all the red reactionary fronts Downes has assisted for many years. It seems to make those fronts SAFE for anyone to join. He's also a radio commentator for Metropolitan Opera.

Downes has followed party line a long time but has never announced himself a member of CP. Yet in 1945 he OPENLY supported Benjamin J Davis, Pres of Daily Worker, for reelection to NYCity Council. Davis is one of top CP leaders now on trial for plotting against Govt. NYTimes has editorially declared World Congress of Intellectuals last August at Wroclaw, Poland, was a Communist front...but up to time this is written it hasn't said a word in editorials about U S section of this front, sponsored by its music critic (also its photography critic, Jacob Deschin, and dance critic, John Martin).

DRAPER, MURIEL...Secret member of Communist Party. Exec V-P of Congress of American Women, U S section of Stalin's international women's front, Women's International Democratic Federation. Mother of Paul Draper (below).

DRAPER, PAUL...Backer of Communist fronts but doesn't admit CP membership. Son of Muriel Draper (above). Tap-Dancer Paul Draper and his partner, Harmonica Player Larry Adler, have filed $200,000 libel suit against Mrs John T McCullough, Greenwich, Conn, for condemning their aid to fronts.

EINSTEIN, ALBERT...This prince of modern scientists, this supreme genius who is regarded by many scientists as one of greatest intellects of all history, has supported many Communist fronts. It's true that once in a long while he has ventured a mild dissent from some Moscow policy. But his weight has been overwhelmingly on Moscow's side.

Lately Arthur G McDowell, administrative assistant to Pres of Upholsterers' International Union, AFL, wrote Einstein a letter, enclosing literature he had received from a Communist front, bearing Einstein's name. "What I cannot comprehend," wrote McDowell, "is how a person like yourself can be so humble in a field such as that of physical science, where you are preeminent, and so presumptuous in a field where you have obviously not had the time or opportunity to become acquainted with its intricacies. I insist that it is an attitude of arrogance, and only arrogance, which...finds you lending the eminent but irrelevant name in the scientific field to the forces which in the political field stand for the partisan corruption of truth....I can only conclude that it is the old case that knowledge in a field brings humility and that ignorance in another field brings arrogance."

FAST, HOWARD...This writer of propaganda novels is a CP member. Writes weekly column for Daily Worker and its West Coast brother, Daily People's World. Along with 10 other directors of CP front, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, he's appealing jail sentence for contempt of Congress.

HAMMETT, DASHIELL...Instructor in Communist Party's biggest school, Jefferson School of Social Science. OPENLY supported CP in 1946 state elections. He has a big income from detective stories & scenarios he has written, such as "The Thin Man" and "The Maltese Falcon"...and from radio shows which he himself doesn't write but are based on characters or names he created: "The Thin Man", "The Fat Man", "Sam Spade". Thus the money he gives Communist fronts is largely derived from Hollywood and from radio networks.

KAHN, ALBERT E...Communist Party member and delegate to a CP convention. One of Stalin's top propagandists in America.

KENT, ROCKWELL...This leading artist has been identified as Communist Party member by Benjamin Gitlow, former General Sec'y of Party, and Louis F Budenz, former managing editor of Daily Worker.

LARDNER, Jr, RING...Identified as CP member (card number 46806) by House Un-American Activities Committee. Lardner is one of 10 Hollywood witnesses indicted for refusing to tell committee whether they're CP members.

LAWSON, JOHN HOWARD...Former Communist Party commissar (boss) in Hollywood. Leader of 10 Hollywood witnesses who refused to tell Congress whether they were CP members. He's appealing jail sentence for contempt.

LESLIE, KENNETH...He'll support Russia against U S in case of war, according to his statements in his party-line magazine, "The Protestant".

MALTZ, ALBERT...Identified as CP member (card number 47196) by House Un-American Activities Comm. Maltz is one of 10 Hollywood witnesses indicted for refusing to tell committee whether they're CP members.

MANN, THOMAS...This world-famous novelist is a Communist fellow-traveler, a warm defender of Moscow. Leaving Germany after Hitler came to power, he settled in U S and is now an American citizen. He has backed an amazingly long list of CP fronts, such as American Youth for Democracy.

MARTIN, JOHN...His main value to CP is same as that of Olin Downes ...that is, his position on NYTimes. John Martin is dance critic of that world-famous newspaper...and this fact is ballyhooed by all the Communist fronts he sponsors. Every year Martin is chairman of a dance festival at which celebrated dancers give their services free for benefit of a big Communist front & racket, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. Some funds of this front have been siphoned off to Comintern agents like Gerhart Eisler. NYTimes, far from rebuking John Martin for this activity, has implied in editorials that this notorious Communist front is legitimate.

McCABE, LOUIS F...Lawyer for Communist Party in trial of its top leaders in Federal Court for plotting against Govt.

ODETS, CLIFFORD...Communist Party member, according to Howard Rushmore, former movie reviewer for Daily Worker, who has testified he saw this playwright several times at Daily Worker, where "it was a hard-and-fast rule that only party members trusted by the party could get within the gates."

ROBESON, PAUL...Secret member of Communist Party. You'll hear more about this celebrated singer during trial of top CP leaders in Federal Court.

ROGGE, O JOHN...Active in Red Fascist fronts. Lawyer for Harold Christoffel, convicted of perjury for swearing to a Congressional committee he wasn't a CP member. Christoffel is former head of Local 248, United Auto Workers, CIO. He led long sabotage strike at Allis-Chalmers plant near Milwaukee during Stalin-Hitler Pact. Rogge is also lawyer for 11 directors of big Red Fascist front & racket, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, convicted of contempt of Congress. Rogge wrote introduction to pamphlet by Communist Party Member Albert E Kahn attacking House Committee on Un-American Activities. Rogge is a leader of Natl Lawyers Guild, a Red Fascist front.

SELSAM, HOWARD...He's the director of CP's biggest school, Jefferson School of Social Science.

SHAPLEY, HARLOW...This Harvard astronomer is top scientist among active leaders of Communist fronts. Chairman of Natl Council of Arts, Sciences & Professions. There are scientists even more distinguished than Shapley who sponsor fronts...but they aren't active, continual leaders, like Shapley. Still, don't believe those reports you hear that Shapley admits off the record that he's member of CP. He doesn't admit it.

SHIPLER, REV. GUY EMERY...Leader of whitewashing expedition to Communist Yugoslavia in 1947. Editor of "The Churchman", in which he plugs his political ideology. He's having bad luck with annual money-raising dinners for his magazine. Last year he blamed Counterattack for causing Sec'y of State Marshall to cancel acceptance as guest of honor. This year many dinner sponsors withdrew after learning Shipler's record as backer of fronts.

SILLEN, SAMUEL...Communist Party member, editor of Communist "cultural" magazine, "Masses & Mainstream". Ex-literary editor of Daily Worker.

SMEDLEY, AGNES...Maj Gen Chas A Willoughby offered to waive immunity so she could sue him for libel, after he sent report from MacArthur's Tokyo hq to Washington, reporting that Agnes Smedley had been spy for Stalin Russia in Far East and had cooperated with Richard Sorge, head of spy ring in Japan. She and her lawyer, O John Rogge, threatened libel suit. Gen Willoughby replied he has full documentary proof of his charge. She has supported Chinese Communists for many years, in books, articles, lectures.

SMITH, JESSICA...Editor of Communist magazine, "Soviet Russia Today". Wife of John J Abt, former Asst Atty General, identified by Whittaker Chambers & Elizabeth Bentley as key member of Communist apparatus in Govt.

SPENCER, KENNETH...Singer at Communist Party Lenin Memorial rallies and other Communist functions, at which speakers have been top leaders of CP.

THACKREY, TED O...As publisher of NYPost, he supports many Communists & fellow-travelers. In campaign last fall, he endorsed Wallace for President, Communist Party Member Albert E Kahn for Congress, Simon Gerson (an OPEN official of CP) for NYCity Council, and Lee Pressman (identified by Whittaker Chambers & Louis F Budenz as CP member) for Congress.

TRUMBO, DALTON...Identified as CP member (card number 47187) by House Un-American Activities Comm. This screenwriter is one of 10 Hollywood witnesses who defied the committee. Dalton Trumbo and John Howard Lawson have been convicted of contempt and are appealing their jail sentences.

WELTFISH, GENE...Pres of Congress of American Women, U S section of Stalin's international women's front, Women's International Democratic Federation. She's Prof of anthropology at Columbia. (Attention Eisenhower!)

Yours faithfully,

March 18, 1949

Counterattack

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COUNTERATTACK

REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 4-1458

Letter No. 89
February 4, 1949

Dear Subscriber:

HAROLD L. ICKES TALKED BENJAMIN F. FAIRLESS INTO BECOMING A VICE-CHAIRMAN OF REV. GUY EMERY SHIPLER'S DINNER. Shipler is ardent supporter of a long, long list of Communist fronts. He led half a dozen other clergymen on whitewashing expedition to Communist Yugoslavia in summer of 1947.

Shipler gives a big dinner every year to raise money for his magazine, "The Churchman", which he uses to propagandize for his political ideology. Each year Shipler picks some leading person to get magazine's "award" ...and to attract a crowd. Last year he picked Sec'y of State Marshall, who accepted...but then Counterattack disclosed the plan and urged its subscribers to wire their protests to Marshall. They did...and Marshall withdrew his acceptance. Shipler assailed Marshall and Counterattack in a speech at the $25 a plate dinner...which was a flop (Counterattack 6/11/48, p 2).

This year Bishop G Bromley Oxnam is receiving Shipler's "award", at a dinner Feb 23. Although Bishop Oxnam has backed some Communist fronts, he has also withdrawn from a couple when their nature has been convincingly exposed. Chairman of dinner is former Sec'y of Interior Harold L Ickes, who has also joined some fronts and broken with some, as Bishop Oxnam has done.

Shipler is planning to get an immense crowd this year. He has cut dinner price to $10, but hopes to raise a big sum in gifts by the guests. And he has lined up a huge "honorary committee" for his dinner.

Along with many Communists & fellow-travelers on this committee, there are some people who are widely known as distinctly non-Communist, in fact conservative. Among them are Harper Sibley, former Pres of U S Chamber of Commerce, and Wm L Clayton, former Ass't Sec'y of State. Also on the committee are Pres Jacob S Potofsky & V-P Hyman Blumberg of Amalgamated Clothing Workers, CIO. Both Potofsky & Blumberg know the score. How come they support Shipler's dinner? That's something they ought to explain.

Harold L Ickes wrote Pres Benjamin F Fairless of U S Steel Corp, requesting him to sponsor the Shipler dinner. Fairless is well acquainted with Ickes, having done business with him when he was Sec'y of the Interior. But Fairless didn't know anything about Shipler, and ignored Ickes' letter. Then Ickes phoned Fairless, telling him the dinner was for a religious purpose and deserved support. Fairless yielded, agreed to sponsor it.

One man or one name brings in another. Ickes brings in Fairless. Fairless's name on Shipler's dinner circular will bring in many other people, who'll think the affair must be OK if Ben Fairless is a vice-chairman.

It all goes to show the necessity of being very, very cautious.

A lawyer for J P Morgan & Co is another vice-chairman...but his case is different from Fairless's. He's Allen Wardwell, partner of John W Davis, 1924 Democratic Presidential nominee. Their firm is Davis, Polk, Wardwell, Sunderland & Kiendl. And one of their clients is Morgan.

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Allen Wardwell has long supported organizations friendly to Moscow. This Wall Street lawyer, with a home on Park Ave, has been doing this ever since Bolshevik Revolution, which occurred while he was a member of American Red Cross Mission to Russia in First World War. Now 75 years old, Wardwell has had the following affiliations, according to Congressional documents:

He was a member of Advisory Board of Russian Reconstruction Farms, Inc, in mid-1920's. Sec'y of this outfit was A A Heller, millionaire Communist angel (who resigned from party when Earl Browder was expelled in 1945).

In 1920's Wardwell was an officer of American Society for Cultural Relations with Russia. In more recent years he has given financial and other support to a big front, American Russian Institute. Its executive director is Henry H Collins, Jr, former Govt official whom Whittaker Chambers named as treasurer of Communist apparatus, and who refused to tell Congress whether he belonged to Communist Party (Counterattack Aug 20 '48, pp 1 & 2).

Now Allen Wardwell is a vice-chairman of Rev Guy Emery Shipler's dinner for support of Shipler's propagandist magazine, "The Churchman".

VETERANS ADMINISTRATION PAYS GOV'T MONEY TO A PARTY-LINER'S SCHOOL. One of the private schools accredited for training of veterans under GI Bill of Rights is Robt Louis Stevenson School, in NYCity, which gives high school & vocational training courses.

Dr Annette T Rubinstein, owner & principal of this school, is now the candidate of the Communists' Third Party to fill a vacancy in state assembly, lower house of legislature. Election will be held Feb 15.

Dr Rubinstein doesn't admit she's a Communist Party member. She's on faculty of Communist Party's biggest school, Jefferson School of Social Science. She was also an officer of CP's top front during Stalin-Hitler Pact, American Peace Mobilization, which picketed White House, calling Pres Roosevelt a warmonger. Dr Rubinstein herself was a leader in arranging the picketing of home of Rep Sol Bloom because he favored aid to England. But the moment Hitler attacked Stalin Russia, Dr Rubinstein switched with her comrades and demanded prompt American action against Hitler.

WHAT TO DO: Wire, write, phone, or visit your congressman and your two senators, urging withdrawal of Veterans Administration money from Robt Louis Stevenson School. And sound off to Veterans Administration as well.

COMMUNIST RADIO FRONT WILL PICK A PARTY-LINER AS "NEGRO COMMENTATOR" and will start a campaign to put him or her on one of the four national networks. Motives: to win friends among Negroes and to plug party line on air.

Front is Voice of Freedom Committee (known as VOF), which ought to be called Voice of Slavery Committee. It promotes Communist propaganda on radio...and it boasts it has 2,000 "monitors", who listen to programs and then phone or write to stations & networks to praise or knock what they hear.

Right now the VOF is preparing a transcribed radio show that it will send to stations in many parts of U S during Negro History Week, Feb 6-13. Voice of Freedom Committee says its monitors will help it get nationwide radio coverage for this show.

But its prize idea is to pick a Negro to be a radio commentator on a network. It doesn't really expect to succeed, but it might get such a commentator on one or more stations...and he would follow the party line. And anyhow the VOF campaign for him may deceive a lot of Negroes, who won't know the whole thing is just another Communist swindle.

Who will the commentator be? Well, the VOF has probably made its choice already. But it's disguising this by submitting a list of 13 persons

to be voted on by readers of Negro papers. Some of these 13 are non-Communists or even anti-Communists. VOF is just using these names as camouflage. Other persons on the list are secret Communist Party members or are fellow-travelers, including Paul Robeson, Chas Collins, W E B DuBois, Alphaeus Hunton, Rev Ben Richardson, and Shirley Graham (a script by Shirley Graham was broadcast by CBS on Jan 25).

Paul Robeson, a secret member of Communist Party, would clearly be strongest choice of the bunch. If Robeson is willing to be a regular commentator, you can bet he's the one the VOF will choose. Then there'll be a loud campaign to get him on a network.

WHAT TO DO: Phone or write your local stations AT ONCE. Urge them to reject VOF transcription during Negro History Week. And before a station or network accepts a Negro commentator, it should consult Natl Assn for the Advancement of Colored People, which is great mass organization of Negroes (though it has white members too) and is supported by Negroes everywhere.

WHAT'S BEEN THE BEST PIECE OF DOMESTIC NEWS FOR ANTI-COMMUNISTS in the past few days? It's a death...the death of a newspaper.

This death has its unhappy side, of course. Four hundred people have been thrown out of work, and a lot of them will find it hard to get jobs for which their specialized training has fitted them. But the plain fact is that the country is better off with their newspaper out of the way.

The newspaper had national importance because it had readers all over the country, notably in Govt offices and colleges & unions.

Name of this newspaper was PM, but last June it was changed to NYStar. Although the paper wasn't Communist, it had a strong Stalinoid tinge from its start in 1940 till its death last week.

The man who conceived & launched it was Ralph McAllister Ingersoll, a close friend of such writers as Dashiell Hammett, Lillian Hellman & Dorothy Parker, prominent figures in Communist fronts.

The man who sank millions into it after Ingersoll's other angels withdrew was the fabulously rich Marshall Field, who also owns Chicago Sun-Times. Field isn't pro-Communist, but oh how he has been used!

The men who took over active management of it last April, when Marshall Field was about to kill it, were Bartley C Crum & Joseph Barnes.

Bartley Crum has backed a number of Communist fronts, including Harry Bridges' Calif Labor School, which Dept of Justice describes as subversive. Crum is on school's roster of trustees. He's a San Francisco lawyer and for a year and a half has represented the 10 "unfriendly" Hollywood witnesses who refuse to tell Congress whether they're Communist Party members.

Joseph Barnes has also backed some Communist fronts. He used to work for Institute of Pacific Relations, where he collaborated with Frederick Vanderbilt Field. For example, they were co-authors of "Behind the Far Eastern Conflict". In recent years Field has come out OPENLY as a CP member. Barnes became foreign editor of NYHerald Tribune and acquired much influence there. For a long time afterwards the policy of that paper on Stalin Russia was distinctly sympathetic. But lately it has changed for the better.

Under the Crum-Barnes management of PM (or the Star) the old editorial line was essentially continued. Communists & fellow-travelers held some key positions. The newspaper's cartoons depicted Sec'y Marshall as a ridiculous 19th century general wearing a big "Kingfish" button and having a fool's cap on his head. The most influential writers on the paper were two columnists, Jennings Perry & I F Stone. Both supported Wallace. Both

persistently plugged a policy of appeasing Stalin. Both used clever, adroit, indirect techniques to cover up the hollowness of their arguments. Both had a marked influence on minds of readers.

Marshall Field was still main owner of the paper, but this fact was concealed from the time that Crum & Barnes took over last April. The paper was still losing money, because most advertisers wanted nothing to do with it. Last week Field decided to end his losses. He killed the paper.

The country and humanity are better off now that this paper is dead, now that it's no longer manufacturing a daily stream of specious arguments for a phony peace with Stalin and the world Communist conspiracy.

THE MONEY THAT ONE COMMUNIST-LED UNION ADMITTEDLY GAVE TO COMMUNIST FRONTS in 1946 & 1947 is listed below. It gave other sums in concealed ways. Union is International Fur & Leather Workers Union, CIO. Admitted gifts are:

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born	$1,075.00
Amer Labor Party (NY State Section of Communists' Third Party)	10,151.67
American Relief for Greek Democracy	1,093.00
American Slav Congress	1,135.00
Civil Rights Congress	500.00
Congress of American Women	165.00
Council on African Affairs	1,000.00
Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee	4,014.00
May Day Committee	1,445.19
National Negro Congress	1,000.00
School of Jewish Studies	1,110.00
Southern Negro Youth Congress	500.00
United Negro & Allied Veterans of America	1,254.00
Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade	620.00
Win the Peace Committee	2,000.00

The union also made a gift costing $459.35 to Ilya Ehrenberg, the Russian writer who was sent over here on a propaganda tour.

WHAT'S THE STORY THEY TELL ABOUT YALE? We learn from the weekly newsletter, Public Relations News, that the public relations office at Yale has fixed up a 70-foot visual exhibit to show to Yale faculty members & administrators, and tell them the story of Yale's contributions to the world. Theme of exhibit: "There's a Story Being Told About Yale."

That's fine. For Yale certainly has a great story to tell. And it's so diversified & complicated that many faculty members & administrators & leading alumni don't know much about it.

But there's another story being told about Yale, especially the Yale Law School. It doesn't help Yale's public relations at all. It's the story of some faculty members who support Stalinoid causes. Lately Dean Wesley A Sturges of Yale Law School announced that 510 students who had come from 114 colleges & universities were enrolled in the school. Suppose Dean Sturges were able to say: "510 students...and not one of them taught by a professor with a Communist record!" Wouldn't that be a wonderful story?

Yours faithfully,

February 4, 1949

Counterattack

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COUNTERATTACK

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FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 4-1458

Letter No. 83
December 24, 1948

Dear Subscriber:

ATTEMPTS TO ABOLISH THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES in the coming session of Congress will take more than one form. There'll be direct efforts to abolish the committee. There'll also be clever plans to sabotage it by denying it enough funds to work effectively.

The committee's virtues greatly outweigh its faults, as the espionage inquiry has shown. Any weakening of the committee will help Stalin.

Unless you're sure your congressman will strongly support the committee, get in touch with him before he goes to Washington for the session beginning Jan 3. Write or wire him, or take a delegation to see him. Urge him to support the committee, to try to put some good new members on it, and to help defeat any attempt by House leaders to starve it for funds.

THIS IS FIRST RETRACTION COUNTERATTACK HAS EVER PRINTED. For more than a year and a half Counterattack has published a vast quantity of facts to combat Communism. Fully realizing that it's dangerous to tell the truth about Communists & fellow-travelers, we've nevertheless assumed the risk.

We've named names. We've deliberately assumed this responsibility, for the sake of our own conscience, for the national interest, for the protection of America and the world against slavery.

And we've done our work so accurately that not once has it become either necessary or desirable to tell our readers that we retract a statement made about anyone. There could be no surer proof of our tireless emphasis on accuracy, of the careful investigations we make by personal interview and other means, and of our endless documentary research.

Now for the first time we print a retraction. And we ask our subscribers to read all that follows very carefully, because of the light it casts on the national & world problem of defending liberty today.

On Nov 26 we published a single sentence about Howard Teichmann, a radio writer & producer, in which we said he had "supported Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences & Professions...also Peoples Radio Foundation, which applied for broadcasting licenses."

Counterattack's statement was based on a letter issued by a Communist front, bearing Teichmann's name. Documentary evidence of this kind has proved consistently valid. But Teichmann says he never signed the letter and had no connection with it or with the front that issued it.

The front was the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences & Professions. On June 28, 1946, the Executive Committee of its Radio Division sent out a mimeographed letter, signed with six typewritten names. One of these signatures was "Howard Teichman".

The letter said in part: "We, members of the Executive Committee of the Radio Division, heartily endorse the liberal, public service policy indicated by the People's Radio Foundation. There are many of our ICC members who not only own stock in the organization but are part of the advisory

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council as well." At that time the People's Radio Foundation was trying to get an FM broadcasting license. The letter made a request:

"Enclosed is a form letter indicating by your signature your approval of the People's Radio Foundation. It is preferred that you write a personal letter addressed to the Federal Communications Commission and mail this letter back, with your signature, to the People's Radio Foundation."

Now Howard Teichmann has given Counterattack a personal letter, over his handwritten signature, in which he says that he never authorized the signing of his name to the letter from which we've quoted, that he was never a member of the Executive Committee of the Radio Division of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences & Professions (known as ICCASP)...and that he was never even a member of the ICCASP...that he "never contributed one dollar to it directly or indirectly", and that he was never a member of the People's Radio Foundation. Counterattack accepts this statement as true, and it regrets and retracts what it published about Teichmann on the basis of the letter to which his name was signed.

And now a further word to you. This incident illustrates the tricks & subterfuges of Communist fronts. If you ever find your name misused by any totalitarian organization, whether Communist or Fascist, protest at once in writing, for your own protection.

The incident of the ICCASP letter also shows something else. It may indicate to you some of the difficulties under which Counterattack is obliged to do the work which it has undertaken.

In this work we need your full cooperation. We need your moral support, your help in every way possible, in order to combat the Communist Fifth Column in your community and the nation. If there are facts about Communist efforts in your locality or region that need attention, be sure to bring them to our notice. Cooperate with us, and be assured of our efforts to cooperate with you against the tyranny that imperils us all.

QUEER ACCIDENTS INTERFERE WITH CLUB'S ANTI-COMMUNIST BROADCASTS. One of best-known civic clubs in the country is situated in San Francisco. It's the Commonwealth Club of California. Presidents and Presidential candidates and other top-notchers make speeches at this club.

Several anti-Communist speeches at the club's Friday luncheon meetings have run into strange trouble with radio. Examples:

Sen Wm F Knowland, of Calif, made a speech urging America to strengthen itself against Stalin's aggression. Before he came to his most vigorous anti-Kremlin statements, he was cut off the air. Why? Well, the radio engineer who cut him off explained that the senator had just received a lot of applause, so the engineer thought that was the end of the speech.

A speech assailing Stalin's seizure of Czechoslovakia through his action committees was made by Prof Robt J Kerner. Meeting was held in a hotel ballroom, and speech was carried over a telephone line to a transcribing studio. When meeting was ended, the club learned there was a noise interference on the telephone line, so that Prof Kerner's speech wasn't fit for broadcasting. He went to the transcribing studio and repeated the ruined part of his speech. Club couldn't find out the origin of the noise on the wire. Telephone company could only guess it was caused by "some hotel meat cutter or similar electrical machine".

State Sen Jack B Tenney, chairman of Calif legislative Committee on Un-American Activities, made a speech on the committee's work. Speech was broadcast when delivered, on Friday. But it was also scheduled for rebroadcast Sunday morning. A large radio audience listens to the club's Sunday broadcasts regularly. What happened?

Bearings of a generator in radio station burned out. This was an emergency generator. It was in use because the electric lighting company was changing the generator in the basement that morning. Extra oil had been supplied for the emergency generator...yet its bearings burned out. So the station was off the air during the whole time when Sen Tenney's speech was scheduled. When service was restored, the station broadcast the speech... but by that time the club's regular Sunday morning audience was largely gone.

Arthur Bliss Lane, former ambassador to Poland, and author of "I Saw Poland Betrayed", made a speech on that betrayal. In the transcribing studio, the recording of this speech was given to a messenger to carry to the broadcasting studio upstairs. Instead the messenger wrapped it up and mailed it back to Commonwealth Club. So the speech wasn't broadcast that day. Messenger explained he had misunderstood his orders.

Only anti-Communist speeches have run into such accidents. There are many other speeches at the club all the time...but not in several years has any of them been messed up by mechanical trouble on the radio. The accidents only happen to anti-Communist speeches at Friday luncheon meetings. Commonwealth Club doesn't understand why.

HERE'S A TALE OF GRATEFUL COMMUNIST PARENTS. In one community the Communist Party began forming a youth club. The young party members who were assigned to this task didn't start out by trying to organize non-Communists. Instead they went to older party members in the community and asked about their children in late teens or early 20's. It turned out that some of the children weren't members of party. They were sympathetic to it, but for one reason or another their parents hadn't been able to sign them up.

The organizers of the youth club visited homes of these young non-members and made their sales arguments. Quickly they signed up several of the children. CP reports this incident to its members, pointing out that among results were "a number of very grateful parents, who appreciated the final boost in making Communists out of their sons and daughters."

LET'S THINK ABOUT MORAL BUSINESS MEN AND THE COMMUNIST FIFTH COLUMN. In our issue of Oct 8 we quoted a letter by Paramount Pictures which we said "might well be a model for other companies". Barney Balaban, president of Paramount, had sent the letter to a Communist-controlled union, the Screen Office & Professional Employees Guild (known as SOPEG). This union is a part of the notorious United Office & Professional Workers of America.

Barney Balaban wrote that Paramount wouldn't negotiate with SOPEG, because its officers had refused to sign non-Communist affidavits. "The Communist Party and its adherents are bad for our country and bad for our industry," wrote Balaban. "Our position, therefore, is very simple. We propose to exercise every legal right to keep them out of our affairs....If ever there were a time for each of us to stand up and be counted, this is it! Why should any American hesitate to stand up and state, 'I am not a member of the Communist Party and I'm glad to swear to it!'"

But one large movie producer DID sign with the Communist-controlled

SOPEG. This was Eagle Lion Films, Inc. Now how did Eagle Lion explain its action? Listen to this from Wm C MacMillen, Eagle Lion V-P in charge of operations. Speaking of the affidavit provision in Taft-Hartley Act, he said:

"Of course I know some employers take advantage of that provision. They challenge the union's claims to represent a majority of the employees and refuse to negotiate, thereby forcing an NLRB election and making signing of the affidavits unavoidable."

Well, that's exactly what OUGHT to be done, isn't it? That's what the affidavit provision was intended to do. It's a weapon against Communist union officers...and to the extent that it works, it's an admirable weapon. But V-P MacMillen of Eagle Lion continued:

"Aside from the purely moral issue, we wouldn't do anything like that for selfish reasons. We just don't think our employees would like it if we did and we don't think resentful employees work as hard or as conscientiously as employees who think we're dealing honestly with them."

You may have to read that a second time to get what he's driving at. He actually means it's a violation of morals to refuse to deal with a Communist-controlled union! It's immoral and specifically it's dishonest.

Thus Eagle Lion takes a high moral tone and nobly rejects the weapon that Congress put in its hand to protect itself and its industry and the American people from the Communist Fifth Column. Morally and graciously, Eagle Lion sits down with the Fifth Column and negotiates a contract.

Many employers have signed with Communist-led unions because they thought they were forced to do it. They've signed as a matter of necessity. But to sign willingly and gladly, to sign with a high moral tone, and to cast moral reproaches at companies which refuse to sign...that's something different. That isn't a matter of necessity. It's a matter of morals.

This is the moral season of Christmas. In Stalin's slave camps many millions of men and women, who once celebrated Christmas like us, are now toiling like beasts and waiting for death. The world wonders whether it can avoid a shooting war, which may end in American defeat and may bring those slave camps to our country, with millions of us as the slaves. In the Berlin airlift American airmen, who are risking their lives to keep those slave camps out of America, sometimes don't get through...they crash and burn. But in our comfortable country, in our safe country where there are no slave camps yet, Eagle Lion morally signs with the Stalinists.

"COMMITTEE FOR PROFESSIONAL FREEDOM"...what do you suppose that is? It's a new front, which ought to be called "A Committee for the Freedom of Communist & Pro-Communist Professional People Employed by the Veterans Administration to Stay on the Federal Payroll and Do Whatever They Can for Stalin Russia, Despite the Loyalty Check".

But of course it hasn't got such a long name...or such an honest one. This front has been organized by the Communist-controlled United Public Workers, CIO, to subvert the loyalty check. It's seeking support of medical and scientific organizations.

Yours faithfully,

December 24, 1948

Counterattack

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FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 4-1458

Letter No. 81
December 10, 1948

Dear Subscriber:

WHEN HIGH U. S. OFFICIALS ARE COMMUNIST SPIES, IS IT ANY WONDER WE LOSE CHINA? At start of this year...on Jan 9...Counterattack began its letter of that date with this question: "HOW HIGH UP ARE STALIN'S SPIES IN U. S. GOVT?" We then revealed what had never before been published here... that U S Army Intelligence had learned that one of Stalin's spy rings in Japan had been led by Dr Richard Sorge, Nazi Party member who was an important official of German Embassy in Tokyo, and that his chief lieutenant was a leading Japanese who was close to Prime Minister Konoye's secretaries.

If Stalin could do this in Japan, where the Govt was militaristic & strict, how much had he been able to do in our far more careless country? We quoted Alfred Kohlberg, chairman of American China Policy Assn, as asking the blunt question: "How many in our State Dept are Russian spies?"

Now in Pearl Harbor Week we've begun to get a bit of the answer. With Whittaker Chambers & Alger Hiss & Donald Hiss testifying before the Federal grand jury, part of the truth begins to come out.

There were and there ARE Communists in various departments & agencies of our Govt. Communists in State Dept largely molded our policy on China. During the war the State Dept and the Office of War Information had Communists in Chungking. They plotted against the Chinese Govt. They were honored by being received as guests of Madame Sun Yat Sen, the top Communist fellow-traveler in China, who is touted by Communists in U S as a liberal.

With Communists in high positions in State Dept, with Communists betraying our codes to Stalin, with Communists poisoning the information received by our President and our Sec'y of State, is it any wonder that we've practically lost China and lost the Asiatic part of the Second World War?

We fought Japan to keep her from grabbing China...but now we've let STALIN grab China. On Nov 26, 1941, Sec'y Hull handed the Japanese ambassador the fateful note which Japan called an ultimatum. It was our last word. Japan must get completely out of China, must abandon her puppet Manchukuoan Govt, must recognize Chiang Kai Shek's Natl Govt. On that issue we went to war. Now we've let Stalin take China. What did we fight the Pacific war for? What was the good of all the lives lost, of all the torments suffered by our troops on Bataan, Guadalcanal, New Guinea, Iwo Jima, and in the blood-reddened waters of the Philippines and all those other places of battle?

If Japan had gained full control of China she would have been less dangerous to America than Stalin will be. At least Japan would have had Communist Siberia at her back, as an enemy to be watched. But there will be no enemy at the back of Communist China.

This week Wm Z Foster & Frank Waldron, alias Eugene Dennis, leaders of Communist Party here, cabled Chinese CP: "Your historic successes, and your approaching nationwide victory, are helping to decisively change the face of the world. We American Communists appreciate the significance of

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these events." Yes, the Communists appreciate the significance. But do we?

U S has only delivered $63,000,000 in fighting equipment to China in past year and a half. That's the figure which our officials now claim, after all those yarns about our huge gifts to China. Only $63,000,000 (it may be less). And in the same period we've given little Greece $170,000,000. We certainly should defend Greece from Stalin...but why give him China?

All this isn't merely a matter of blundering by our Govt. It's largely the result of operations of Communists at a high level in our State Dept. Some of them had easy access to the White House. And Communists are still in government jobs. Efforts to get at the truth have been largely balked by the hush-up policy of the Administration...for fear of political embarrassment. The much denounced House Committee on Un-American Activities is the only official body that has given our people a glimpse of the truth, to awaken them to the terrible national danger. But we need much more than this glimpse. We need a thorough-going investigation that will expose the Communists in the Govt and throw them out, even at this late hour.

COMMUNIST PARTY REBUKES ITS OWN CIO LEADERS FOR FAILURE TO FIGHT PHILIP MURRAY. Rebuke was administered this week by John Williamson, Natl Labor Sec'y of CP (who's one of 12 top party leaders now under indictment). We'll give facts on his action in a moment. But first let's see what Murray's plans against CP are...and how CP intends to resist them.

Murray has these plans for these Communist-controlled unions:

FE (Farm Equipment union). It's ordered to merge with Walter Reuther's United Auto Workers. Merger order comes from CIO Exec Board, under authority of a wide, elastic resolution adopted in recent CIO convention. Board set 60-day time limit for obedience. FE is talking back defiantly... but Murray may may lift its charter, on the ground that FE is violating a jurisdictional decision which CIO gave in favor of Auto years ago.

United Public Workers. What Murray is especially worried about is strength of this union at Panama Canal. He's going to charter a new Federal employees' union, and transfer Federal members from UPW. Many such employees bolted UPW lately and entered CIO Shipbuilding union. Now they'll move into new Federal employees' union. UPW will be left with its state & local employees. But later Murray will fight to end CP control in that area too.

United Office & Professional Workers of America. Its leaders are resisting Murray's demand that they resign. If necessary, Murray will appoint an organizing committee to organize office workers independently of this union. One way or another, he's determined to beat CP in office field.

Food, Tobacco & Agricultural Workers. Here he may use same tactics as in office union. Or he may let another CIO union enter this jurisdiction.

United Electrical Workers. This huge union, third largest in CIO, has been Murray's chief worry. He wants to drive its Communist leaders out of CIO without letting them take UE out...or even take a big minority of members. Pres Albert Fitzgerald of UE isn't a Communist...he's a self-seeking stooge. In convention Murray let other CIO leaders rap Fitzgerald and threaten to prevent his reelection as one of the nine CIO V-P's. So Fitzgerald made a few hedging statements...for example, he said Molotov & Vishinsky were warmongers. He was reelected a CIO V-P. Now Murray is trying to drive a deeper wedge between Fitzgerald and the Communists who run UE. Fitzgerald will turn anti-CP if he can save UE presidency for himself.

West Coast longshoremen. There's a strong revolt against Pres Harry Bridges in this union. Murray will coax it along.

CIO councils in Calif. Harry Bridges controls these, but Murray intends to end his control, maybe by lifting their charters. This is what he has just done to CIO council in Greater NY.

Here's CP's strategy to resist Murray. CP will stress militant union tactics...big wage demands...stiff fight against speedup...etc. CP loudly calls for return of spirit of 1936, when CIO was created. It charges that Murray, Reuther, Emil Rieve of Textile, and other leaders have lost militancy...that in backing the Marshall Plan they'll necessarily have to urge labor peace...that they're selling out the workers. CP will promote wildcat strikes and other revolts in unions led by anti-Communists. Thus it hopes to win followers and make Murray's anti-Communism unpopular.

Now here's John Williamson's rebuke to some leaders:

Pres Albert Fitzgerald of UE gets the most open drubbing. Williamson bawls him out for his "remarks to the effect that if Truman makes good he will tell the Progressive Party 'to go to hell'" and for "his unfounded criticism of the Soviet Union as 'sabre rattlers'". And Williamson broadly hints to all Communists that Fitzgerald is thinking about breaking with CP.

CP Members Jas J Matles & Julius Emspak, the rulers of UE, are rebuked, but not by name, because they weakened a little under Murray's attack. For instance, although they voted for the minority resolutions, they didn't fight for them by getting up on their hind legs and making speeches. Williamson spanks these UE chiefs as well as the delegates from West Coast longshoremen and United Furniture Workers for these and other acts of caution.

Murray is now "the worst red-baiter of them all" and must be fought to the finish, says CP. There must be no backing away from him. Fight him on the wage question...call him a sell-out artist. That's the new CP line.

PRUDENTIAL INSURANCE CO. PROVES OFFICE UNION LEADERS ARE PRO-MOSCOW. Two years ago Allis-Chalmers Co delivered a mighty blow against Communist leaders of Local 248 of United Auto Workers by issuing a booklet containing photostatic copies of signatures of those leaders on a Communist Party nominating petition. Now Prudential Insurance Co has done much the same thing to leaders of United Office & Professional Workers of America (UOPWA).

Prudential has published a 20-page booklet with photostats of signature of Pres Jas H Durkin on CP nominating petitions...also signatures of Division Head Jos H Levy and Regional Directors Richard S Lewis, Aaron J Schneider & Frank Engelberg. Also proof that Midwest Regional Director Morris Yanoff enrolled (or registered) as a Communist in a 1933 election. Etc, etc.

Counterattack issued a special report in July, 1947, on UOPWA, giving abundant proof that Communist Party controls this union.

COMMUNIST MURIEL DRAPER AND HER SON PAUL DO THEIR STUFF. Stalin's international front for women is called the Women's International Democratic Federation. It has just held its annual convention in Budapest, Hungary. Some American newspapers have reported a few facts about this. They've quoted the frightening statements of the leader of the American delegation, Muriel Draper, who revealed the ghastly "police terror" that now crushes our miserable country. But they haven't told anything else about Muriel Draper.

Muriel Draper is a member of the Communist Party. Why is this kind of fact omitted when newspapers report meetings of Communist fronts? Muriel Draper, a CP member, is Exec V-P of the Congress of American Women, which is the U S affiliate of Stalin's international women's front.

Muriel Draper's son Paul is a well-known tap dancer...and a prominent name in Communist fronts. He and Larry Adler, the harmonica player, go on tour together...and at the same time appear in Stalinoid meetings. Occasionally they even get away with a bit of their propaganda on the stage.

While his mother was smearing the U S in the Budapest meeting during the past week, Paul Draper was speaking & dancing at a series of meetings called by a big Communist front & racket, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. These meetings were among many hundreds held in 16 countries by the world Communist movement for permanent enslavement of Spain. The Communists staged what they called a Free Spain Week. They mean they want to replace Franco's Fascist tyranny with Stalin's far more tyrannical Red Fascism.

Among Paul Draper's companions in the Communist-front meetings for a Stalinized Spain were Paul Robeson, who is a Communist Party member but doesn't admit it yet...Howard Fast, novelist & propagandist, who no longer denies he's a Communist Party member...Sen Glen Hearst Taylor...Rep Vito Marcantonio...Rep Leo Isacson...0 John Rogge, lawyer for many Red Fascists and their fronts...Dorothy Parker, writer, who doesn't admit she's a CP member ...Jas Waterman Wise, leading Commugressive...Maxine Sullivan, singer.

Paul Draper sometimes appears in movies. Eric Johnston and the movie companies should take note of Paul Draper's Stalinoid activities.

Ella Winter, wife of Donald Ogden Stewart, leading screenwriter, was one of the delegates at the meeting of Stalin's international women's front in Budapest. Ella Winter has also been writing a series of articles from Europe for the newspaper PM (which now calls itself the NYStar).

NORMAN CORWIN IN HOLLYWOOD HELPS COMMUNIST SCREENWRITERS IN DRIVE TO GET THEIR JOBS BACK. The 10 Communist writers & directors who were fired by movie industry a year ago, after they refused to tell Congress whether they were CP members, are campaigning vigorously to reverse that decision.

Hollywood chapter of a top Communist front, the Natl Council of Arts, Sciences & Professions, staged a meeting recently to help them.

Norman Corwin was featured speaker in the Hollywood meeting. This leading radio writer & director is a big name in Columbia Broadcasting System. And he's a big name in many Communist fronts too (Counterattack July 25 '47, pp 3 & 4). He praised the 10 indicted Communists.

Ring Lardner, Jr, one of the indicted ten, is appealing to public opinion by writing a long letter to newspapers which a year ago denounced the Hollywood hearings. Many newspapers did this, usually because they just don't know the score. Lardner's form letter to each of these papers begins by quoting one of its editorials a year ago assailing the hearings. Then he compliments the paper by saying its attacks on the investigation "contributed materially to its abrupt termination". Next he bemoans the dismissal of the writers & directors as a deep injustice. This letter has appeared in many newspapers. It's cunning & untruthful. Hollywood should not only maintain its decision against these Communists but enforce it against all others.

Yours faithfully,

December 10, 1948

Counterattack

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FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LOngacre 4-1458

Letter No. 78
November 19, 1948

Dear Subscriber:

WHAT ARE COMMUNIST PARTY'S PLANS AND WHAT ABOUT ITS THIRD PARTY? CP has analyzed election results with usual realism. It thinks its strategy has been right, in the main. It isn't going to drop Wallace. It will keep its Progressive (or Commugressive) Party. It proved its own efficiency by getting this party on ballot in nearly every state. It believes Truman stole Wallace's thunder by promising a super New Deal and by hinting appeasement of Moscow to millions of wishful-thinking voters who favor that course.

But now Truman has to deliver. And to the extent that he doesn't deliver, the CP and its Third Party and Wallace hope to be able to win adherents and build up Third Party to real size.

CP has helped to elect a number of congressmen, besides Marcantonio. If any congressman in your state accepted Commugressive endorsement, watch him. CP will try to kill House Committee on Un-American Activities...or else get some of its friends on committee. It will also try to infiltrate Govt departments & agencies with secret Communists and sympathizers. It will fight anything like Mundt-Nixon Communist registration bill.

CP is making a recruiting drive in industry this month and next... trying to get a few thousand new members. And it openly admits underestimating the political effectiveness of David Dubinsky of AFL Ladies' Garment Workers and Walter Reuther of CIO Auto. It will fight them and their organization, Americans for Democratic Action, more bitterly than ever.

SUPPOSE YOU WERE A DOCTOR, a heart specialist, and you were asked by a Federal judge to examine Wm Z Foster and report whether he was able to stand trial with 11 associates on charges of plotting against Govt. Foster has had a bad heart for 20 years or more...but this didn't stop him from running for President in 1932 and from going on speaking tours since then and taking part in conventions & demonstrations and from touring Europe and making speeches there. But recently he was indicted, and when time for trial approached he took to his bed.

If you were a heart specialist, what would you do? Foster might have died five years ago, or may die five years from now. But if you told the judge that Foster could stand trial now, what if he dropped dead tomorrow? That would always be remembered against you. So you'd probably play safe. Well, two doctors examined Foster, and one of them reported that to put any severe strain on him would be "inadvisable", and the other said a trial would be "at least undesirable and at most hazardous".

So Federal Judge Harold R Medina has postponed case to Jan 17, when trial is to begin, with or without Foster. But CP wants to keep on stalling. It hopes to use Foster's heart to save all 12 party leaders by getting a longer or indefinite postponement, or even dismissal of the indictments. The longer the delay, the more the CP can propagandize in U S & Europe, crying "persecution", in hope of shaming our Govt and forcing it to drop case.

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WHY DID HERBERT EVATT JOIN TRYGVE LIE IN THAT APPEASEMENT PLAN for yielding to Stalin's demand that the U N reject the question of the Berlin blockade? Well, Evatt has Communists to appease at home, in Australia. Communist power there is especially noticeable in labor unions.

Trygve Lie is former member of Communist International. Remember this in considering his latest appeasement maneuver. Lie's party, the Norwegian Labor Party, used to be Communist. It was Norwegian section of Communist International. As an official of this Communist party, Lie visited Moscow in 1921. Although his party later withdrew from Communist International, Lie remained a leader of its pro-Soviet wing. Stalin made Lie Sec'y General of U N, by insisting on his election. The man Lie picked to be his top Ass't Sec'y General is Arkady A Sobolev, a Soviet official. As Sec'y General, Lie has helped Stalin...see Counterattack Jan 2 & Apr 23.

COMMUNIST PARTY TRIES TO OUST GOVERNOR OF HAWAII. Today CP has great strength there, not only economically but POLITICALLY. And it's in fine position to spy on American military activities, including those at Pearl Harbor. Its power is wielded through International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, CIO, headed by Harry Bridges. His union has moved inland from docks to sugar & pineapple plantations, etc.

Thus Bridges has gained control of Hawaiian labor as a whole. Workers' wages & conditions were so bad that Hawaii was ripe for unionization...and Bridges moved in to do this job before any other important labor leader. And by controlling Hawaiian unions, he has won immense power in Democratic Party. Any Democratic leader who doesn't cooperate with him has a hard time. Two years ago, in campaign for election of Hawaiian delegate to U S House of Representatives, the Communists fought the Democratic candidate, Wm Borthwick. Republican candidate, Jos R Farrington, won.

Gov Ingram M Stainback, a Democrat, has opposed Communists in Govt, politics, labor & education. At University of Hawaii, Chas K Fujimoto was a research chemist. Secretly he was also a member of Executive Bd of CP of Hawaii. He was exposed last year by an ex-Communist, yet he kept his job till a few weeks ago, when he resigned and announced he had become chairman of CP.

Communists prevented Gov Stainback from being elected a delegate to Democratic Natl Convention in Phila this year. And now Democratic Central Committee of Hawaii, by overwhelming vote of 13 to 2, denounces Stainback for his charges of Communist infiltration, and demands that Truman fire him.

Of course Stainback should be kept in office. But that isn't enough. Whole Communist power in Hawaii must be smashed. This is mainly job of Govt. But Philip Murray can help by moving in to take control of CIO in Hawaii away from Bridges and his longshoremen's regional director, Jack Hall. And Congress should pass a Communist registration bill, which would cripple Communists in Hawaii as well as on U S mainland.

COMMUNISTS GAIN IN SOME KEY SECTORS OF LABOR, even though generally losing. On West Coast, Harry Bridges maintains his power in CIO longshoremen's strike, which is primarily economic but also helps Communists to wreck Marshall Plan. And Marshall Plan takes an even worse beating in AFL longshoremen's strike on East Coast. That's also an economic strike...but Communists have a hand in it. On July 25, 1947, Counterattack warned that the CP was gaining in International Longshoremen's Assn, AFL, because of regime of "King Joe" Ryan, who had made himself lifetime president at $20,000 a year plus big expense account.

Communist Lee Pressman's law firm, Pressman, Witt & Cammer, is attorney for AFL longshoremen's Back Pay Committee, which is seeking credit for recent Supreme Court decision that longshoremen are entitled to be paid "overtime on overtime". Another lawyer for this committee is Wm L Standard, who was dropped as general counsel of CIO Natl Maritime Union when Pres Jos Curran decisively whipped the Communists. Supreme Court decision upset an agreement Joe Ryan had made with the employers. Now the Communist-led Back Pay Committee expects that millions of dollars in back wages will be paid to workers...and the committee will manage to get its hands on a hunk of this, which it will use to promote Communist campaign in AFL longshoremen's union.

And Communists have won a wildcat strike in brewing industry, despite efforts of the international union, United Brewery Workers, CIO, to force compliance with contract. Strike was fought on question of a delivery schedule, which strikers denounced as a speed-up. Lawyer for strikers was Paul O'Dwyer, sponsor & official of Communist fronts, including Natl Lawyers Guild, and brother of Mayor O'Dwyer of NYCity. O'Dwyer was a Commugressive candidate for Congress in recent campaign. Now Communists hope to win control of the international union.

"RED DEAN" TALKS ABOUT COMMUNIST PROFESSORS AND SCIENTISTS. Dr Hewlett Johnson, member of Communist Party of Britain, and also of editorial board of Daily Worker (London), is now in U S as result of unlawful & obtuse behavior of State Dept. Law forbids entry of Communists. State Dept gave Communist Johnson a tremendous publicity build-up by first barring him because he was sponsored by a Communist front, but later admitting him when the same front set up a dummy committee to sponsor him.

So on his arrival at a U S airport he was met by over 100 newspaper, radio & newsreel people, with flashbulbs, microphones, recording apparatus, and klieg lights. State Dept should take a bow for its publicity job.

"In England we have 50 or 60 professors of history who are Communists," says Communist Johnson. "But they are too valuable for us to get rid of them. Our scientists, many of whom are Communists, are also too valuable. We don't hound them as you do in America. It would be absurd."

Fact is there are many Communist professors & scientists here too, but they're too cagey to admit they're Communists. Practically all of them support Natl Council of American-Soviet Friendship, the front that's sponsoring Communist Johnson's trip through a dummy "Committee of Welcome".

The Boston dummy committee, headed by Rev Warren H McKenna, sent out invitations to a meeting at which Communist Johnson spoke. The committee used the mailing list of Saml Adams School for Social Studies, which rerently folded after it was listed by Dept of Justice as a Communist front.

Some of the members of the Communist dummy committee that is parading Communist Johnson before the American people are:

Rev Prof Jas Luther Adams, University of Chicago...Dr Thos Addis, Stanford U Medical School...Prof Edwin Berry Burgum, NYU...Dr Algernon D Black, Ethical Culture Society...Angus Cameron, high official of the old-established Boston publishing firm, Little, Brown & Co, which in late years has published an amazing number of books by CP members and other party-liners...Very Rev Donald J Campbell, Springfield, Mass.

Also Rev John W Darr, Jr, official of Communist fronts, and Commugressive candidate for public office...Olin Downes, music critic of NYTimes, and zealous backer of Communist causes...Prof Leslie C Dunn, Columbia U...

Rev Stephen H Fritchman, Los Angeles...Prof Ralph H Gundlach, U of Washington, recently cited for contempt by Canwell state legislative committee for refusing to say whether he's a CP member...Prof Wm Ernest Hocking & Prof Howard Mumford Jones, both of Harvard...Rev John Howard Lothrop, Brooklyn.

Also Albert Maltz, screenwriter & CP member, now under indictment for contempt of Congress...Thos Mann, famous author of German birth who is now an American citizen under the law but who is at the same time a fervid Communist fellow-traveler...Rev Wm Howard Melish, chairman of Natl Council of American-Soviet Friendship (the CP top committee in 1944 told Louis F Budenz that Melish was "of great value in the Communist penetration of the Episcopal Church")...and Melish's father, the Rev Dr John Howard Melish, who says he shares his son's views, and who had Communist Hewlett Johnson as guest preacher in his church Sunday, Nov 14

Also Prof F O Matthiessen, Harvard fellow-traveler...Arthur Miller, playwright, who doesn't admit he's member of Communist Party...Judge Stanley Moffatt, recently a Commugressive candidate for Congress in Calif...Dr Stuart Mudd, School of Medicine, U of Pa...Rabbi Louis I Newman, a leading advocate of Commugressives...Rt Rev Edward L Parsons, retired Episcopal Bishop of Calif...Prof Ralph Barton Perry of Harvard, who has been praised by Pravda...Rev Dr Guy Emery Shipler, editor "The Churchman", who led whitewashing expedition of clergymen to Communist Yugoslavia last year, and whose offer of his magazine's annual award to Sec'y Marshall was rejected by him after exposure by Counterattack...Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver...Louis Untermeyer & Prof Mark Van Doren, poets & Commugressives...Prof Oswald Veblen, Institute of Advanced Studies, Princeton...and Rabbi Stephen S Wise.

REV. STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN, pastor of First Unitarian Church, Los Angeles, is included in above list. He went to that church after he was fired last year as editor of official Unitarian magazine, Christian Register, which had become practically a Communist magazine, although Fritchman doesn't admit he's a CP member. Now Fritchman has opened a series of public forums in his church, and many of the speakers are party-liners.

WILL THE AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE EXPEL COMMUNISTS in convention opening in Cleveland Nov 25? Big drive is on for this purpose. Communists recently seemed trying to provoke expulsion...but now have changed mind, are trying desperately to hold on. Many middle-of-road members of AVC want to pass another pious resolution against Communists but not kick them out. But the anti-Communist caucus believes AVC must stand or fall on expulsion of Communists. Unless it expels them, most anti-Communists will resign.

WHAT CAN YOU DO TO BEAT THE COMMUNISTS, in view of their present strategy (see p 1)? Urge Congress to pass a Communist registration bill... and to retain House Committee on Un-American Activities, or expand it to a joint Senate-House committee. And don't let such a committee devote itself to civil rights in general, as some congressmen now urge. Civil rights should be a function of another committee. The present committee has a specialty: it fights Fifth Column of Stalin Russia. That job must be continued & improved. Tell this to your congressman and your senators.

Yours faithfully,

November 19, 1948

Counterattack

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COUNTERATTACK

RES. U. S. PAT. OFF

FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 4-1458

Letter No. 76
November 5, 1948

Dear Subscriber:

WHAT'S THE CHIEF FOREIGN AFFAIRS QUESTION LEFT UNDECIDED BY THE ELECTION? It's question of China. On European matters Truman & Dewey were substantially agreed. But on China Dewey promised a much stronger program of aid than U S has yet given. This week Roger D Lapham, chief of Marshall Plan operations in China, spoke up on that question.

Lapham says let's do a real job in China...let's end half measures. Our present middle-of-the-road policy isn't getting us anywhere and we should adopt what he calls a policy of affirmative aid...that is, "take full responsibility for that aid, control it, and see how it is spent, both economically & militarily." That's advice of a man who's a Truman appointee... a high official of the Truman Administration's Marshall Plan.

Lapham's advice should be taken without delay. Stalin has won Manchuria already. If he wins the rest of China he'll be in a position to dominate all Asia, and it's hard to see how Third World War could be prevented.

PHILIP MURRAY GAINS STRENGTH AGAINST COMMUNISTS BECAUSE OF ELECTION. The policy which Murray laid down for CIO in the election has succeeded far beyond his expectations or those of anyone else in CIO. And at same time the CIO Communist wing has been set back on its heels by low vote of "Progressive" (or Commugressive) Party. Wallace has been tearing around the country denouncing the labor leaders who've refused to support him...meaning Murray above all. He calls them "misleaders of labor"...a term he picked up from the Communists. This denunciation has riled Murray. He'll hold the reins tight on the Communists in CIO convention, which opens in Portland, Ore, Nov 22. But he won't try to drive them out of CIO.

What of the Communist plan to secede from CIO and form a new labor federation? As Counterattack reported July 9, Communist Party decided to go slow on this, mainly because of fear that the members of party-line unions would refuse to follow their leaders out of CIO. But recently eight big locals of CIO Retail, Wholesale & Dept Store Union seceded, and now biggest local of CIO barbers' union has done the same. The secessionists can form nucleus of a new federation if CP finally starts one. But the election results have given the Communists such a jolt that they're likely to hold up their secession plan for a while at least...and after full analysis they may decide to call all hands back into CIO and fight for renewed power there.

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR VITO MARCANTONIO'S VICTORY? On June 25 Counterattack warned of the urgent necessity for Republicans & Democrats to run a coalition candidate against Rep Vito Marcantonio, nationally notorious party-liner. But this wasn't done...and in the campaign Marcantonio even received the undercover support of some Tammany Hall politicians. Result is that this Commugressive candidate has been reelected with 35,937 votes, against 31,482 for the Republican candidate and 31,184 for the Democrat. A

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coalition would have beaten Marcantonio easily. But he was enabled to win by making a series of deals and by dividing the opposition...which is the way Communists have won control of various countries.

WHEN NEWSPAPERS SUPPORT MARCANTONIO AND OTHER PARTY-LINERS, the facts in the case are of national importance.

Marcantonio was supported by the newspaper PM, which now calls itself the NYStar but has maintained the old PM policies. This newspaper also endorsed Marcantonio's political little brother, Rep Leo Isacson, who won a spectacular victory early this year in a special Congressional election to fill a vacancy. But luckily Isacson was beaten this week by a coalition candidate. The same newspaper also supported a number of other Commugressives.

Another newspaper, the NYPost, played a queer part in the election. There was a time when the Post was a LIBERAL newspaper. Not any more.

65 employees of the Post assailed the paper's policy in a letter to it last week, which the Post published. They had a lot to beef about.

Mrs Dorothy S Thackrey now owns the Post. She and her husband, Ted O Thackrey, are co-editors & co-publishers. At start of campaign she came out for Truman, he for Wallace. So both Truman & Wallace were plugged in the Post...which thus worked both sides of the street. Neat job. Trumanites & Wallaceites weren't alienated...they kept on buying the paper.

Both the Thackreys endorsed Leo Isacson...as well as three other Congressional nominees who ran on both Democratic & Commugressive tickets.

Co-Editor & Co-Publisher Ted O Thackrey supported several Communist Party members. One of them was Simon Gerson, an OPEN Communist, who is an official of the CP. He ran for City Council in Brooklyn on the Communist Party ticket and also on the Commugressive ticket. Thackrey endorsed CP Member Gerson...and also CP Member Lee Pressman and CP Member Albert E Kahn, who both ran for Congress on Commugressive ticket...and a number of other Communists and fellow-travelers on that ticket, including Eugene P Connolly and O John Rogge, lawyer for Red Fascists and their fronts.

No wonder the 65 anti-Communist employees of the Post wrote that letter of protest. There was no similar letter by employees of PM (or the NYStar), because that paper is too heavily loaded with Communists & fellow-travelers.

What a situation it is, when two newspapers like these can come out in favor of party-liners who are known as such all over the U S! People who have any dealings with newspapers should take special note of these facts.

WHY DOES JOHN L. LEWIS HELP STALIN AGAIN? Whenever Lewis throws his weight on the Communist side, he excuses himself by declaring he isn't a Communist. Of course Lewis isn't a Communist. Lewis is a Lewisist. John L Lewis yields to no man in his devotion to John L Lewis.

But in the course of helping himself he has helped the Communists repeatedly. Although he suppressed the Communists in his own mine union, he welcomed them when he headed the new CIO in 1936. All he cared about was that they could provide a lot of trained organizers. It was Lewis who made CP Member Lee Pressman general counsel & Number 2 man in CIO.

Lewis was warned by Pres David Dubinsky of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, one of the top CIO unions in those days. Dubinsky pointed out that the Communist Party would try to capture the CIO. Lewis answered:

"Dave, who gets the bird? The hunter or the dog?"

Years later Dubinsky, who had taken his union back into AFL, met Lewis again. By that time Lewis had split with the Communists and pulled out of the CIO, leaving them strongly entrenched there.

"John," said Dubinsky, "who gets the bird? The hunter or the dog?"

"You were right, Dave," said Lewis.

Still he keeps on helping the Communists whenever it suits his own purposes. Last week he did it again by writing a letter to Pres Wm Green of AFL, "just as one miner to another", asking him to induce Truman to use his control of Marshall Plan money in order to force French Govt to "stop the shooting of French coal miners who are hungry". This gross misstatement of real situation in France was of great propaganda value to the Communists there and in England and other countries, especially among miners. The Daily Worker in this country splashed Lewis' letter across its front page.

Leon Blum, the aged Socialist former premier, cabled Lewis that the strike was a political one, a Communist maneuver, that most of the workers opposed it and that police hadn't intervened till Communists had started to ruin the mines by pulling maintenance men out. Blum made an innocent mistake. He assumed Lewis was a big-hearted old miner who just didn't know the elementary facts about French mine situation. But such facts had been published in U S newspapers for weeks. How could the head of the U S miners' union not know them? Lewis knew but he didn't care.

He wasn't really interested in the French miners. All he cared about was the American election. He was sore at Truman for getting injunctions that stopped his strikes, so he used the French situation to incite American miners against Truman and some other candidates, especially in W Va and Ky. And by proving he could infuence votes, Lewis intended to emphasize his demand that the Govt let him control the Bureau of Mines. That's what Lewis was after. And if in doing it he helped Stalin to block the Marshall Plan and ruin France and all Europe, what does Lewis care?

COMMUNISTS PLAN MOVIE BOYCOTT TO FORCE RECOGNITION OF THEIR UNION. Here's a scheme in which Communist Party is using a number of resources. It's using a Communist-controlled union, plus the Commugressive Party and Henry Wallace, plus a top Communist front...the Natl Council of Arts, Sciences & Professions, known as NCASP.

The NCASP will help the Communist-led union in a boycott of movies. Chairman of NCASP is Prof Harlow Shapley of Harvard, the old reliable, who doesn't admit membership in Communist Party. NCASP has formed a "Citizens Committee" to push boycott. Committee is headed by Louis Untermeyer, poet, anthologist, radio speaker, etc, a zealous supporter of Communist fronts.

One of the committee members is Howard Fast, writer of propaganda novels, who no longer denies he's a CP member. Fast and 10 other directors of big CP front & racket, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, are going to jail soon for contempt of Congress. Another member is John Lardner, drama critic of newspaper PM, now called NYStar. Lardner's brother, Ring Lardner, Jr, is one of the 10 Hollywood Communists indicted for contempt of Congress.

The Communist-led union involved is United Office & Professional Workers of America, CIO, known as UOPWA. Its officers haven't filed non-Communist affidavits with NLRB. Two of its subsidiaries are Screen Office & Professional Employees Guild and the Screen Publicists Guild. Nearly all the movie producers have refused to renew contracts with these outfits.

So the biggest union in amusement field has moved in. This is the

IATSE (International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees, AFL). IATSE has won election after election, and the Communist-run UOPWA is licked...unless it can save itself by using box-office pressure against the producers.

So there'll be large ads in newspapers, urging readers to boycott all movies produced by firms that don't recognize UOPWA. Ads will be signed by the "Citizens Committee", composed of big names from the front, the NCASP. Names of Wallace and other celebrities will be flashed at readers.

WHAT TO DO: Tell your newspapers NOW that they shouldn't accept any ad by Communist Party or any of its fronts...including this "Citizens Committee". Urge your newspaper to reject all such ads by Fifth Column. If a newspaper accepts such an ad, mail it to us. We'll report the fact.

BISHOP ADVISES CLERGYMEN NOT TO APPEAR IN MEETINGS WITH "RED DEAN". Now that State Dept has broken law by admitting Communist Hewlett Johnson, dean of Canterbury Cathedral, Communist Party is efficiently using him for best propaganda advantage. One way of doing this is to bring him before the public in the company of other clergymen. Some of these are already secret Communists. Others tend toward Communism, and they can be led further in that direction by publicly associating with Communist Johnson. Moreover, church laymen and other people can be led toward Communism if they see that the harmless-looking old Russia Firster is publicly approved by a lot of clergymen in this country.

But Right Rev F Eric Bloy, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Los Angeles, knows that clergymen who appear in public with Communist Johnson will lay themselves open to suspicion. He himself has refused to take part in formal arrangements of welcome. And besides this he has advised his clergymen not to appear in public meetings with the visitor, "for it surely would be interpreted as tacit approval of his views."

It surely would. Not only of his views but of his Communist ACTS. Any clergyman, or anybody else, who associates with Communist Johnson will only have himself to blame if he's widely regarded as a Red Fascist himself.

IN ORDER TO BEAT THE COMMUNISTS, GET NEW BOOKLET ISSUED BY CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES. This is fifth in the notable series on Communism which the Chamber has published in past two years. It's a 58-page booklet entitled, "A Program for Community Anti-Communist Activity". In it you'll find many specific recommendations that will clearly show you how to do effective anti-Communist work in your community.

Organize local anti-Communist committees...and put special emphasis on the subcommittee on information, which can dig out the facts you need for action. Get real experts to help you...avoid labor-haters & bigots. After local committees are formed, go ahead and coordinate them through state committees. Recommendations like these are the heart of the program.

Already the Communist Party has attacked the new booklet. "U S Chamber Maps Witchhunt Network", cries the CP on page 1 of Daily Worker. "Witch-hunt" is CP's word for any exposure of Communism. To get the booklet, write Chamber of Commerce of U S A, Washington, DC. Single copies 50¢. Two to five copies, 40¢ each. Other rates for larger quantities.

Yours faithfully,

November 5, 1948

Counterattack

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COUNTERATTACK
FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM
REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.
55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 4-1458

Letter No. 69
September 17, 1948

Dear Subscriber:

DIRECT TIE-IN OF COMMUNIST PARTY WITH ATOMIC BOMB SPYING is shown by actions of Steve Nelson, one of leading officials of Communist Party. This week he refused to answer questions of House Committee on Un-American Activities. During the war he operated on the West Coast. With the help of other Communist Party members, he received secret information from radiation laboratory at Berkeley, Calif, and he transmitted it to the underground Comintern agent, Arthur Adams...who was a Soviet citizen of Canadian birth.

The FBI was watching Adams, Nelson and a number of others. But it was forbidden to act effectively against them. Reason: fear of offending our "great ally", Stalin Russia. Result: Adams disappeared.

Nelson was promoted by Communist Party for his spying. In July, 1945, after European war was over but while war against Japan was still going on, he was elected to the top party body, the Communist Natl Board ("Politbureau"). He remained a member for two years. Then he was nominally removed when the board was reshuffled so that the party chairmen in the three leading Midwestern industrial states, Ohio, Michigan, and Illinois, could be added to it. But Nelson still sat in at board meetings.

He was chairman of the party's "national groups" commission for a long time after the war. This commission promotes various fronts and other activities among foreign-language groups. Recently Nelson became head of the party organization in the Western Pennsylvania (Pittsburgh) district, one of the chief industrial districts of the country.

In refusing to answer the House committee's questions, Nelson is following the Communist pattern. Of course he knows he's risking a jail term. As a matter of fact, if he hadn't been taken off the "Politbureau" last year for tactical reasons, he would have been among the party leaders indicted recently for conspiring against the U S Govt. Conviction on that ground would have brought him a much stiffer term than the one-year maximum which is all he can get for contempt of Congress.

ARTHUR ADAMS, THE UNDERGROUND AGENT WHO WAS ALLOWED TO ESCAPE and who apparently left U S, had a cover job while engaged in atomic spying. He was paid $75 a week by a company called Keynote Recordings, which manufactured records. Thus he went through the motions of having a legitimate occupation, to cover his activities.

The head of the company was Eric Bernay, who was a witness this week before the House committee. Bernay was mentioned in the very first issue of Counterattack, dated May 16, 1947. He used to be advertising manager of Communist Party's New Masses weekly. Some time ago he withdrew from Keynote Recordings. He still owns a record shop, called the "Music Room", which he established long ago. Both Keynote Recordings and the Music Room have emphasized records made by party-liners. Music Room has advertised in Daily Worker and sold tickets to meetings of fronts.

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JOHN HAMMOND, MILLIONAIRE FELLOW-TRAVELER, succeeded Bernay last year as Pres of Keynote Recordings and later sold its assets to Mercury Records Corp, of which he's V-P. Hammond is son of John Henry Hammond, corporation lawyer, once member of big law firm of Cadwallader, Wickersham & Taft, later chairman of Bangor & Aroostook RR, and honorary chairman of Natl Industrial Conference Board. The son, John Hammond, is a hot jazz enthusiast, and used to be in charge of the hot jazz department of Columbia Recording Corp. He has been a patron of musicians, especially Negroes...and many of these have been drawn into Communist circles.

Hammond is an angel of "The Protestant", a Communist magazine which isn't backed by any religious denomination. He's chairman of Protestant Associates, who raise money for the magazine.

He joined three other angels several years ago in organizing Trade Union Service, Inc, which prints union newspapers and other material for unions that are Communist-controlled or that may be drawn into the Communist orbit. The three other millionaires are Frederick Vanderbilt Field, Communist Party member and former Sec'y of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Corliss Lamont, and Richard Storrs Childs.

Hammond was the original angel of "Cafe Society", a cafe that soon acquired a national reputation and became a Communist rendezvous. The man he staked was Barney Josephson, Communist Party member and brother of Leon Josephson, important Communist International agent now serving a prison term for contempt of Congress. Hammond was also the angel of "Down Beat", a swing magazine that has often plugged the party line among swing musicians.

It all interlocks...all of it, from espionage to swing. The millionaire angels who inherited their money and are trying to soothe a guilt feeling by financing various Stalinoid activities...the business men like Eric Bernay, who were open Communists in their youth but have now receded into the background, only to be brought to the front of the stage once in a while to explain such a thing as giving a cover job to Arthur Adams...the party leaders like Steve Nelson, who used Communist Party members on the West Coast to do liaison and other work in connection with atomic energy spying...all of these persons and their efforts interlock. All of this adds up to the Communist Fifth Column...which we've got to crush.

STRUGGLE AGAINST COMMUNISTS IN CIO REACHES ANOTHER PEAK. For one thing, Philip Murray has made new gains in his efforts to end Communist control of state and city CIO councils. He has just knocked the party boys out of control in Detroit by an unexpectedly tough crackdown at the CIO Council convention there. Now anti-Communists are in full charge. This means, essentially, that Walter Reuther is running the show. And Murray is on the point of lifting charter of Greater NY CIO Council and enabling anti-Communists to take charge there. The one big spot of resistance to Murray is California, where Harry Bridges still runs the most important councils.

Several large party-line locals of CIO Retail, Wholesale & Dept Store Union have seceded, because parent union insisted they file non-Communist affidavits. Now the question is whether they'll remain independent, or join some other CIO union, or even join some AFL union that's willing to take them in. If the Communists establish a third labor federation, in opposition to CIO and AFL, as they've been wanting to do, of course these rebellious locals will join the new set-up. Main reason why party hesitates to establish the new federation is its fear that it won't be able to carry along most of the members of its top union, United Electrical Workers.

WHEN PRESIDENT TRUMAN AND HARLOW SHAPLEY MET ON THE SAME PLATFORM, at centennial meeting of American Assn for Advancement of Science, it was an interesting occasion in more ways than one. Truman's speech was largely, in effect, an attack on House Committee on Un-American Activities. Thus it was a political speech. Prof Shapley, director of Harvard Observatory, made a speech as retiring president of the association. His speech contained some veiled attacks on Truman's foreign policy...and it implied that Stalin is justified in refusing to permit U N inspection of atomic energy plants.

Shapley's politics are much, much different from Truman's, even though the two men both oppose the House Comm on Un-American Activities.

A dozen Communist fronts supported by Shapley were listed in Counterattack Oct 17 '47. Those were only a sample. Shapley has supported others and is the top officer of some of them. He makes rousing speeches at meetings of fronts, attacking American policies. But in scientific meetings he merely hints at his political position.

Don't believe the reports that Shapley has privately admitted that for years he has been a secret member of Communist Party. Shapley hasn't admitted it.

"Our species of man is now at one of its critical epochs," said Shapley in his speech. "Does it survive the crisis, through the use of intelligence and the submersion of avarice, or does it join the fossil biological failures of the past?" Notice that statement about "avarice". It is avarice that's causing this world crisis, according to Shapley. In other words, the greed for profits. In other words, American Big Business, Wall Street. That's the reason we may get into a war with Stalin Russia.

Shapley says nothing of the Kremlin's greed for POWER, as a cause of war. You don't hear him urge "the submersion of the power lust". Oh, no, that would be pointing a finger at Moscow...which is what Shapley never does.

HEAD OF UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO IS DRAWN INTO SHAPLEY'S NEW FRONT. On June 18 Counterattack told you about the Natl Council of Arts, Sciences & Professions. Harlow Shapley is chairman of this front. Now it has organized a "Commission for Academic Freedom".

Purpose is to protect Communist professors & instructors. Immediate stimulus for this new "commission" is situation in Washington State, where similar front had already been established. Canwell Committee on Un-American Activities recently investigated what the Communists had been doing in the state university. Several Communist professors refused to answer questions, so contempt proceedings were started against them. Meanwhile Communist Party in Washington State set up a front to protect them...and this front appealed to Shapley's Natl Council of Arts etc for help...so the "council" has created another front: the "Commission for Academic Freedom".

Chancellor Robt M Hutchins of University of Chicago is a sponsor of this new front. Hutchins has carefully avoided a lot of other Communist transmission belts which many college heads have fallen for. But he has definitely fallen for one this time. Friends of University of Chicago should give Hutchins a few facts about the new front he's supporting.

Its secretary is Dr Clyde R Miller, who lately lost his post as associate professor of education at Teachers College, Columbia University, after being on leave of absence since 1943 (Counterattack May 14, p 3). Miller charged that his dismissal was a violation of academic freedom. He has long been a supporter of Communist fronts, including Natl Council of

American-Soviet Friendship, People's Institute of Applied Religion, and Methodist Federation for Social Action.

Shall Communist professors have a free hand to promote the work of Stalin's Fifth Column? This question will be asked more & more often, as conditions in colleges are investigated. Harlow Shapley and Clyde Miller and their "Commission for Academic Freedom" will try to sell the American people the idea that any interference with Communist professors is tyranny.

COMMUNISTS ARE PLANNING A "CONGRESS OF INTELLECTUALS" HERE. Last month Moscow ran one of its international front meetings in Wroclaw, Poland (formerly Breslau, Germany). It called itself the "World Congress of Intellectuals". Purpose: to smear America and to line up intellectuals and would-be intellectuals in many countries in behalf of Stalin.

U S had 30 delegates there. Nearly all were Communists and fellow-travelers. A few non-Communist Americans, who got in by a sort of fluke, objected to the smearing of the U S, but they were quickly overridden.

O John Rogge, lawyer, was chairman of American delegation. Some newspapers have given the mistaken impression that Rogge made an anti-Communist speech. He didn't. He only spoke generalities, largely about the separate cultures of U S and Russia, which would be developed independently.

Rogge "provided real leadership for our group," says Communist Albert E Kahn in praise, adding "it was a great pleasure" to work with him.

The Communist "congress of intellectuals" appointed four Americans as members of an "international committee in defense of peace"...that is, to propagandize for Stalin Russia and to denounce the U S as a warmonger.

Who are these four chosen Americans?

(1) Jo Davidson, famous sculptor. Former chairman of big reactionary front, Progressive Citizens of America. Now honorary chairman of Natl Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions.

(2) Harlow Shapley, the old reliable. Chairman of Natl Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions.

(3) Howard Fast, writer of propaganda novels, who no longer denies he's a Communist Party member. Fast is one of 11 directors of Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee who received jail terms for contempt of Congress.

(4) Albert E Kahn, Communist Party member and now a candidate of "Progressive" or (Commugressive) Party for Congress. High officer of Communist Party's fraternal insurance society, International Workers Order. Kahn is to be named by Elizabeth Bentley in another phase of the Congressional investigation (Counterattack Aug 27, p 2).

And now the Communists are planning a big front meeting here, like the one they lately held in Wroclaw (or Breslau). Yes, nothing less than an American "Congress of Intellectuals" (hand-picked, of course). Purpose: to give impression that the intellectual world is against American policy and favors submission to Moscow. It will take some months at least for Natl Council of Arts, Sciences & Professions to arrange this hoax. Will it succeed? That largely depends on whether your newspapers tell truth about it.

Yours faithfully,

September 17, 1948

Counterattack

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COUNTERATTACK

FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 4-1458

Letter No. 56
June 18, 1948

Dear Subscriber:

COMMUNIST CONVENTION DELEGATE IS LEADER OF FRONT FIGHTING MUNDT-NIXON BILL. Main front organized by Communist Party to oppose the bill is Committee for Democratic Rights. It was this front that assembled the bulk of the thousands of demonstrators who went to Washington June 2 to fight the bill. Executive Sec'y of this front is Len Goldsmith. He was a delegate to Communist convention of NYState in 1945. He's also the man who organized the big Panama Canal Zone local of Communist-led United Public Workers, CIO. And during Stalin-Hitler Alliance, he was member of Natl Council of Communist front, American Peace Mobilization, which sabotaged U S defense.

PROGRESSIVE CITIZENS OF AMERICA TO MERGE WITH "COMMUGRESSIVE" PARTY. Until lately the reactionary, regressive organization that calls itself "Progressive Citizens of America" was the leading general Communist front. But now it is outranked by its successor, the Communists' Third Party. Some state PCA organizations have already merged with the Third Party organizations in their states. All the rest are now doing so. PCA will go out of existence as soon as Third Party holds its convention in Phila, July 23-25.

Communists plan to call their Third Party the Progressive Party. Real progressives should call it the Commugressive Party. Remember that during Stalin-Hitler Alliance, Communists in U S were called Communazis.

HERE'S A NEW-OLD FRONT: NATIONAL COUNCIL OF ARTS, SCIENCES, AND PROFESSIONS. And it's formed out of Progressive Citizens of America.

During same CLOSED Communist convention in 1945 in which Len Goldsmith was a delegate, another delegate was June Hoffman, of the Communists' Cultural Section. She said: "We built the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences & Professions, and it was a great political weapon."

This great political weapon, the ICCASP, was merged in Dec, 1946, with another front, Natl Citizens Political Action Committee, plus a few state fronts. They adopted a new name, Progressive Citizens of America.

But now PCA is merging with Commugressive Party. And some of its non-Communist members are reluctant to join the new party, especially if this means joining a state party that's NOTORIOUSLY Communist-controlled (like American Labor Party in NYState). Such reluctant members of PCA want an organization of their own. And moreover the Communist Party knows it can make a stronger appeal to writers, actors, musicians, scientists, professional people et al through a propaganda front especially designed for them. So now, out of the PCA, the party has formed ANOTHER front to replace the old Independent Citizens Comm of the Arts, Sciences & Professions.

New name: Natl Council of Arts, Sciences, and Professions.

This new-old front will get a lot of publicity, make a big noise.

INLAND STEEL CO. URGES ITS WORKERS TO VOTE AGAINST COMMUNISTS IN UNION ELECTION. This company's basic steel plant, at East Chicago, Ind, is

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called the Indiana Harbor Plant. The union at this plant is Local 1010 of United Steelworkers, CIO. It has about 10,000 members. Its top leader is its grievance chairman, Nick Migas, who no longer denies he's a member of Communist Natl Committee.

Migas got beaten up at Steelworkers' convention in Boston last month. He had made a speech attacking Philip Murray, who is president of Steelworkers as well as of CIO. In his speech there were so many Communist lies that most of the delegates burned up, and some of them followed him out of the hall and assaulted him. This was an act of brutality that harmed the union and probably helped the Communist Party.

Now Migas is running an UNCONSTITUTIONAL Communist slate in election in Local 1010 on June 24. It's unconstitutional because Steel convention last month amended union constitution to provide that nobody should serve as an officer, delegate, or committee member in the international union or in a local "who is a member, consistent supporter, or who actively participates in the activities of the Communist party, or of any Fascist, totalitarian or other subversive organization."

Inland Steel urges its workers to vote against Migas' slate. It has distributed a circular in its big plant, not naming any of the Communists but advising members to attend the nominating meeting and to "nominate men who will represent YOU and NOT JOE STALIN at the bargaining table."

Employers are authorized under Taft-Hartley Act to tell their opinions to workers. Taking advantage of this, Inland urges union members to:

"1. Attend your Union meetings....Your vote at the election of union officers on June 24 will be as meaningless as the recent elections in Czechoslovakia if you don't nominate candidates who are strong, progressive, and determined to represent YOU and not the Communist Party.

"2. Get a seat in the Union Hall early. If you don't the Communists will have the hall packed with their followers. Don't let them crowd you out of a chance to say what you think and to cast your vote. These nominations are as important to you as they are to them.

"3. Pick your candiates carefully and then stand solidly behind them.

"4. Make sure that you vote and that your vote is counted properly. If there is any doubt in your mind, demand a recount -- it's your privilege.

"5. Be sure to stay until the end of the meeting -- the Communists and their followers will."

The Communists can't be seated even if they win...provided the constitution is enforced. But Communist tactics are to buck any constitutional provision that bars them. They've got away with this in some other unions.

WHAT TO DO: Write F M Gillies, Works Manager, Inland Steel Co, East Chicago, Ind, for copy of circular. If you're an employer, you may decide to make similar suggestions to workers. Everything depends on circumstances of your specific case. For further advice, see Special Report issued by CounterAttack in April, "Business Fights Communists in the Labor Movement." If you're a union leader, you'll find this circular interesting as an example of what some employers are doing against Communists.

COMMUNISTS PUSH CIO FURNITURE UNION BACK INTO LINE ON QUESTION OF FILING AFFIDAVITS. Two years ao this month Morris Muster, president of United Furniture Workers, CIO, resigned, saying the union was under Communist control. It still is. Max Perlow, its sec.-treas., is OPEN member of

party. Its president, Morris Pizer, was party member for many years. He broke with party during Stalin-Hitler Alliance, but kept on playing ball in union affairs. Yet last January, under pressure from union members, Pizer bucked party on question of filing non-Communist affidavits to get NLRB recognition. Vote in Exec Bd was 14 to 13 (CounterAttack Jan 30, p 4).

Now union convention has REVERSED that decision. Communists beat Pres Pizer's proposal. They refused to let it go to a referendum of members, who would have okayed it. Pizer says he accepts convention decision...won't fight any more. And on all other questions he briskly toes the party line.

Wallace wired his greetings to this Communist-controlled convention ...and the convention voted almost unanimously to endorse him. Fellow-Traveler Pizer and Communist Party Member Perlow were unanimously reelected.

COMMUNIST PARTY WILL MERGE ITS YOUTH FRONTS INTO A SUPERFRONT. This will be in addition to the new "Marxist-Leninist" youth front that will be openly pro-Moscow (CounterAttack June 4 p 2). The "Marxist-Leninist" front will be composed of young people who are Communists, whether or not they have joined the party. This front will be organized after Nov election.

The other front, the bigger one, will be on "popular front" lines. It will pretend to be non-Communist. And it will be organized in Philadelphia July 25-26, right after convention of Communists' Third Party.

American Youth for Democracy and Students for Wallace will be absorbed in this new front. But Students for Wallace will retain its own name till after November election.

Seymour Linfield, a Communist, has a leading role in plans for new front. Linfield is now youth director of Communists' Third Party (Natl Wallace for President Committee). He is on leave as associate general counsel of CIO United Electrical Workers, largest Communist-controlled union. New front will be biggest thing Communist Party has had in youth field since American Youth Congress, which folded in 1941.

COMMUNIST PARTY FAVORS BLOODSHED IN PALESTINE AND WANTS SOVIET MILITARY OBSERVERS THERE. Natl Chairman Wm Z Foster and General Sec'y Frank Waldron, alias Eugene Dennis, this week issued a directive to guide all party members, followers & Communist fronts in agitating Palestine question.

The Communist leaders denounce the truce and offer an eight-point program, including immediate lifting of embargo on Israel, and placing of an embargo on Arab countries. Purpose is to starve them so that some of weakest Arab countries will have to get loans from Moscow. Then Soviet troops will come in, and whole American-British military flank in Greece and Middle East will be turned.

Entrance of Stalin's military observers into Palestine is urged by Foster & Waldron (alias Dennis). And they demand immediate stop of all Marshall Plan aid to Britain. This would ruin entire Marshall Plan.

COMMUNIST LEADERS OF CIO OFFICE UNION TRY TO INFLUENCE NEWSPAPERS to suppress news of secession by insurance agents. Many thousands of these agents are pulling out of United Office & Professional Workers of America (UOPWA) to join new Industrial Insurance Division of CIO United Paperworkers.

UOPWA chiefs are working day & night to stop this secession. They want the newspapers to play it down, and thus deter insurance agents from signing up with United Paperworkers. So UOPWA has ordered its district offices & insurance locals to pass resolutions charging newspapers with exaggerating the secession. Idea is that newspapers are always influenced by

protests...and editors receiving such resolutions won't know whether they're true or not, and will play safe by toning down the secession stories.

Communists are urging Philip Murray to revoke permission to United Paperworkers to accept bolters. This union isn't raiding UOPWA...it's only agreeing to give shelter to UOPWA members who asked for it. Otherwise these members will quit CIO. Reason: they're suffering injury because their Communist officers won't and CAN'T file non-Communist affidavits with NLRB.

SHORT NOTES.....Two Communist members of Ontario Parliament were reelected with increased majorities last week.

Sen Glen Hearst Taylor, who said on Town Meeting of the Air, Apr 27, "I doubt if I know a dozen Communists," spoke on the same platform with a Communist Party member last week. He's Edward Washington, president of Local 1227 of CIO United Electrical Workers (CounterAttack Feb 13, p 2).

Communist Party's legal & propaganda war against Thomas Committee suffered hard blow this week when Supreme Court refused to review conviction of 11 leaders of big Communist front & racket, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, for contempt of Congress. Among them are its chairman, Dr Edward K Barsky, and Howard Fast, author. Fast, a Communist Party member, is ambitious to be the Maxim Gorki of Soviet America...the #1 author, worshiped for his Communist writings plus his agonies in jail BR (Before the Revolution).

Leon Josephson, lawyer with long record as very dangerous agent of Communist International, is first person who has begun prison term for contempt of House Comm on Un-American Activities. The 11 leaders of Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Comm will probably be locked up soon. Josephson entered prison three months ago, and Communist Party has launched a campaign to picture him as getting cruel treatment behind bars at Milan, Mich.

Michael J Quill, NYCity Councilman, and Pres of Transport Workers Union, CIO, who lately broke with Communist Party, is now curbing the party-line leaders in his union. He has just forced John A Cassidy, member of its Exec Board, to resign as Nebraska state chairman of Communists' Third Party.

Jas M Shields, nominee of Communists' Third Party for senator from Minn, is brother of Art Shields, Daily Worker reporter. Brother Jim was regional director of NLRB at Minneapolis a long time. Forced out last year.

Elmer Brown, second v-p of International Typographical Union, AFL, and long a party-liner, has broken with Communists. He has joined Pres Woodruff Randolph and two other officers of union in sending a circular to the members, rapping the party. And the party says sadly, "Elmer, how can you?"

Abe Burrows, comedian on CBS, and backer of Communist fronts, who is a great favorite of the Communist press, took another of his cracks at House Comm on Un-American Activities, during his program June 12.

WHAT TO DO TO BEAT THE COMMUNISTS:

1. Spread word about new fronts. Tell newspapers, magazines, radio, clergymen, educators, professional people, etc, the truth about fronts named on pp 1 & 3. Write letters to newspapers.

2. Write to Inland Steel for its circular to workers. See p 2.

3. Write to Citizens Foundation, 224 Harrison St, Syracuse 2, NY, for information on its radio broadcasts and other anti-Communist activities.

Yours faithfully,

June 18, 1948

Counterattack

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COUNTERATTACK

FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 4-1458

Letter No. 55
June 11, 1948

Dear Subscriber:

CHANCES OF MUNDT-NIXON BILL IN SENATE may depend on the time when Congress adjourns. At the moment when this is written there's strong opposition in Senate to former plan of adjourning June 19. It is urged that Congress reconvene after one or both political conventions, and that Mundt-Nixon bill be taken up then. But House leaders prefer adjournment June 19.

Anti-Communists must keep fighting hard for the bill, no matter how the adjournment question is decided. Communists are putting up a tremendous fight against it. For example, sending Communist war veterans to Washington to stay there till bill is defeated. Holding demonstrations in many cities. Arranging for Senator Glen Hearst Taylor to filibuster against the bill.

Wm Z Foster uses Stalin-Hitler technique of Big Lie. He says it's "of supreme importance" to make the people believe that "this measure, or any other Communist registration bill, would, if adopted, outlaw the Communist Party." For only if the people believe this lie can they be scared into believing "the whole labor & progressive movement" may next be attacked.

The outlawing lie "is the key to the development of the broad mass movement against the bill," says Foster.

WHAT TO DO: Keep on doing the routine stuff that gets results even if it becomes monotonous at times. Keep urging senators to push bill. And tell truth about it to senators & public. Above all, nail the Big Lie that the bill would outlaw Communist Party. For facts see our May 28 supplement.

MRS. ROOSEVELT SEEKS TO QUIT COMMUNIST FRONT...SO IT DECIDES TO FOLD UP. Last week we reported that Mrs Eleanor Roosevelt was honorary chairman of American Committee for Yugoslav Relief, which is on Atty Gen Tom Clark's latest list of Communist & Fascist organizations. We said it was "time for Mrs Roosevelt to resign her honorary chairmanship, right now."

We sent Mrs Roosevelt a telegram, asking if she was resigning. Her reply avoided that specific question, but gave new information. "American Committee for Yugoslav Relief will end its work in July," she wired.

But Counterattack learns that she offered her resignation, after reading that the committee was on the Govt's new list of fronts.

Leaders of the front begged Mrs Roosevelt to hold off. Fearing that her resignation would discredit their outfit completely, they urged her to keep silent...and they promised to wind up its work in July, and to exit quietly. Maybe they'll break their promise...in fact they've talked privately of doing so. But chances are they'll decide they have to keep it.

COMMUNIST LEADERS IN PACKINGHOUSE AND FARM EQUIPMENT UNIONS RESIGN as unions decide to file non-Communist affidavits. CIO United Packinghouse Workers has often been described as Communist-controlled. It isn't, as a whole...but it is in certain districts. Now, as result of defeat in packinghouse strikes, the union has decided to file with NRLB. Two members of

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Executive Bd resigned rather than sign non-Communist affidavits, which are required of union officers when it files with the labor board. They are:

Herbert March, director of District 1 (Chicago and surrounding area). Member of Communist Natl Committee. Henry Wallace and Senator Glen Hearst Taylor lately posed for picture with him (Counterattack May 7, p 3).

Meyer Stern, director of District 6 (Eastern Seaboard). Counterattack has proof he was secret delegate to Communist Natl Convention in 1945.

Four top officers of CIO United Farm Equipment Workers resigned when Executive Bd voted to file with NLRB, as result of disastrous strike at huge Caterpillar Tractor plant, Peoria, Ill, where this union has now been replaced by CIO United Auto Workers (Counterattack May 28, p 3). The four are Gerald Fielde, sec.-treas.; Ajay Martin, v-p; Milton Burns, director of organization, and Pope Huff, Executive Bd member at large. They resigned with the usual protestation that the union would be harmed if it filed non-Communist affidavits for its officers.

Farm Equipment union is still faithful to party line. Pres Grant Oakes and other officers are sorrowfully signing affidavits, to save union from total wreck. But they support party policies in all other respects.

WITH MARSHALL ABSENT, SHIPLER'S MONEY-RAISING DINNER IS A FLOP. Only 300 persons attended the $25-a-plate dinner of Rev Guy Emery Shipler's magazine, The Churchman, June 3. Originally a ballroom seating 1,800 guests had been chosen for the occasion. But after Sec'y Marshall cancelled his date to speak at the dinner and accept Shipler's "award," there was a rush of cancellations, and the affair was moved to a much smaller room.

Shipler rapped Marshall and Counterattack in a speech. Privately he said Counterattack had ruined the dinner by getting its subscribers to protest vigorously to Marshall (Counterattack May 28, p 1).

Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam of Methodist Church gave Shipler a hand in his hour of need by appearing at the dinner of the unofficial Episcopalian magazine. After Marshall rejected the "award," Shipler hastily picked a substitute guest of honor. This was Maj Aubrey S Eban, representative of Israel and of the Jewish Agency at the United Nations. He was to accept a special citation to Israel. But after Eban learned of Marshall's cancellation, he cancelled, too. So Shipler got Dr Israel Goldstein, former president of Zionist Organization of America, to substitute for Eban and accept the citation. Bishop Oxnam made the presentation.

American Jewish League Against Communism protested Dr Goldstein's action. Alfred Kohlberg, its chairman, declared Shipler's magazine "has a pronounced pro-Soviet bias," and demanded that Dr Goldstein say who authorized him to accept the citation. Dr Goldstein kept diplomatically mum.

Wm L Shirer also rapped Marshall and Counterattack. Shirer is a weekly commentator on Mutual network, and a writer of a weekly newspaper column. At times he has backed a number of Communist fronts. Last year he was a star at a noisy show put on by the Voice of Freedom Committee, a front established to place pro-Communist commentators on the air and keep them there (Counterattack May 28, p 3). Shirer isn't a Communist himself, but he was surrounded by Communists in this show. There were Communist speakers, Communist singers, Communist actors, Communist comedians, Communist money-raisers, Communist money-givers.

But Communists are all right with Shirer, provided they're American Communists. This seems to be the significance of a moral little message he brought to Shipler's dinner. He said he opposes Communism in other countries but it's no menace in U S. Here's a neat, cheery formula. It enables a commentator to assail Communists at a distance, while keeping his mouth safely shut about those near at hand. Shirer is a confused and weak man, whose chief asset is a tone and manner of moderation. He's less of a fellow-traveler & appeaser than he used to be, but that's faint praise indeed.

SHIPLER LOSES HIS RADIO PROGRAM. On Sunday, June 6, three days after the fiasco of his Marshall-less dinner, Rev Guy Emery Shipler for the last time presented his weekly radio program on Station WOR, New York. This program, "The Sermon of the Week," had long been used to plug Shipler's magazine, The Churchman. Now WOR has cancelled it.

Management of the station insists the cancellation wasn't caused by protests of Counterattack subscribers after we gave facts on this program in our issue of Apr 23, p 3. Very well. It probably makes little difference what the immediate cause of the cancellation is, as long as Shipler loses this free radio time for promoting his magazine.

Rev Stephen H Fritchman, who was fired last year as editor of official Unitarian magazine, the Christian Register, wrote a guest sermon for Shipler's program April 11. This sermon was part of the Communists' "China Week" propaganda. It was plugged beforehand by Daily Worker. WOR is a big outlet of Mutual network, and in many ways it's one of the better stations. Often it has barred Communist propaganda which it has recognized as such.

COMMUNISTS PROMOTE BOYCOTT OF BRITISH GOODS TO WEAKEN U.S. IN WAR. Stalin's "Hate Britain" campaign is gaining ground (Counterattack May 28, p 2). Communist Party has started a boycott of all British goods to ruin Marshall Plan, and is using its Third Party organizations for this purpose. In NYState its American Labor Party has already issued 10,000 shop window posters and 100,000 leaflets. NYCity Councilman Eugene P Connolly, a leader of American Labor Party, has introduced a resolution in City Council to stop city purchases of any British goods or equipment.

Communists visited British Embassy in Washington and announced the boycott. Visitors were led by an officer of a top Communist front, International Workers Order, which Atty Gen Tom Clark has listed as subversive.

This is an ANTI-AMERICAN boycott. Preservation of U S depends on success of Marshall Plan. That's why we're pouring billions of dollars into it. Recovery of Britain is vital to Marshall Plan...which means it's vital to continued existence of this country. And that's why Stalin is trying to prevent British recovery. If Britain doesn't recover, Europe can't recover. And in that case U S will be unable to prevent a Third World War...and may have to fight practically alone against Stalinized Europe and Asia.

Communists are urging boycott of these British goods especially: woolens, linens, knitwear, shoes, men's furnishings, leather goods, silverware & cutlery, china & glassware, autos, bicycles, sporting goods, Scotch whisky, toys. Also British movies, travel on British carriers, etc.

WHAT TO DO: Be fair to British goods and urge others to do so, too. Publicly denounce the Communists' anti-British, anti-American boycott wherever you find indications of it, whether open or "silent." Point out

that the boycott means immediate waste of taxpayers' money that is now going into Marshall Plan. Show military danger of boycott to U S.

JIM BLUE BIRD IS COMMUNIST LEADER AMONG SIOUX INDIANS. A House Appropriations subcommittee had a meeting the other day and questioned Wm W Beatty, director of the education division of Indian Bureau. A congressman told him the library of the Indian school at Pine Ridge, South Dakota, had a year's file of the monthly magazine "Soviet Russia Today." How come? Beatty couldn't explain. He said he'd look into it.

Explanation is easy. Communist Party put the party magazine there. The party is now engaged in agitation among 9,000 Sioux Indians of Pine Ridge Reservation. Communist leader there is named Jim Blue Bird. He is head of a committee appointed by Minnesota-Dakotas District of the party to work among the Indians and recruit some of them as party members.

Anti-American agitation in Europe is helped by this party work among the Indians. How? In this way. Party has prepared a petition to Truman & Congress for a big appropriation to relieve hardship among the Sioux. Jim Blue Bird collected signatures for this petition. It was sent to Washington. It charges that the people are hungry, that they lack beds and other necessities, and that their children are dying of tuberculosis.

"Is it true that you are really trying to help the starving people of Europe while you let us full-blooded Americans starve to death?" asks the petition. "Or are you trying to buy those people off and then later to mistreat, oppress and starve them as the U S Govt is doing with us now?"

Imagine what fine propaganda that sort of thing is in Europe...how it can help the Communists there to stir up suspicion of the Marshall Plan! And while the Communists smear the U S in Europe, they put "Soviet Russia Today" into the library of the Indian school on the Sioux reservation, to show the young Indians how wonderful Stalin Russia is and how generously all the peoples of that empire are treated by the kindly Kremlin.

As a matter of common sense as well as human decency, the U S Govt should certainly relieve all genuine grievances of Sioux and other Indians. There should be no hunger or avoidable sickness among them. At the same time Congress should look into Communist propaganda among Indians. We can't expect the Indian Bureau to know how to counteract it. That requires experts on Communism. We should act promptly to prevent Communist trouble among Indians and to keep from being smeared abroad as Indian-starvers.

WHAT CAN YOU DO TO BEAT THE COMMUNISTS? You and your organizations (unions, business & civic groups, etc) can act effectively in these ways:

1. Oppose the Communist boycott of British goods. See p 3.
2. Urge senators & congressmen to resist wasteful mutilating operation on Marshall Plan. The House has voted a huge cut. This means no recovery for Europe...but instead just stopgap relief. The House action has already weakened our first line of defense: the readiness of Western Europe to take risk of siding with us against Stalin. If we don't support full Marshall Plan we might just as well junk it and accept war as inevitable.
3. Redouble your efforts for Mundt-Nixon bill. See p 1.

Yours faithfully,

June 11, 1948

Counterattack

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COUNTERATTACK

FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 4-1458

February 20, 1948

Dear Subscriber:

COMMUNIST PARTY ORDERS AGGRESSIVE WAGE DEMANDS by Communists in unions this year. Not only Communist-led unions but all others with important Communist minorities will be affected.

Communists' demands will force non-Communist leaders to be more uncompromising in wage negotiations. Otherwise the Fifth Columnists will stir up rank & file against leaders.

To help Stalin's foreign policy & his Third Party, the top Communists have ordered aggressiveness on wage question. They want to smash Marshall Plan by forcing strikes in some cases, and boosting production costs wherever possible. Non-Communist union leaders, like Murray & Reuther, insist on living wage but want big production to get Europe on its feet.

More workers will vote for Wallace if resentful on wages. That's Communists' belief. So they'll link wage demands with Third Party.

The man who issued the orders to Communists in unions is Natl Labor Secretary John Williamson, arrested last week for deportation to Scotland. Just before his arrest Williamson spoke in a CLOSED meeting of Communist Natl Committee, saying: "Communists must recognize the special significance of the present round of wage struggles in this ELECTION year.... The pro-Truman, pro-Marshall Plan position of the majority of trade union leaders...will inevitably influence them not to fight aggressively..."

Communists have sometimes soft-pedaled wage demands for political reasons. But now political reasons make them act tough on wage question.

ARREST OF FERDINAND SMITH MAY DECIDE CONTROL OF NATL MARITIME UNION (CIO) in referendum election this spring. Smith, Communist national secretary of the union, was picked up this week for deportation to his native British West Indies. Leaders of Communist wing of the union at once called work stoppages and other demonstrations. As part of their fight against Pres Jos Curran, they planned to make capital of Smith's arrest...picture him as a labor martyr. They moved to have the union give money to defend him.

But Joe Curran refuses to play ball in the traditional union fashion. Until now union leaders have always closed ranks whenever a unionist has been seized for deportation. They've regarded it as an attack on labor. In recent years they've known it hasn't been that...but still they've feared that a future anti-labor Administration might use deportation for that purpose. So they've stood shoulder to shoulder. But Joe Curran now says no. He refuses to defend Smith. And he too will make capital out of Smith's arrest, telling the members to avoid trouble by defeating all Communists.

FRANK STANTON
FEB 25
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CONVICTED COMMUNIST, CARL ALDO MARZANI, MAKES A MOVIE OF WALLACE for Third Party campaign. Marzani is a Communist Party member. His party name used to be Tony Whales. During Stalin-Hitler Alliance he taught Commu-

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nist Party meetings how to propagandize in Army & Navy to "disintegrate the morale" of troops. But when Hitler attacked Stalin Russia, Marzani turned pro-war. He worked in Office of Strategic Services, later in State Dept, rose to $7,175 salary before he was fully exposed and fired. Last May he was convicted of lying to Govt. He's now appealing prison sentence.

He made a movie while in State Dept, for biggest party-line union, United Electrical Workers (CIO). Title, "Deadline for Action." It was Communist propaganda. Now he has made another, "Time to Act." It's 16mm, black & white...running time 10 minutes. Communist fronts will get it from Marzani's firm, Union Films, 508 N Fillmore Street, Arlington, Va. Bulk of this movie consists of a scene in which Wallace makes a speech stating his program...which is copied directly from program of Communist Party.

COMMUNIST RECORD OF REV. JACK R. McMICHAEL should be brought to attention of all Methodist clergy & laymen, to put them on their guard.

Methodist Federation for Social Action, an unofficial group of which McMichael is executive secretary, is a Communist front. In its annual conference in Kansas City in December, it adopted a lot of Communist party-line resolutions. It demanded that U S stop producing atomic bombs...but it said nothing about Stalin's veto of the Baruch Plan for international atomic control. It denounced U S as militarist. It demanded an end to Truman Doctrine. It urged Govt to stop its loyalty tests of employees. It opposed registration of Communists as foreign agents.

Carl Aldo Marzani, convicted Communist, made speech at conference.

McMichael is an ideal front for the Communists. A big, strapping young fellow, 30 years old, he has a rich Southern voice and an evangelistic manner. Ever since his teens he has been fronting for the Communist Party...but he still has the gall to deny that he's a Communist or has ever been in Young Communist League or any other Communist organization.

He became chairman of top Communist youth front, the American Youth Congress, in July 1939, just before Stalin signed his alliance with Hitler. At once McMichael and the American Youth Congress changed their program. They had been yelling for "collective security" with Stalin against Hitler. Now they turned isolationist, denouncing England & France.

They booed Pres Roosevelt on White House lawn in Feb 1940 for saying Soviet Union was run by an absolute dictatorship.

Some of Communist McMichael's fronts are listed here:

American League for Peace & Democracy, great "collective security" front of a decade ago. Stalin dissolved it after signing with Hitler.

American Peace Mobilization. This replaced above front during Stalin-Hitler Alliance. McMichael was a national vice-chairman. He took part in picketing White House, calling Roosevelt a warmonger, till Hitler double-crossed Stalin by attacking Russia. Quickly the front was disbanded.

Natl Committee to Win the Peace. Successor to above front. Established early in 1946 after U S had shown it wouldn't appease Stalin much longer. Last year this front dissolved, urging its members to join Progressive Citizens of America, which is doing same propaganda on bigger scale.

Natl Council of American-Soviet Friendship. This front tries to convert everybody to Communism...especially clergymen.

Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy. This is the front that staged recent conference on China & Far East, for a Stalinized Asia.

American Student Union, big student front in 1930's.

Civil Rights Congress, organized to defend Fifth Columnists.
May Day Committee, 1947. Complete Communist front.

"THE CASE OF THE IMPUDENT PROFESSOR" might well be the title of an article on a recent performance by Prof Clyde R Miller, who is on leave of absence as an associate professor of education at Columbia. He's an officer of Methodist Federation for Social Action and was a leader of its December conference in Kansas City, which adopted pro-Moscow policies.

Lately this Communist fellow-traveler had the nerve to write a letter to the dean of Columbia Graduate School of Journalism, urging that the award of the 1947 Pulitzer Prize to Frederick Woltman of NYWorld-Telegram be revoked. Why? Because Woltman had reported Kansas City conference of Methodist Federation for Social Action and had told the truth about Communist control of it. Although Miller is unable to cite a SINGLE misstatement by Woltman, he denounces Woltman's reports.

Here are just a FEW Communist-influenced organizations and party-line documents with which Miller has been associated:

People's Institute of Applied Religion, founded by Rev Claude C Williams, who is a Communist Party member under the name "John Galey."

Natl Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

Natl Conference on China & Far East (Counterattack Feb 13, p 4).

Institute of Propaganda Analysis, which exposed Nazi propaganda but played down the propaganda of the Kremlin. Miller ran this outfit.

Statement defending Communist Party, during Stalin-Hitler Alliance.

Letter to Pres Roosevelt urging war on Finland.

"The Protestant," a Communist magazine that predicts Russian-American war and says it will support Stalin in that war.

CBS PROGRAM, "CBS VIEWS THE PRESS," HELPS COMMUNISTS. This program is broadcast weekly from the network's key station, WCBS, in New York. Its OSTENSIBLE aim is to correct the bias in the press. But in fact it injects a bias of its own, steadily & subtly.

Don Hollenbeck prepares & broadcasts this program. He works skillfully. As a rule he conveys his meaning by indirection. There's a strategy of indirection in the general construction of his broadcasts, in his gradual approach to what he's really driving at, in his use of camouflage. There is indirection in many of his sentences. He picks his words adroitly, and he speaks in a low tone, with delicate shadings. He is adept in innuendo.

The Communists love Don Hollenbeck. They've shown it often. If he occasionally gives them a light slap on the wrist, they don't mind. Last fall the Communist Party campaigned against a "comic" book, "Is This Tomorrow?", which had been issued to show how the Communists might get control of U S...and what they would do with their power. On Nov 15 Don Hollenbeck knocked this book. The Communist Party quoted him approvingly.

The party praised him Nov 25 for rapping Otis L Guernsey, Jr, movie critic for NY Herald Tribune, who had refused to review Russian movies in a theater that catered to the Communist trade. Guernsey declared these movies were blatant Moscow propaganda. Hollenbeck through his CBS broadcast put pressure on the paper, causing it to overrule Guernsey.

Communist Party praised Hollenbeck again Dec 25 as one of "the better news commentators."

On Feb 10 it praised his "excellent survey of the newspapers."

Hollenbeck plugged Geo Seldes' Communist newsletter, "In Fact," Dec 20...though he softly slapped its wrist at the same time. Also he plugged the York (Pa.) Gazette & Daily, published by a fellow-traveler, J W Gitt.

He helped Henry Wallace in his broadcast Jan 3. He hinted delicately that poor Wallace really didn't want Communist support. He upbraided the Herald Tribune for not giving Wallace a big enough display. He praised Wallace's magazine, the New Republic, and condemned the NYNews and Victor Riesel, syndicated labor columnist for the NYPost, because they had ventured to treat the New Republic lightly.

He called the British Govt a liar...delicately, of course...on Feb 7, without giving the slightest proof.

He did a dainty hatchet job on Frederick Woltman of the NYWorld-Telegram Feb 14...because Woltman had published the truth about a Communist front, Methodist Federation for Social Action. By implication Hollenbeck whitewashed Rev Jack R McMichael, Communist executive secretary of the front, and Prof Clyde R Miller, the fellow-traveler who lately attacked Woltman (see p 3). Not once did Hollenbeck challenge a specific fact in Woltman's reports...and yet by innuendo he called this able & accurate reporter a liar, and contended that nobody who exposes Communists should get a Pulitzer Prize.

CBS has a perfect right to criticize the press. Newspapers, networks, newsletters and everything else are subject to criticism. But the criticism should be honest. The program, "CBS Views the Press," often distorts facts and is definitely biased in favor of the Communists. Top CBS officials are doubtless unaware of this. They should look into the matter, take corrective action, for the sake of the public, the press & radio.

WHAT CAN YOU DO TO BEAT THE COMMUNISTS? When Fifth Column uses direct pressure on the President and on Federal judges, even on Supreme Court, it's necessary to answer it. Don't assume the Fifth Column is wasting its time. It isn't. It behaves realistically.

Frank Waldron, the Communist International agent who now uses the name Eugene Dennis and is general secretary of Communist Party, this week called on Communists to send protest telegrams to Truman & Atty Gen Tom Clark in behalf of Gerhart Eisler and John Williamson, top Communists now under Govt arrest. You and your organizations, such as unions and business & civic groups, should send resolutions, telegrams, letters to Truman & Clark, urging a firm attitude toward Eisler & Williamson.

And send resolutions, telegrams, letters to Judge Jas W Morris, U S District Court, Washington, DC, informing him Communist Party has ordered its followers to put pressure on him in behalf of Eisler. Urge Judge Morris to ignore pressure from ANY source...and to apply the law.

And write & wire to Chief Justice Fred M Vinson, Supreme Court, Washington, DC, telling him Communist Party this week ordered wires & letters to be sent to him for reconsideration of case of Leon Josephson, Communist International agent whose appeal for a review of conviction was denied this week. Urge the Chief Justice to resist pressure from ANY source.

Yours faithfully,

February 20, 1948

Counterattack

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COUNTERATTACK

FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 4-1458

PLEASE RETURN TO
CBS REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

January 30, 1948

Dear Subscriber:

UNITED STATES STEEL CORP. EXPLAINS USE OF COMMUNISTS ON RADIO.

Many Counterattack subscribers have written to U S Steel, calling its attention to the statement in our Jan 9 issue: "It seems that this great company doesn't care whether its money goes to Communist Party members and fellow-travelers. It continues paying them to act on its radio show and to write its scripts." We gave examples of following actors & writers:

Millard Lampell, Communist Party member, script-writer.
Fredric March & his wife, Florence Eldridge, Communists.
Gene Kelly, honorary chairman Young Progressive Citizens of America.
Alfred Drake, actor, sponsor of several Communist fronts.
Lillian Hellman, Communist playwright.

Officials of U S Steel have written almost identical letters in answer to our subscribers. Typical is a letter from Irving S Olds, chairman of the board. He begins by disclaiming responsibility for the "selection of the writers, actors or actresses who take part" in the Theater Guild On the Air program (Sunday nights on ABC). "It is the function of the Theater Guild," he writes, "to produce and cast the plays which are broadcast."

But this doesn't exempt U S Steel from responsibility. Whether the company acts directly or through an intermediary doesn't matter.

Irving Olds continues: "Such individuals are considered on the basis of their ability in their respective fields and in no way on account of ideological, social or religious beliefs they may hold." But the question isn't one of BELIEFS. It's one of ACTION. All the persons named promote Fifth Column activity. Olds' statement merely confirms what we said: that U S Steel seemingly "doesn't care whether its money goes to Communist Party members and fellow-travelers."

Olds' last argument is that the radio program isn't being "used as a medium for spreading Communistic propaganda." We didn't say it was...although if anybody thinks Lillian Hellman writes her plays without pushing the party line directly or obliquely, he doesn't know Lillian Hellman or the Communist Party. What we pointed out is that U S Steel is paying large sums of money to Communist Party members and fellow-travelers. Such persons give part of their income to the Communist Party and its fronts.

U S Steel has a Communist problem in its own plants. For although Philip Murray's United Steelworkers is preponderantly an anti-Communist union, it has bad spots. Example: Local 1014, the union's biggest local, with 15,000 members, all working in biggest steel plant in world, U S Steel's Gary Steel Works, at Gary, Ind. When those workers tune in on their employer's program and hear Fredric March, haven't they a right to assume he is worthy of respect as a citizen? And so when Communist leaders in the local urge support for Progressive Citizens of America and for American Youth

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for Democracy (Young Communist League) and other fronts supported by Fredric March, don't many workers tend to respond favorably? Thus isn't U S Steel helping the Communists in the union by putting a Communist on the Air?

Clearly U S Steel should set an example to smaller companies and to the radio industry by screening Communists out of its radio program.

COMMUNIST PARTY FEARS MEMBERSHIP REGISTRATION BILL...STARTS DRIVE AGAINST IT. Natl Chairman Wm Z Foster and Secretary General Frank Waldron, alias Eugene Dennis, have ordered a terrific nation-wide fight against plans of Thomas Un-American Activities Comm for an effective anti-Communist law.

Hearings will begin Thur, Feb 5, before a subcommittee headed by Rep Richard M Nixon, Calif. Main subject will be a bill introduced by Rep Karl E Mundt, S Dak, providing that every member of Communist Party, or of any group controlled by it, must register with Dept of Justice "as an agent of a foreign principal." Also that any publication or propaganda distributed by such agents in foreign or interstate commerce must be so labeled.

Foster and Waldron, alias Dennis, have sent out a directive for an all-out campaign to rouse public opinion against Mundt registration bill. Mass meetings will be held...labor unions & other organizations will be drawn into the fight...and Communists all over the country will shout to unionists & liberals that freedom is at stake. "Resolutions, telegrams & letters" against the bill must "be sent to congressmen, senators and to the committee itself," says the directive. Communist fronts and party-line unions will send spokesmen to Washington to testify against the bill. That's the Communist plan of campaign. What are anti-Communists going to do in YOUR community to rouse public opinion FOR the bill?

ANOTHER BIG COMMUNIST DRIVE HAS BEEN STARTED...AGAINST DEPORTATION of alien Communists. "Witch-hunt"..."Deportation mania"..."Deportation delirium"...these are some of the phrases the Communist Party is now yelling. MILLIONS of copies of pamphlets and leaflets are being issued...and in all of them the Communists lie boldly. The same lies appear in many union and foreign-language newspapers. No wonder great numbers of people are persuaded that Atty Gen Tom Clark is trying to smash the labor movement and is persecuting various national & racial groups.

Most Communist leaders are native-born citizens...like Foster and Waldron, alias Dennis. But there are some important aliens like Alexander Bittelman & Claudia Jones, members of Communist Natl Committee, who have recently been arrested for deportation. Another alien is Chas A Doyle, leader of big Communist minority in United Chemical Workers (CIO). He went to Canada for a union meeting...was denied readmittance at U S border. Now Communists yell that Tom Clark is helping to beat a strike Doyle was leading.

Big Communist front, American Comm for Protection of Foreign Born, held a legislative conference in Hamilton Hotel, Washington, Jan 24-25 (Counterattack Jan 16, p 2). Speeches were made by Communists like Russell Nixon, legislative representative of United Electrical Workers (CIO). A legislative program was approved which contains some good points...in order to fool non-Communists. But REAL aim of program is to make it easier for Communists to become citizens...and harder to deport Communist aliens.

Anti-Communists should form a GENUINE organization to protect foreign-born...but not Communists or Fascists. American Comm for Protection of Foreign Born raises big sums from people who don't know it's Communist.

NOW THE COMMUNISTS PLAN SOMETHING NEW..."CHINA WEEK." It will be held soon...probably in March. Decision was made at conference on China & Far East, held Jan 23-25, in Hotel Roosevelt, NYCity, by a Communist front, Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy (Counterattack Jan 16, p 1).

Communists during "China Week" will whip up sentiment against REAL aid by U S to China. Their purpose is to give Stalin all of Asia.

The conference voted to picket the docks when U S sends military supplies to China. Union seamen will be asked not to cross picket lines.

Hugh Bryson, Communist Party member, president of CIO Marine Cooks & Stewards, and chairman of Independent Progressive Party of Calif, was keynote speaker. He said his union would embargo ships with military supplies.

Former Congressman Hugh DeLacy of Seattle, Communist Party member, played leading role in conference.

Frederick Vanderbilt Field, Communist Party angel, and former secretary of Institute of Pacific Relations, was a speaker. One of co-chairmen of conference was T. A. Bisson, long associated with Field in Institute of Pacific Relations, an influential Communist front (Counterattack Jan 9 p 2).

Paul Robeson and Anna Louise Strong, Communist Party members, made speeches. So did Henry Wallace's employer, Michael Straight, publisher of New Republic magazine. Among conference sponsors were Richard E Lauterbach, editor of Magazine '48, and Charlotte Adams, an editor of Look magazine.

COMMUNISTS AT LAST HIT MURRAY OPENLY...FOSTER CALLS HIM A BETRAYER. The break between Communists and Murray has been long & slow in developing. Even after Communists stopped loving Murray, they treated him politely. But last week the party told Murray off. Bill Foster denounced all labor leaders who refuse to support Communists' Third Party & Wallace. "I don't care whether the man's name is Wm Green, Philip Murray or A F Whitney...they are betraying the interests of the workers," he said. "And the labor movement will pay dearly for such a betrayal. Bill Green, Phil Murray and Whitney do not speak for the workers of the country. Wallace does."

Communists INSIDE the CIO don't talk so tough to Murray yet. But Foster's words are meant as a warning to Murray that they may do so soon.

WILL LEE PRESSMAN KEEP HIS MOUTH SHUT? OR IF HE TALKS WILL MURRAY FIRE HIM? Last week CIO Executive BD adopted Murray's resolution opposing Third Party. Communist minority dissented...and defied Murray to enforce the ruling on Communist-led unions. Murray yielded...and afterwards Harry Bridges and other Communists bragged that they had made Murray back down.

But Murray clearly had authority to take some effective steps. First, he could forbid CIO city & state councils to support Third Party. These councils aren't self-governing, like CIO's affiliated unions. They're subject to Murray. Some of most important are still Communist-controlled.

After CIO board meeting, the question arose: "Will Murray use his authority by yanking the charter of any council that backs the Third Party?"

And what about Lee Pressman, the Communist Party member who is CIO general counsel...and in fact ranks next to Murray at CIO hq? He's also general counsel of Murray's own union, the Steelworkers. The question arose whether Pressman would support the Third Party publicly...or keep his mouth shut. And if he did support it publicly, would Murray fire him?

Even a patient compromiser like Murray has limits to his patience,

COUNTERATTACK'S INVESTIGATORS LEARN EXCLUSIVELY that Communist Party in its own private meetings REJECTS the "CIO unity" doctrine which it piously preaches in public. After CIO Executive Bd meeting last week, Pres Albert Fitzgerald of United Electrical Workers, who is a party-liner, issued a statement saying Murray's resolution against a Third Party was a blow to CIO unity. If CIO can't "be united in its political activity," he said, it shouldn't adopt ANY policy..."CIO should not widen division in our ranks."

But in a CLOSED party meeting the other day, the keynote speaker said Communists in non-party-line unions must campaign for Wallace by using tactics of the "united front from below"...which is Communist double-talk for DISUNITY. They must fight the union leaders, he said, and win support of members. "There's no over-all coalition possible," he declared. "Unity must be SUBORDINATED." Wm Z Foster was present and approved this.

PARTY-LINE UNION WANTS TO DISOBEY PARTY ORDERS ON TAFT-HARTLEY LAW. There's an odd situation in United Furniture Workers (CIO), which has been Communist-controlled all through the years. Last week its president, Morris Pizer, voted with Communist minority of CIO Exec Bd against Philip Murray's resolution opposing Third Party. Then Pizer went to a special meeting of Exec Bd of his own union at Atlantic City...and there he put through a motion in favor of requiring top union officers to sign non-Communist affidavits so that the union may file with Natl Labor Relations Board.

Communists fought this bitterly...the vote was 14 to 13. Pizer didn't vote, since there wasn't a tie. Max Perlow, sec.-treas., is an OPEN member of Communist Party. He'll have to retire from office if union convention in June okays Pizer's stand. Then many locals will file with NLRB ...and some of their officers are open party members and will have to quit.

Pizer himself was a Communist Party member for many years. He broke with the party during Stalin-Hitler Alliance...but kept on playing ball with Communists in union affairs. He's still playing ball generally, as shown by his stand for Third Party. But there's a roaring demand from below, in the union, for filing with NLRB...otherwise in many shops the union will be squeezed out by rivals, especially AFL Upholsterers. Pizer and 14 members of Exec Bd have yielded to this demand, in spite of fact that practically all of them have been party-liners.

WHAT CAN YOU DO TO BEAT THE COMMUNISTS? First of all, you and your various organizations (unions, business & civic groups, etc) should get full text of Nazi-Soviet secret documents, just released by State Dept. This is a gold mine of facts for proving to unionists and deluded liberals that Stalin Russia is cynical, brutal, sly, faithless. You can get copies from Supt of Documents, Govt Printing Office, Washington, DC, $1 each (paper-bound). Didier Publishers, 660 Madison Ave, NYCity, this week issued a paper-bound edition of the book, $1, and a cloth-bound one, $2.50.

And you can organize to SUPPORT Communist registration bill (see p 2). Communist Party is whipping up a mass campaign against it. Try to organize mass meetings FOR it...and send resolutions, telegrams, letters to congressmen, senators, and House Un-American Activities Committee.

Yours faithfully,

January 30, 1948

Counterattack

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Periodicals

PLEASE RETURN TO
CBS REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

COUNTERATTACK

THE NEWSLETTER OF FACTS ON COMMUNISM
55 WEST 42ND STREET NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

January 9, 1948

PLEASE RETURN TO
CBS REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

Dear Subscriber:

HOW HIGH UP ARE STALIN'S SPIES IN U S GOVT? For several months a Federal grand jury has been looking into this and other matters connected with Communist Party. Now U S Army Intelligence in Washington is wondering whether Stalin has succeeded even better in the U S than he did in Japan. Counterattack's investigators learn the following facts exclusively:

Two U S Communists were members of Stalin's great spy ring in Japan, which was broken up in Oct 1941. Our Army Intelligence in Tokyo has discovered this by studying Japanese Govt records and examining witnesses. The two Americans had left Japan before the Japanese Govt smashed the ring, so they were never arrested. Army Intelligence has learned that they are now in the U S and are taking an active part in Communist fronts here.

How high Stalin's spies can get is shown by the fact that the leader of the ring in Japan was an important German Govt official, Dr Richard Sorge, press attache of the German embassy. He was a member of the Nazi Party, and he commanded Stalin's spy ring from 1933 till his arrest in 1941. In earlier part of this period he was Tokyo correspondent of a big German newspaper, the Frankfurter Zeitung. He was a friend of the German ambassador, General Eugen Ott, and in 1939 he became embassy press attache.

His chief lieutenant was a leading Japanese journalist, Hozumi Ozaki, a close friend of several of Prime Minister Konoye's secretaries.

The ring had a radio station and commmunicated with Vladivostok.

It had 30 Communist spies in the Japanese economic Intelligence on the South Manchuria Railway. Thus all the significant economic facts about Manchuria were transmitted to Tokyo and from there to Moscow.

There were NO Russians in the ring. Non-Russian Communists served Stalin faithfully. The German, Sorge, was hanged when caught. So was his main lieutenant, Ozaki. Several Japanese died in prison. The rest were released by the U S Army in 1945...and are working for Stalin again.

So are the two Americans, now active in the U S.

An American Communist correspondent in Japan recently bragged of the 30 Japanese Communist spies on the South Manchuria Railway. This led Alfred Kohlberg, chairman of the American China Policy Assn, to make a comment worth considering: "If the Communists could do this in Japan, where they were ruthlessly suppressed, it staggers the imagination to try to figure out what they are probably doing here in our country....If 30 of them could penetrate Japanese Intelligence in China, how many must there be in our Intelligence? How many in our State Dept are Russian spies?"

STATE DEP'T MAKES A QUEER CHOICE FOR DELEGATE TO U N. This week the Interim Committee (or "Little Assembly") of the U N held its first meetings. The deputy delegate of the U S to this assembly is Philip C Jessup,

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professor of international law at Columbia University. Most of the time he'll be the only spokesman for the U S, because Sen Austin, the chief delegate, will be absent. Now who & what is Prof Jessup?

As chairman of a big Communist front for years, Jessup collaborated with known Communists. The front is the Institute of Pacific Relations (see Counterattack Dec 19 p 4). He was chairman of its American Council in 1939 and 1940, and chairman of its international governing group in 1938-42.

A Communist Party member, Frederick Vanderbilt Field, one of the party's financial angels, was secretary of the American Council of the Institute for many years. During the Stalin-Hitler alliance he resigned that office because the Communist Party had made him executive secretary of its new front, the American Peace Mobilization...and he had to go to Washington to direct the front's picket line around the White House.

Yet Field remained on Executive Committee of the Institute of Pacific Relations, even after that. He continued to sit in board meetings with his friend Jessup. Field writes for the Daily Worker and is an editor of the party's New Masses weekly (which is folding up this week). But he stayed on the Executive Committee of the Institute until last spring.

Jessup has opposed U S policy on the question of atomic energy. In 1946 he publicly urged U S to stop building up a stock of atomic bombs.

If an ordinary Govt employee, a clerk in the State Dept, had a record like Jessup's, do you suppose he would be allowed to keep his job? The man would be classified as undesirable...and out he would go. Obviously Sec Marshall knows little about many of the men he appoints. Other officials in the State Dept really pick them. Marshall should look into this. He should drop Jessup and give the State Dept the cleaning up it needs.

HONEST HENRY WALLACE KNOWS SO VERY FEW COMMUNISTS. It turns out that Walter Reuther is wrong. Reuther describes Wallace as a "lost soul," who has surrendered to the Communists. But Wallace went to Milwaukee last week to make a speech, and before the speech he talked with reporters. "I've met very few American Communists," he said. Also: "One thing I've asked them is do you get directions from Russia, and I haven't found one yet who knew of any way of getting such directions from Moscow." In fact they seem to be "poor, lonesome souls who have no contact with Russia."

Poor, lonesome souls! And he's met very few of them.

But who met HIM on his arrival in Milwaukee that day, before he talked with the reporters? It was the Wisconsin Citizens for Wallace Committee, headed by its executive director, John F Gminski. And Gminski was recently kicked out of the Democratic unit of the 24th Ward of Milwaukee on charges of Communist activity.

And a poor, lonesome soul named Wm S Gailmor spoke with Wallace in the Municipal Auditorium that evening...and in fact made the collection speech. Gailmor is a Communist. He's also a radio commentator on Station WHN, NYCity, sponsored by Geo F Stuhmer & Co, bakers. He's also a convicted thief, who turned to Communism as a safer outlet for feelings of aggression.

And another poor, lonesome soul named Paul Robeson sang some of the Communists' favorite songs at the same meeting. Robeson belongs to the Communist Party. If Wallace wants to know about the Communists' contacts with Stalin Russia, he might ask Robeson, who took his son to Moscow and left him in school there for years. Wallace might also ask Robeson's wife, who once had a job there. Her job, in fact, was in the Kremlin itself.

And there's still another poor, lonesome soul named John J Abt, who used to be a lawyer under Wallace in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. Abt was a member of a secret Communist cell there. He's still a secret member of the party. His wife, Jessica Smith, is editor of a party magazine, "Soviet Russia Today." His sister, Marion Bachrach, works in the "American Kremlin," Communist Party hq in NYCity, as organizer of the Eugene Dennis Defense Committee (Counterattack 9/19/47 p 3).

Abt's secret membership is well known by this time. Counterattack has published it. Wallace knows of it. This week Abt resigned as general counsel of CIO Political Action Committee...and he took a leave of absence as general counsel of Amalgamated Clothing Workers (CIO). Reason: both the union and the CIO PAC are against a third party. Abt is one of Wallace's top campaign managers. But Honest Henry knows very few Communists.

AFL TAKES A GREAT STEP FORWARD AGAINST COMMUNISTS IN LATIN AMERICA. This week-end will be historic in the labor movement. Jan 10 is first day of conference in Lima, Peru, which has long been planned.

The Free Trade Union Committee of AFL has worked enormously hard on this project. It has largely been financed by David Dubinsky's International Ladies' Garment Workers Union. One of Dubinsky's lieutenants, Serafino Romualdi, has been flying from one Latin American country to another for a long time, talking with labor leaders, rousing them from discouragement, telling them the Communists weren't invincible and could be overthrown.

The Communist press of Latin America & the U S has raged against Romualdi, Dubinsky, and Matthew Woll, chairman of AFL International Labor Relations Committee. Most unions in Latin America are now affiliated with the Latin American Confederation of Labor, headed by Vicente Lombardo Toledano, a Mexican Communist.

Now a new inter-American labor federation is starting...and it will grow steadily. It deserves support of U S Govt and of all anti-totalitarians in its efforts to end Stalin's control of labor in Latin America.

COMMUNIST PARTY ATTACKS PHILIP MURRAY for plugging Marshall Plan in a broadcast to European workers and for opposing the Communists' third party with Wallace as their candidate. The party has ordered Communists in CIO to defy Murray by continuing to fight the Marshall Plan, and by supporting the third party and collecting signatures and money for it in unions.

"The recent CIO convention took no such view of the Marshall Plan," says the party's top committee, the Communist Natl Board. And it adds tartly, "We must ask Murray in whose name he speaks on the Marshall Plan."

And the party assails Murray's refusal to support Stalin's insurrectionary strikes in France & Italy. "What has become of our CIO?" demands a member of the Communist Natl Committee pathetically. "Have we forgotten that we are affiliated with the World Federation of Trade Unions?"

Note the first-person pronouns. "OUR" CIO. "WE are affiliated," etc. Almost unconsciously the Communist Party is speaking as if IT were the CIO...at the very time when it has hit bottom in its influence on CIO policy.

COMMUNIST PARTY KILLS ITS "NEW MASSES" WEEKLY MAGAZINE, with the issue dated Jan 13...and at the same time kills its quarterly "Mainstream" magazine...and will start new monthly soon to replace both. "New Masses" was founded in 1934, and "Mainstream" is a year old. Both magazines were supposed to be cultural, but their quality was low. "New Masses" died because its readers wouldn't raise about $5,000 a month to keep it going.

The party could have saved "New Masses" with money from its own treasury, but didn't think it worth while. Recently it increased the size of its Daily Worker, providing a little more space for "cultural" news & propaganda articles (on theaters, movies, music, art, etc). Though most of this stuff is appallingly trashy, it's hardly worse than the junk in "New Masses." So the party figured that anybody who really wants to lap up this sort of thing can get it in the Daily Worker.

UNITED STATES STEEL CORP. KEEPS ON SPONSORING COMMUNISTS. It seems that this great company doesn't care whether its money goes to Communist Party members and fellow-travelers. It continues paying them to act on its radio show and to write its scripts. Here are examples:

Millard Lampell, Communist Party member and ex-secretary of Duncan-Paris Post of American Legion, which lost charter because of Communist control (Counterattack 6/6/47 pp 2, 3). Lampell has repeatedly written scripts for U S Steel's Theater Guild of the Air program, Sunday nights on ABC.

Fredric March & his wife, Florence Eldridge March (Counterattack 10/17/47 p 4, 10/24/47 p 3, 10/31/47 p 2, 12/5/47 p 1). These Communists have acted on U S Steel's Sunday night program time and again.

Gene Kelly, honorary chairman of biggest Communist youth front, Young Progressive Citizens of America (Counterattack 10/17/47 p 4, 10/24/47 p 3, 11/21/47 p 2). He was on U S Steel's program Dec 7, Pearl Harbor Day.

Alfred Drake, who has sponsored such Communist fronts as Progressive Citizens of America and its predecessor, Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences & Professions...also Council on African Affairs, Veterans of Abraham Lincoln Brigade, and Committee for the First Amendment, a Hollywood front. He was on U S Steel program Dec 28.

Lillian Hellman, Communist playwright, who has twisted herself into knots following every change of the party line for many years (Counterattack 8/8/47 pp 3, 4). One of her plays was on U S Steel's program Jan 4.

When will U S Steel wake up? Why don't all radio sponsors refuse to hire party members & fellow-travelers or to use their writings?

WHAT CAN YOU DO TO BEAT THE COMMUNISTS? You and your organizations can state your opinions plainly to Govt officials, radio sponsors, and others on various matters reported in this issue of Counterattack...including the following:

Communist Party is starting a big campaign to turn over all China and eventually all Asia to Stalin. How? By blocking the efforts of General Wedemeyer, Rep Walter H Judd, and others who urge REAL aid to the Chinese Govt. Communists plan a series of loud meetings for propaganda. First of these will be Jan 23-25 in Hotel Roosevelt, NYCity. Communists are skilled in using such meetings to get publicity and thus influence public opinion and Govt action. Anti-Communists should combat this plan at once.

Safety of U S depends on big aid to China. Our choice isn't between Chiang Kai Shek's Govt and something better. It's between Chiang and Stalin. There are no other choices. We've got to choose NOW...and urge our Govt to act NOW...or else Stalin will control all Asia against U S.

Yours faithfully,

January 9, 1948

Counterattack

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COUNTERATTACK

THE NEWSLETTER OF FACTS ON COMMUNISM
55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

January 2, 1948

Dear Subscriber:

A HAPPY NEW YEAR? OR ARE WE SLIDING SLOWLY INTO A NEW WORLD WAR? Today the U S faces the most dreadful danger in its history, because it has a mighty enemy who knows how to wait. Stalin isn't strong enough yet to fight America directly, but he is taking advantage of American ignorance and disunity to fight an INDIRECT war that may bleed us of our strength.

He is bleeding us in Greece. How long can we keep on supplying the Greek Govt for its defense against Stalin's Yugoslavia, Bulgaria & Albania? It is in those countries that the "Greek" Communists rest after battle. It is there that they get their supplies & equipment, including artillery...and many of their troops. Then they go back over the border to fight the Greek Govt in the snow-covered mountains...and if defeated they retreat into those countries and rest again and get new equipment and new "Greek" troops.

This isn't a CIVIL war...it's an INTERNATIONAL war. And it may drag on for years, costing us billions...and in the end Stalin may have Greece. How long are we to continue this crippled defensive operation?

Here is what the U S should do. Recognizing that Stalin has made war on us by setting up the "Cominform" segment of the Communist International, and recognizing that the creation of the Greek Communist "Govt" is a specific act of war, the U S should publicly accuse Stalin Russia in the United Nations. And at the same time, acting under the self-defense provisions of Article 51 of the U N Charter, the U S should equip Greece with a large number of bombers. Greece should serve an ultimatum on Stalin's Yugoslavia, Bulgaria & Albania, demanding that they cease all assistance to the Communist army. And if this ultimatum is defied, Greece should bomb all places in those countries that are used to assist the "Greek" Communists.

The Communist Govts of those puppet countries will bomb Greece in return unless the U S makes it plain that it is resolved to support Greece fully and that if necessary it will send its own bombers and its own troops into those countries. If once the U S shows that it really means business, Stalin will tell his puppets to stop the war.

That's the way to PREVENT a Third World War. Stalin won't fight if he sees he's going to be licked...nor will he let his Balkan gauleiters fight. He isn't a sentimentalist. He'll back down in the face of force.

We can't afford to wait. Our choice is not between a small war and peace. It is between ENDING a small war and PERMITTING a great war...probably the greatest of all time. If we fear to drop ordinary bombs now on Stalin's puppets, a day may come when we'll drop ATOMIC bombs on Moscow, Leningrad, Baku and Vladivostok...and Soviet atomic bombs may wipe out Washington, New York, Boston, Seattle, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and many cities in between. Let us have the sense and the courage to act now.

If we do, history will call 1948 a really Happy New Year!

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COUNTERATTACK'S INVESTIGATORS LEARN EXCLUSIVELY the Communist Party has turned over mailing list of its Boston school to Henry Wallace's New Republic magazine. Wallace is still writing a weekly page for the New Republic, although this week he went through the motions of resigning as editor. The magazine is using the Communist mailing list to solicit subscriptions.

Communist Party's school in Boston is Saml Adams School for Social Studies (see Counterattack May 16 p 2, Sept 19 p 2). School was included by Atty Gen Clark in his list of subversive organizations, issued a month ago.

One of its trustees is Angus Cameron, Massachusetts chairman of biggest general Communist front, Progressive Citizens of America. This is the front the party has used to unofficially "nominate" Wallace for President.

Why did Communist Party turn its mailing list over to Wallace's magazine? Because Wallace and the magazine serve purposes of Stalin.

WHEN WALLACE ANNOUNCED HIS PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDACY, the newspapers reported that he had done so with the support of "the Progressive Citizens of America and other liberal groups" and after long conferences with "liberal leaders from 18 states and the District of Columbia." Well, let's see.

All the Communist press played up the Wallace candidacy, both before and after he announced it. From the Daily Worker, in NYCity, to the Daily People's World, in San Francisco, it was Wallace, Wallace, Wallace every day. Last Monday, Dec 29, the Daily Worker gave 4/5 of its front page to Wallace. A two-line streamer clear across the page declared, "Auto Unionists Want Wallace." A telegram had been sent to Wallace by 60 union officials in Detroit, "led by progressive leaders of Ford Local 600"...which is Communist-controlled. One of the signers was John Anderson, president of Local 155, and former Communist candidate for Gov of Michigan.

After Wallace announced his candidacy, the Daily Worker, on Tuesday morning, gave its WHOLE front page to Wallace. And its whole page 2. And more than half of another page. And an editorial occupying 2/5 of a page.

Who were the "liberal" leaders who conferred with Wallace? The three who were most mentioned in the newspapers were: (1) A Communist Party member, Hugh Bryson, president of CIO Marine Cooks & Stewards, and chairman of the Communists' new Independent Progressive Party of Calif. (2) Robt W Kenny, Communist party-liner. (3) Elmer A Benson, who persistently denies he is a Communist Party member, though he has been a front man for the party in numberless projects ever since he was Gov of Minnesota. For example, he supported the party's American Peace Mobilization, which picketed the White House during the Stalin-Hitler alliance. These are Wallace's "liberals."

REUTHER PREPARES TO FIGHT A COMMUNIST-CONTROLLED UNION. One of the first acts of new anti-Communist Exec Board of CIO United Auto Workers (UAW) was to lay plans for pushing Communist-led CIO Farm Equipment Workers (FE) out of farm implement field. Walter Reuther wrote a letter to Grant Oakes, president of FE, proposing the two unions merge. Only a few months ago the FE leaders were hot for a merger...because Communist Party thought the small FE union would be just big enough to tip the scales against Reuther in his reelection fight in the coming UAW convention. Reuther fought the merger and beat it decisively. That turned the tide. The bandwagon vote rushed to him, and his caucus won all top offices in the convention.

But now Reuther has proposed a merger. Why? Because UAW has been on record for a merger for years...if the terms are okay. And Reuther's letter showed he was carrying out the wishes of his membership.

But FE now refuses to merge, thus surprising nobody. Its Communist leaders realize they would be swamped in UAW.

All right, now the decks are cleared for a fight. Reuther's letter was merely a tactical preparation. UAW will start a new organizing campaign in International Harvester, John Deere, and other farm implement plants.

And in NLRB elections, UAW will be on ballot. FE won't, as its officers haven't signed non-Communist affidavits. So UAW will have advantage.

COMMUNIST HARRY BRIDGES THREATENS SABOTAGE STRIKES against Marshall Plan. Bridges, a Communist Party member, is president of West Coast longshoremen's union (CIO). He's beginning to build up sentiment in & out of his union for strikes to sabotage shipments to France, Italy, Greece. Communist Party expects Wallace's speeches to help it in this.

Canadian Communists are already playing the sabotage game. In Nova Scotia and British Columbia, shipments of arms to China have been held up. And Harry Davis, president of Communist-dominated Canadian Seamen's Union, asks Canadian Govt to embargo such shipments.

Harry Bridges mustn't be allowed to get away with his quisling tactics. We're not playing for marbles. This is a life-or-death matter for U S. The Govt has powers it can use to crack down on this Fifth Columnist. But Congress should take no chances. It should look into Bridges' threats right away...talk the matter over with Administration officials...and make sure there's enough power to smash Bridges if he starts sabotage.

1,000,000 COPIES OF A PAMPHLET FOR COMMUNIST JOHN SANTO, to keep him from being deported to his native Romania, will be issued by Communist-controlled CIO Transport Workers Union. Santo, a Communist Party member, founded the union. Its president is Michael J Quill, now NYCity Councilman.

Communist Party knows it has no legal reasons against deportation, so it tries to arouse public sentiment for Santo, especially among unionists. How? By picturing him as a martyr. "John Santo, American," is title of pamphlet, skillfully illustrated, selling for 10¢. What did this fine American do? Why, "he built a union" (for Communist Party to control). So unionists are urged to write to Pres Truman & Atty Gen Tom Clark, asking them to save this fine American from deportation.

Instead Truman & Clark should go ahead and throw him out.

METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL ACTION, which ended its annual meeting in Kansas City, Mo, this week, is a Communist front (see Counterattack Dec 19 p 4). In its meeting it passed many Communist resolutions.

Rev Jack McMichael, Exec Sec., had the impudence to deny publicly that he's a Communist or has ever been in Young Communist League or any other Communist organization. In July 1939 McMichael became chairman of the top Communist youth front, American Youth Congress, which was hollering for "collective security" with Stalin against Fascism. Just one month later Stalin signed his pact with Hitler, and at once Chairman McMichael and the American Youth Congress swung around, demanding peace, and echoing Molotov's sneering statement that "Fascism is a matter of taste," not something to fight about. In Feb 1940 the American Youth Congress booed Pres Roosevelt on White House lawn for saying "the Soviet Union...is run by a dictatorship as absolute as any other dictatorship in the world."

Although Methodist Federation for Social Action isn't an "official" church group, its influence is great. The press & radio have shut their eyes to Communist Party's success among clergymen of several denominations.

R

TRYGVE LIE HELPS THE COMMUNISTS AGAIN. You may have read in the newspapers that the Sec.-Gen. of U N intervened to prevent deportation of two so-called "foreign correspondents," Syed Sibtay Hasan of India and Nicolas Kyriazidis of Greece. What you haven't read is that Hasan has been making speeches at Communist meetings...right here in the U S...and that he has been writing in the Communist press of THIS country, not merely of India. For example, the Communist Party used most of the editorial page of its national paper, The Worker, on Oct 5, to print an article by Hasan.

Neither in Hasan's case nor in that of the Greek, Kyriazidis, was there any justification for Trygve Lie's loud demand on the U S.

Trygve Lie's pro-Communist bias has been shown frequently in past 30 years. He visited Moscow in 1921 as a Communist official of Norwegian Labor Party, which was then affiliated with the Communist International.

He has discreetly assisted the Kremlin in many ways since then. Significant facts of his career were given in Oct issue of Plain Talk magazine (240 Madison Ave, NYCity...25¢ a copy). As chief official of U N, Trygve Lie has repeatedly helped Stalin and opposed the U S. It's time the U S Govt talked plainly to him and about him and made him behave.

O. JOHN ROGGE, COMMUNIST FELLOW-TRAVELER, and former Asst Atty General, is such a big hit with the Communist Party that it used more than a page in the Daily Worker Dec 26 to plug him in words & pictures.

PHILCO HAS COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBER ON ITS PROGAM. Last Friday night (Dec 26) the Philco Radio Corp program on Mutual network had its regular star, Burl Ives, and also a guest...his old pal, Pete Seeger. Now Burl Ives himself has supported many Communist fronts, including Natl Committee to Win the Peace (for Stalin, by weakening U S), Southern Conference for Human Welfare, People's Songs, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, and testimonial dinner for Rockwell Kent (artist and Communist Party member).

Pete Seeger, Communist Party member, and Burl Ives jested on the program about their chummy old days when they were on the bum together. This was a tender, sentimental topic, but it shouldn't divert anyone (even Philco Radio Corp) from the unsentimental fact that Pete Seeger is a complete Fifth Columnist. No matter what doubt there may be about Burl Ives, there's none about his old pal Pete Seeger. This man is director of People's Songs, an important Communist front (see Counterattack Dec 19 p 4). He entertains continually at party functions as well as at meetings of fronts and Communist-controlled unions. He was on the party line during the Stalin-Hitler alliance, singing songs denouncing Roosevelt as a warmonger... till Hitler attacked Russia. Then the party line changed and so did Seeger.

Why doesn't Philco know this? Why don't radio sponsors take care to avoid putting quislings on the air? When will they wake up?

THINGS YOU CAN DO TO BEAT THE COMMUNISTS: Individually and through your organizations, let Truman, the State Dept, Atty Gen Clark, and Congress know what you think of various matters reported in Counterattack today...and let newspapers know what you think of calling Communists "liberals"...and tell radio sponsors what you think about hiring Communist entertainers.

Yours faithfully,

January 2, 1948

Counterattack

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PLEASE RETURN TO
CBS REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

COUNTERATTACK
THE NEWSLETTER OF FACTS ON COMMUNISM
55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

December 5, 1947

Dear Subscriber:

COMMUNIST PARTY STARTS CAMPAIGN TO DEFEAT HOLLYWOOD PURGE. Directives have been sent out by Natl Chairman Wm Z Foster and Gen Sec Frank Waldron, alias Eugene Dennis. "Emergency measures & unprecedented mass actions" are ordered. Communist fronts and Communist-controlled unions are to influence public emotion by resolutions, mass meetings, and radio speeches in defense of the right of Fifth Columnists to be employed in Hollywood.

This Communist campaign has two immediate aims:

(1) To discredit the whole purge...save the jobs of the 10 quislings who refused to tell the Thomas Committee whether they were members of the Communist Party...and make the producers back down from the decision they announced last week not to employ any known party members.

(2) To prevent the producers from going further and refusing to employ ANY Communists...any consistent supporters of the Communist Party... whether their actual party membership can be proved or not.

The producers' sudden decision was made at the insistence of Eric Johnston, who has been far ahead of his employers in seeing what they ought to do and what eventually they would HAVE to do. As Counterattack pointed out in its Oct 31 issue, the producers ought to have fired the quislings long ago. But they were indifferent, timid, ignorant. The whole Communist question confused them and they blinked a few times and turned away.

So Eric Johnston had to fight a defensive action during the Thomas Committee hearings. Being much smarter than the committee members and the committee lawyer, he was able to spar very prettily. But truth & logic are on the committee's side, and Johnston has at last convinced the producers they they must give in at once or take a dreadful beating later.

Let's not blame the producers alone for their laxity. In this they have been typical of American business.

A number of great banks are represented on the directorates of movie companies. The banks are as culpable as the heads of the companies.

Many newspapers & magazines employ known Communists.

Radio is badly infiltrated by the Communists, and some of the leading networks and large stations accept this infiltration as normal.

Radio sponsors can't escape blame. Why does U S Steel Corp, for example, repeatedly use Fredric March, a Communist, on its programs?

Now at last the movie producers have acted...and the leaders of the Communist Party have answered with their directive. Quick to obey is the biggest general Communist front, Progressive Citizens of America. Its Arts, Sciences & Professions Council prepared a statement, and 65 well-known persons signed it. Among them are such Communist Party members as Rockwell Kent, Paul Robeson, Howard Fast, Prof Henry Pratt Fairchild, Muriel Draper,

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Marc Blitzstein, Henrietta Buckmaster, Leane Zugsmith, Agnes Smedley. These and other party members, along with many fellow-travelers and a few confused innocents, charge the producers with abridging civil liberties.

The best answer the producers can make to this Communist smear is to carry out faithfully the promises they made last week:

"We are frank to recognize that such a policy" (the policy of firing Communist Party members) "involves dangers and risks. There is the danger of hurting innocent people. There is the risk of creating an atmosphere of fear....We will guard against this danger, this risk, this fear. To this end we will invite the Hollywood talent guilds to work with us to eliminate any subversives; to protect the innocent; and to safeguard free speech and a free screen wherever threatened."

This is the sane & decent position to take. The producers should stick to it. But whether they can get genuine cooperation from the Screen Writers Guild, Screen Actors Guild, and Screen Directors Guild is doubtful, even though the executive boards of all these unions now have non-Communist majorities. For the Communist minorities are slick & vociferous, and they will succeed in persuading many ignorant liberals that it's a sin against civil liberties to fire a Fifth Columnist.

The producers must insist on REAL cooperation from the talent unions. Every Communist Party member and every persistent fellow-traveler should be ousted. This doesn't mean merely a few dozen. Unless the producers get rid of hundreds of quislings they'll be shirking their duty. And yet the housecleaning can be done without endangering the innocents who have occasionally been duped into supporting some Communist front.

There's no need for an atmosphere of fear in Hollywood. But you can bet that the Fifth Columnists will CREATE it. They'll picture the producers as engaged in a witch-hunt, a lynching of liberals. But it's up to Eric Johnston to answer their propaganda effectively and to supervise a GENUINE housecleaning of the quislings despite all the clamor.

WHERE DOES THE MONEY OF THE HOLLYWOOD COMMUNISTS GO? Part of the answer to this is given in Freda Utley's new book, "Last Chance in China." Miss Utley spent considerable time in China during 1945 & 1946 and was allowed to visit Yenan, which was then the Communist capital. Above the gates of a children's home were the letters "L. A." The head teacher "explained to me that since 1943 the school had received clothing and a substantial money contribution from Los Angeles." Later Miss Utley learned from an official of the Communist Finance Bureau "that the donations of Hollywood's wealthy Communist sympathizers constituted a considerable sum on the credit side in Yenan's over-all budget."

What the Chinese Communists got from Hollywood was of course only a little part of the large revenues raised by the Hollywood Fifth Column.

HOW A BIG, RICH NEWSPAPER SOMETIMES FAVORS THE COMMUNISTS was shown last week when over 40 leading writers issued a statement applauding the Thomas Committee for its investigation of the Hollywood quislings, and opposing the hysterical attacks on it. Among these writers were Prof Allan Nevins of Columbia University, John Chamberlain, Kenneth Roberts, Wm Henry Chamberlin, Eugene Lyons, W E Woodward, Benj Stolberg, Ferdinand Lundberg, Isaac Don Levine, Geo S Schuyler, Felix Morley, Wm Hazlett Upson, Suzanne LaFollette.

All the newspapers in NYCity reported the issuance of this state-

ment...except two. One of these was the Daily Worker, national newspaper of the Communist Party. The other? The NY Herald Tribune.

This wasn't unusual. For although the NY Herald Tribune has a reputation as the leading Republican newspaper in the U S, it has also favored the Communist Party and Stalin Russia in many ways. On the Communist issue it is contradictory, confusing, and confused...so much so that some members of its staff call it the Hybrid Tribune.

The "Weekly Book Review" of this newspaper is one of the largest and most influential book sections in the U S. For years it has had a strong pro-Communist tinge, with such reviewers as Henrietta Buckmaster, a Communist Party member (see p 2).

Last Sunday (Nov 30) the Herald Tribune Weekly Book Review contained a review of Freda Utley's new book, "Last Chance in China" (published by Bobbs-Merrill Co. Indianapolis and New York, 408 pages, $3.50). Miss Utley gives facts to prove that the Chinese Communists are controlled by Moscow and that a Communist China would be a fearful danger to the U S.

What reviewer was chosen by the Herald Tribune to review this book? Owen Lattimore, a leading supporter of the Chinese Communists.

Owen Lattimore has long been one of the ruling group in the Institute of Pacific Relations, which became notorious for its pro-Moscow policy.

He was formerly on the editorial board of the pro-Communist magazine "Amerasia," which was involved in the State Dept espionage scandal in 1945. And he has been associated with various Communist fronts, including the Natl Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, organized by the Communist Party during the Stalin-Hitler Pact to protect its right to sabotage.

The choice of Owen Lattimore to review "Last Chance in China" was characteristic of the Herald Tribune. Naturally he slashed Miss Utley's book. That was not astonishing in this peculiar paper.

COUNTERATTACK'S INVESTIGATORS LEARN EXCLUSIVELY that the Communist Party is preparing a new "program for youth"...to win support of young people for the party's fake "civil liberties" ballyhoo and for its Third Party plans, the Henry Wallace movement, opposition to Marshall Plan, etc.

The main lines of this program for youth were explained by Robt Thompson, member of the party's top committee, the Communist Natl Board, in the recent CLOSED meeting of more than 500 Communist leaders from the East & Southeast (see Counterattack Nov 28). Naturally it's an alluring program.

New economic benefits for youth will be thought up. New things the Federal & State Govts can do in the way of jobs, educational benefits, etc. Then the party will push these ideas by means of its fronts and unions.

A new program for youth in unions will be advocated by the party. More job training, quicker upgrading, etc. More attention "to the young Negro people's problems." More union support for soldiers' bonuses.

"The party must direct the development of the Third Party and the Wallace movement among the youth," said Thompson.

Also "the party must begin to influence trade unions to build a broad labor sports movement throughout the entire country." In NYCity the party has already developed a Labor Sports Federation. It's promoting this mainly through unions it controls.

And American Youth for Democracy, formerly the Young Communist League, will be vigorously pushed. "The AYD...is a small organization but

an exceptionally strong movement," said Thompson. It must be built "into a clear-cut, anti-Fascist militant fighting force." What this means is that the AYD is to use anti-Fascist slogans in order to deceive genuine young anti-Fascists and rally them in a "militant" defense of the privilege of Communist Fifth Columnists to be immune while they sabotage the U S.

Other secret speeches of Communist leaders in this closed conference will be reported in coming issues of Counterattack.

GEO F ADDES LEFT CIO AUTO UNION'S REVENUES IN A MUDDLED CONDITION. When Emil Mazey, the new anti-Communist sec.-treas. of United Auto Workers, took over the duties of that office from Addes, he discovered a startling state of affairs. What had been supposed to be liquid assets turned out to be frozen. And there were other unpleasant financial aspects. The Executive Bd of Auto held a meeting in Detroit this week and decided not to make a fuss about the matter, but to begin drastic economies.

$100,000 is to be saved each month (they hope) and put aside for emergencies...including possible strikes. Hence many employees of the union will be dropped (besides those who were already being fired because they had been part of the Addes-Communist-Thomas-Leonard bloc). And several union bulletins and other internal publications will be scrapped. The union is chopping expenses at once to get up a little money in the bank.

COMMUNIST PARTY PUBLISHES NEW DAILY PAPER. But it's only for a little while. Because of the newspaper printers' strike in Chicago, the party is temporarily publishing a daily edition of its weekly Chicago Star. At the same time it's continuing the weekly edition. The daily is sold at factory gates, union meetings, etc, and the buyers are union members & sympathizers who are boycotting the regular newspapers during the strike.

ANOTHER COMMUNIST ON TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR. On Tuesday Dec 9 the Town Meeting on ABC network will discuss, "How Can We Combat Anti-American Propaganda in Europe?" And who do you suppose will be one of the 4 experts telling the American people how to stop this anti-American propaganda? None other than a member of the Communist Party! It's the Rev Wm Howard Melish, chairman of the Natl Council of American-Soviet Friendship, writer for the Daily Worker, and faithful party member.

This is the peak of silliness of the Town Meeting program. It has had Communists on the air repeatedly...it had one last week, Tues Nov 25. But to put a Communist Party member on the air to tell Americans how to combat anti-American propaganda in Europe...that's surely enough to make Stalin snicker at the imbecile Americans when he hears of it in the Kremlin.

HOW CAN YOU COUNTERATTACK THE COMMUNISTS? On Oct 17 Counterattack predicted that Stalin's establishment of new Comintern field hq at Belgrade meant trouble in Italy. We urged that the remaining U S troops NOT be withdrawn. Now the trouble has come. And the U S has briefly delayed withdrawal of troops. They should be kept there. Better keep one soldier there now than send 20 back there later. You can help by appealing individually and through your organizations to Truman & Congress to keep our troops in Italy.

Yours faithfully,

December 5, 1947

Counterattack

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PLEASE RETURN TO
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55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

November 14, 1947

Dear Subscriber:

REUTHER'S VICTORY MOVES WHOLE CIO TOWARDS ANTI-COMMUNISM. That's the chief significance of his triumph in United Auto Workers convention.

In the auto union itself, these results are certain:

(1) Housecleaning of Communist Party members & fellow-travelers who have been on staffs of defeated national officers & regional directors.

(2) Removal of ADMITTED Communist Party members from offices in some locals. Union constitution bars Communists & Fascists, but a few locals have elected Communists just the same. Reuther has urged International Executive Bd to depose them. It has refused. But new board will do it.

(3) New Communist tactics. Maneuvering at top has failed. So the party will focus below, on rank & file...agitate more...to rebuild its power.

Whole CIO feels effects of anti-Communist triumph in Auto. This union is biggest in U S...over 900,000 members. Its representative on CIO Executive Bd has been Geo F Addes, party-liner. On a rollcall he could vote entire Auto membership. Phil Murray has cannily compromised, avoiding rollcalls. Auto union's huge vote is like a gun on the table...owner of gun doesn't have to fire it. Now the gun passes into hands of anti-Communists.

This greatly strengthens anti-Communists in CIO...weakens the Fifth Column. But don't expect quick results. Murray & Reuther will move cautiously...try to avoid civil war in CIO. They don't want Communist Party to pull its unions out. This is why Murray feared complete Reuther victory in Auto and practically urged convention to reelect Addes secretary-treasurer. But the convention refused. And chances are the Communist Party won't break with CIO for quite a while.

COMMUNIST PARTY ORDERS "MASS MOBILIZATION" TO BRING PRESSURE ON CONGRESS in special session beginning Nov 17. The party has sent out a directive "to make the period between Nov 15-22 one of the most intensive concentrations to reach the masses."

"The party's program for this special session of Congress must be brought to the millions," says the party's Natl Organizational Dept in its directive. "Through leaflets, radio, mass meetings, street meetings we must reach the workers in the factories, the people in the neighborhoods, the farmers, the veterans, the Negro people, the youth and the women."

Congress is to be influenced by such activities as these:

"(a) Delegations to Congressmen before they leave for Washington....

"(b) Resolutions in support of the people's program by all labor bodies and other people's organizations.

"(c) Demand that the City Councils and other city and state legislative bodies petition Congress to enact this program.

"(d) Broad people's conferences" in each locality to organize "mass actions such as mass meetings, demonstrations, delegations to Washington.

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"Comrades, the issue is crucial, the time most urgent," the directive ends. "Action, and quick action, is the need of the hour. Every Communist at his post, every Communist and Communist organization to the masses."

Now what is all this mass activity aimed at? What is the program which the party is working so terrifically to impress on Congress?

Defeat of the Marshall Plan is most important of all. For the plan "is nothing more than an extension of the Truman Doctrine now in operation in Greece and Turkey," says the party. In other words, Marshall Plan is a big obstacle to Stalin's seizure of all Europe. So it must be beaten.

Promotion of Stalin's foreign policy is interwoven with appeal to self-interest of workers, consumers, small business men, farmers. Roll back prices...lend billions to Stalin Russia and the Balkans...build at least 3 million homes...cut down Army & Navy. Etc, etc. That's the sort of program the party has. See Counterattack Sept 5 for more detailed explanation.

And abolition of Thomas Un-American Activities Committee is also urged. Organization Sec Henry Winston has directed the whole party to collect half a million signatures to a petition for this purpose. Petition blanks bear name of Civil Rights Congress, the legal arm of the party. The signed petitions must be turned over to this Communist front by Dec 15.

"The CRC plans to send a delegation of distinguished citizens to Washington...to present the signed petitions to leaders of the House," says Sec Winston. Of course the "distinguished citizens" will be insulted if any Congressman suggests they're either Communists or dupes of Communists.

FORMER HIGH GOV'T OFFICIAL BECOMES A COMMUNIST FELLOW-TRAVELER. Oetje John Rogge, former special assistant to the Attorney General, has a reputation as an anti-Fascist, because he was the prosecutor in the mass sedition trial during the war. Now he's using that reputation in behalf of a variety of Communist causes. Rogge has become a front lawyer for the Communists and a propagandist for the party line.

He reached the climax of his pro-Communist efforts last week by issuing a statement in Los Angeles smearing the work of the Federal Grand Jury in New York which for five months had been investigating Communist activities. The Communist Party had long been fearful of many indictments by this grand jury. Rogge obligingly acted to discredit the indictments in advance by his smear campaign. And Natl Chairman Wm Z Foster & Gen Sec Frank Waldron, alias Eugene Dennis, urged Pres Truman to order discharge of grand jury. Party press demanded ouster of Atty Gen Tom Clark & J Edgar Hoover.

Here are some of Rogge's pro-Communist activities:

He's the lawyer for the 16 convicted directors of a big Communist front & racket, the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. No anti-Fascist refugee who is also anti-Communist can ever get a bit of help from this front. BUT it has paid out large sums to Gerhart Eisler and other agents of the Communist International. To conceal its crimes it has hidden its books from Congress. This has led to the conviction of 16 directors.

Rogge is also lawyer for Geo Seldes, who edits a Communist newsletter, "In Fact." When Seldes was called a Communist, Rogge wrote him a letter, for publication in "In Fact," exonerating him of the charge. But Seldes is a Communist and Rogge knows it. This is why Seldes doesn't sue for libel when called a Communist. And Rogge advises him against suing.

Rogge also represents Harold Christoffel, leader of Allis-Chalmers

Local 248 of United Auto Workers, who will soon be tried for falsely swearing to a House committee that he has never been a Communist Party member.

Largest general Communist front is Progressive Citizens of America. Rogge is a leader in PCA's fake "civil liberties" propaganda... which really means allowing Communist quislings a free hand to conspire against the U S.

Rogge has been lecturing all over the country, largely under Communist auspices. Tickets are on sale at Communist Party hq.

Rogge writes for the Communist press. Here's latest example. Several locals of CIO Retail, Wholesale & Dept Store Union are under Communist control, though the PARENT union is anti-Communist. These party-line locals are led by Nicholas Carnes & Arthur Osman. Carnes is OPENLY a Communist Party member. Osman in a press conference the other day refused to say whether he's a member. The Communist-controlled locals publish a paper called "Union Voice." And O John Rogge's name & picture are on front page of Nov 9 issue of this Communist sheet. He's writing a series of articles for it.

This is the man who tries to discredit the Federal Grand Jury's investigation. This is the man who is doing the Communist Party's work by throwing dust in the eyes of the people. Because he is known as an anti-Fascist, he can mislead many persons into believing that the investigation is part of a frameup, a "witch-hunt." This accusation is false. Counterattack has carefully kept silent on the grand jury's investigation. In this matter as in others, Counterattack has given information to the Govt and has cooperated fully. It knows that the Govt lawyers have worked honestly to procure punishment for actual crimes. Rogge works DISHONESTLY to protect the Communist Fifth Column. His true role should be made known to the whole country.

THERE WERE QUEER DOINGS ON THE RADIO when the Thomas Un-American Activities Committee was holding hearings to uncover the truth about the Hollywood Fifth Column. The average radio report of the proceedings was even more unfair than the average newspaper report, which was bad enough.

Here are two examples:

(1) Tris Coffin on ABC gives what the announcer calls a "dramatic" description of Washington events...a "vivid, colorful" picture. In his picture of the Thomas Committee's hearings he laid the colors on too thick. Repeatedly he called Chairman Thomas "harsh," "belligerent," "imperious." Why? Because Thomas used his gavel in an effort to silence the Communist witnesses who were obeying party orders and following Lenin's dictum...that is, don't answer questions but raise hell, vilifying your questioners.

Of course it is a chairman's duty to stop such tirades. Tris Coffin's "colorful" broadcasts were colored to favor the Fifth Columnists.

(2) But CBS took the cake. Twice a week it broadcasts a program called "In My Opinion," on which two speakers holding opposing points of view discuss a question. On Oct 27 the first debater on this program was a Washington correspondent of the NY Herald Tribune. What he lacked in understanding he made up in heat. Hotly he assailed the Thomas Committee.

And who was the second debater? Who was there to explain & justify the committee? None other than the Hollywood Communists' lawyer, Bartley C Crum, one of the cleverest Communist fellow-travelers. Crum was spending his days at the hearings, to represent his Communist clients...and in the evenings he was busy propagandizing for them on many radio programs. But we

don't know of any other case where he "debated" somebody on the same side as himself. This was a marvelous innovation in American broadcasting.

ANTI-COMMUNIST CLERGYMAN IS FORCED TO RESIGN. In our Oct 31 issue we told of the excellent series of articles by Rabbi Benjamin Schultz in the NYWorld-Telegram, on Communist infiltration of religious groups. Rabbi Schultz wrote accurately & moderately of Communist efforts among Protestants, Catholics, and Jews. In one article there was a short paragraph the accuracy of which has not been challenged but which brought bitter attacks.

Rabbi Schultz wrote that "Rabbi Stephen S Wise, one of the leading rabbis in America and a non-Communist," had addressed a Communist front; that he had told it: "Not a select few founded the Soviet Govt. The people did"; that two months later he "called for giving Russia the atom bomb know-how," and "defended Soviet expansion and blamed it on our 'withholding the atomic bomb secret.'"

Rabbi Wise vehemently denounced Rabbi Schultz as a "Communist-baiter" who was unfit to be a rabbi...but didn't deny his mild statements. The NY Bd of Rabbis hastily assailed Rabbi Schultz, without giving him a hearing. And the trustees of Rabbi Schultz's congregation, Temple Emanu-El, in Yonkers, NY, where he had served for 12 years, demanded his resignation. But on second thought they backed down. The episode seemed over.

But it wasn't over. The trustees simply boycotted the services. Manifestly this could not go on. One side or the other had to yield. Rabbi Schultz yielded. Last week he resigned.

It is plain that the reason for forcing him out was that he had ventured to speak the truth about one man...Rabbi Stephen S Wise. Rabbi Wise is now in his 70's. He has had his own way a long time. His attack on Rabbi Schultz was in effect a demand for his head. The trustees complied.

The Jewish Daily Forward, largest Jewish newspaper in the world, recently applauded Rabbi Schultz's articles, declaring they had given Temple Emanu-El "honor and prestige." Obviously the trustees, by their act, have given the temple the opposite of honor, the opposite of prestige.

2,600 CLERGYMEN ENDORSE COMMUNIST CLERGYMEN. One of the Communist Party's biggest promotion schemes is in full swing. Object is to build up the report of the 7 Protestant ministers who visited Yugoslavia at invitation & expense of Stalin's gauleiter, Communist Joseph Broz, alias Tito. Naturally the report is a whitewash. To win acceptance for it, the Communists collected signatures of 2,600 Protestant ministers who sponsor the report, saying "the standing of the authors" entitles them to a hearing.

What is their "standing"? Three of the 7 are Communists, as shown in Counterattack, Aug 1, pp 3 & 4, and Aug 29, p 4.

Dr Guy Emery Shipler continually supports Communist fronts.

Dr Claude C Williams is a secret member of the Communist Party.

Rev Wm Howard Melish is also a secret member of the Communist Party.

Such is the "standing" of men endorsed by the 2,600 ministers. And the report of these Communists is now being presented at closed meetings of ministers in many cities. Later the general public will be propagandized.

Yours faithfully,

November 14, 1947

Counterattack

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PLEASE RETURN TO
CBS REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

COUNTERATTACK

THE NEWSLETTER OF FACTS ON COMMUNISM
55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

September 26, 1947

Dear Subscriber:

HENRY WALLACE KNOWINGLY HELPS STALIN'S FIFTH COLUMN to maintain its grip on a large union. What is probably the low point of Wallace's moral decline was reached this week when he appeared as guest of honor at the convention in Boston of the biggest Communist-controlled union, the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers (CIO), and delivered what the Communist Party joyfully described as "the hardest-hitting speech he has yet made."

Wallace was brought to the UE convention for one purpose: to help the Communist Party retain control of the union...not only this year but in all the coming years of the struggle between the U S and Stalin Russia. This was Wallace's role in the convention...and he knew it.

Wallace knows that the UE leaders are Communists. On June 9 he made a speech to members of this union at the Singer plant in Elizabeth, NJ ...and he was escorted to the platform by Communist Jas McLeish, president of District 4 of the UE, who is openly a member of the Communist Party.

Last winter Wallace denied he knew a single member of the party. Last week he said, "The Communists I've met have been very good Americans." This week he denied that Communists control the UE.

Yet he knows that the UE is run by two men:

Jas J Matles, organizational director of the UE...a Communist Party member...regarded as the party's brains in the union.

Julius Emspak, secretary-treasurer of the UE...exposed by Louis F Budenz as "Comrade Juniper," a member of the Communist Party.

These facts are notorious. Wallace knows them.

Still he denied the known facts in his speech this week. He ridiculed the charges that the UE is under Communist control. He asserted that the charges are made by men who don't believe in unions.

But who makes these charges? Men like Jas B Carey, sec.-treas. of the CIO and former president of the UE, who lost the presidency in 1941 after breaking with the Communists during the Stalin-Hitler alliance.

Wallace knows that Jim Carey and some associates have organized an anti-Communist group, the UE Members for Democratic Action. Wallace was brought to the convention in order to assist the Matles-Emspak Communist machine in its scheme to destroy the UE Members for Democratic Action and to purge all its national and local leaders from the union.

A blistering answer to Wallace's friends, the Communist leaders of the UE, has been made by an anti-Communist local whose rights they tried to violate. Communist Jas McLeish, who escorted Wallace to the platform at the meeting at the Singer plant, is president of District 4. He became furious when Jas J Conroy, business agent of Local 1237, NYCity, testified recently before the Thomas Committee on Un-American Activities, telling the truth

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about McLeish and other Communists. District Council 4 adopted a resolution demanding that Local 1237 withdraw Conroy as a delegate to the Council. The local coolly refused. "The membership of Local 1237," it said, "resents and rejects this brazen, Communist-inspired resolution. It refuses to accept Communist dictation on this or any other matter."

And then it recalled the shameful history of the UE under Communist domination. "The UE," said the local, "supported the Communist Party in its anti-war program while the Stalin-Hitler Pact was in effect. During this period the UE Commies agreed with Molotov of Russia that 'Fascism is a matter of taste.' Pres Roosevelt was a warmonger and a strikebreaker. UE leaders were active in the formation and promotion of the Communist American Peace Mobilization. UE Commies were among those picketing the White House and were the loudest in their shouts, 'The Yanks are NOT coming.' UE Commies refused to endorse Pres Roosevelt for a third term.

"On June 21, 1941, the day of the Hitler invasion of the Soviet Union, the Communist machine in the UE swung into high gear, proclaiming the war as a 'peoples war' and 'demanding that the Soviet Union and all others sincerely fighting the Fascist Nazi menace be accorded the fullest assistance.' The UE Commies launched a campaign to establish incentive systems in every plant, denounced all who fought to protect the interests of the workers as in the case of the Montgomery Ward strike.

"The UE reds discharged from their jobs members who resisted efforts to saddle the workers with the unrestricted speed-up and they led the fight to free Earl Browder, jailed Communist leader.

"They attempted to have the FBI purge Commie opposition from their jobs and sought to have the Selective Service boards draft into the army members actively opposing Communism and its agents....

"The postwar activities of the UE Commies have been consistent in their similarity to those of the Communist Party. They voted to submit the Atom secret to the United Nations, without U N inspection controls. They have denounced and smeared every attempt of the U S Govt to institute a clear-cut foreign policy. They have contributed union money to the Communist paper, the Daily Worker.

"They supported Communist candidates for public office. They supported Communist front organizations, like the Win the Peace Conference, May Day Committee and the Civil Rights Congress, to which $1,000 of union money was contributed. The CRC is defending Gerhart Eisler, admitted German Communist, and Eugene Dennis, secretary of the Communist Party. They support the Communist-inspired Third Party movement led by Henry Wallace."

These workingmen are telling the plain, provable truth about the UE Communist leaders. Henry Wallace knows it is the truth. He himself is telling what he knows is not the truth. It is a shameful degeneration of a man who in former times was not so conspicuously dishonest.

COMMUNISTS IN THE CIO UNITED RUBBER WORKERS did fairly well in union convention in Boston last week. They showed their strength largely in preventing any attacks on themselves on the convention floor, and in helping to reelect Sec.-Treas. Chas E Lanning and Vice-Pres. H R Lloyd. Lanning specializes in defending Communist Party against what he calls "red-baiting." Pres L S Buckmaster, a Phil Murray man, tries to duck Communist issue.

DESPERATE FIGHT AGAINST GOVT LOYALTY TEST is being made by the CIO United Public Workers, a notoriously Communist-controlled union. All its important leaders in every part of the U S are Communist Fifth Columnists. They are waging a great propaganda campaign against Truman's loyalty order, pretending that unionists on the Govt payroll are endangered.

Now a UPW member refuses to obey the loyalty order. Henry Beitscher, an employee of the Commerce Dept, is a member of a local of the union in Washington, DC, and also president of the Washington CIO Council. The questionnaire for Govt employees requires that they name various kinds of organizations with which they are affiliated, including labor unions. The UPW has made a big issue of this, asserting that it's an anti-union plot. And now a UPW member refuses to name his union on the questionnaire.

But another union approves the loyalty test. "It is hard to understand why anyone would offer an objection to this type of question," says Pres Jas B Burns of the American Federation of Govt Employees (AFL). "No one should fear such a program unless he is affiliated to and in sympathy with an organization which reflects very clearly the insidious, treacherous and deceitful propaganda of a foreign power pledged to sow disunity in our midst, thereby attempting to undermine our Govt....

"The AFGE welcomes the loyalty program....The AFGE is confident that the loyalty program will be carried out by the Civil Service Commission and the FBI in a truly American fashion. Certainly there is no reason for hysteria or the notion that this is a witch-hunt. We have faith in the Govt agencies whose duty it is to enforce the loyalty program."

In short, the loyalty test isn't anti-union, as the Communist leaders of the UPW pretend. It is democratic and anti-Communist...and therefore it is essentially PRO-union. For there will be no genuine unions if the Fifth Column leaders of the UPW have their way. They are diligently trying to soften up the U S for conquest by Stalin Russia...which would mean the destruction of the free American unions and the establishment of a Govt Labor Front, run by commissars. The loyalty test is necessary to save America from military conquest and to keep free unionism alive.

APPEASEMENT OF COMMUNISTS was the policy that prevailed at Ohio CIO convention...unlike the conventions in neighboring states of Pennsylvania, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, where anti-Communists won decisively. National CIO convention in October may take a middle ground.

WHAT CAN YOU DO TO BEAT THE COMMUNISTS? Wherever practicable, cooperate with anti-Communists in unions. There's far more anti-Communist activity by unionists than by employers. On page 2 we've said something about Local 1237 of the CIO United Electrical Workers. This local is typical of a number of others in the same union. Another example of anti-Communist activity was provided this week by Local 468 of the CIO United Automobile Workers, which won its struggle against allowing technicians from Stalin Russia to work in the plant of Clark Equipment Co at Buchanan, Mich, and learn how to operate certain machines.

Give the anti-Communists in unions an even break at least. If you are an employer, actual cooperation with them may be impracticable. But at least don't obstruct them. Don't make concessions to Communist leaders in a local which you deny to anti-Communist leaders. If there's more than one

union in your plants, don't give the Communist-controlled unions a better deal than the others. Recognize the unselfishness, zeal, and self-sacrifice of the anti-Communists in labor. Give them a fair shake.

COUNTERATTACK'S INVESTIGATORS LEARN EXCLUSIVELY that the Communist Party will put special emphasis next month on the indoctrination of its young members and on methods of doing Communist work among youth groups.

Directives for these purposes will be issued in the form of three articles that are scheduled to appear in October issue of the party's theoretical magazine, "Political Affairs" (formerly called "The Communist").

And "youth courses" will be given in the party's schools, beginning next month. These courses will carry out the ideas expressed in the three magazines articles. Among other things, the students will be taught how the Young Communist League won control of youth organizations in the past, such as the pre-war American Student Union and American Youth Congress...and how the present generation of Communist youth can win control of youth organizations and use them to propagandize for the party and to gain recruits.

WHAT IS THE COMMUNIST PRESS SAYING? Fumblingly it tries to defend Vishinsky's ferocious, Hitler-like speech in the U N. One of Vishinsky's false charges was that John Foster Dulles had made a "warmongering" speech against Stalin Russia. The Communist press quotes Dulles as saying U S "must maintain a strong military establishment and keep the will to use it." And then the Communist press adds lamely, "Well, is this warmongering?"

COMMUNIST PARTY HAS IMPORTED A WOMAN MEMBER OF BRITISH PARLIAMENT to make speeches from coast to coast against the U S foreign policy. She is Mrs Leah Manning and the sponsor of her tour is the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, a Communist front whose top leaders are avowed members of the Communist Party. Other fronts are cooperating.

Dr Gene Weltfish, Communist professor of anthropology at Columbia University, says she was active in bringing Mrs Manning here. Dr Weltfish is president of the Congress of American Women, a Fifth Column front. One of its officers is Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Communist Party official.

Why has Communist Party imported Mrs Manning? Chiefly to take advantage of the U N Assembly meeting in order to propagandize against U S policy on Spain. Mrs Manning is anti-Franco. So is U S...but in ousting Franco from control of Spain, U S doesn't want to put Stalin in his place. Mrs Manning also opposes the American anti-Communist policy in Greece and she's enthusiastic about the Communist regimes of Yugoslavia and Poland.

And she's getting free publicity in much of the conservative press and on the radio. The listening audience and the readers are never told that she's a propagandist for the Kremlin line. CBS put Mrs Manning on its program called "In My Opinion." (Incidentally, two weeks earlier CBS had Robt Thompson, member of the Communist Natl Board, on the same program).

Who let Mrs Manning into the U S...and why? The State Dept and the Immigration Service should have kept her out. But there is ignorance in high places. And there are still some Communists in key spots.

Yours faithfully,

September 26, 1947

COUNTERATTACK

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August 8, 1947

Dear Subscriber:

COUNTERATTACK'S INVESTIGATORS LEARN EXCLUSIVELY that Communist Party is making further efforts to hide its membership lists. Party clubs in increasing numbers no longer keep lists of names of their own members. Club officers have lists of members' initials only. If such lists were seized by the Govt they wouldn't reveal much.

This is another step toward going underground...another practical way of impressing an underground mentality on the members, conditioning them for underground life. In taking these steps, party leaders are applying the lessons which many of them learned in Lenin School in Moscow.

COMMUNISTS IN CIO ARE ANGRY AT PHILIP MURRAY...but they're not letting anger guide their actions. Afraid of being isolated from the rest of the labor movement, they're determined to get along with the head of the CIO, and to put such pressure on him that he'll get along with them.

Murray has jolted the Communists several times lately, both in words and in deeds. Previously he sometimes blistered them in private, but they didn't mind that very much, because he continued to keep Lee Pressman as general counsel and Len DeCaux as publicity director and as editor of the weekly CIO News...and in general he gave the Communists more than an even break. But recently there has been a change.

It began at a CIO Executive Bd meeting, where he spoke harshly.

"If Communism is an issue in any of your unions, throw it to hell out," said Murray, "and throw its advocates out along with it. When a man accepts office...paid office in a union...to render service to workers, and then delivers service to other outside interests, that man is nothing but a damned traitor."

Naturally the anti-Communists in all CIO unions began repeating Murray's advice. "Red-baiters, are we?" they cried. "Then Phil Murray is a red-baiter too. Murray says we should throw out the Communists. Throw them to hell out, Murray says."

Then the Communist Party answered Murray, through one of its chief leaders, Natl Labor Sec John Williamson. He declared:

"To those who say, 'If Communism is an issue in your union, throw it out and throw out its advocates with it,' it is necessary to answer that, just as the advocates of Christianity could not be thrown out by the Roman emperors, and just as the roar of the Inquisition commanding that Galileo stop proclaiming the earth round could not stop the advance of science, so today the trade union movement cannot turn back the clock of history."

This amounted to calling Murray a Roman emperor. It encouraged Communists in the CIO to talk back to him. Already they resented two of his

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recent acts. One was his attempt to force a new election in the International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers (see Counterattack May 23 and Aug 1). The other was the broad jurisdiction he gave to the new Telephone Workers Organizing Committee, permitting it to enroll workers in plants where jurisdiction is claimed by two Communist-controlled unions...the huge United Electrical and the small American Communications Assn (telegraphers).

Murray took a third anti-Communist step, after John Williamson's defiant answer. He announced the "resignation" of Len DeCaux. Everybody knew this meant that DeCaux had been fired. For 11 years, ever since the organization of the CIO, this Communist had been its publicity director and the editor of the CIO News. He had held those positions under John L Lewis and then under Philip Murray. Now suddenly he was dropped.

And one question occurred to the Communists at once:

What about Comrade Pressman? When will it be his turn?

Privately Murray was denounced by the Communists. Many of them talked of getting ready to fight him openly...and even of seceding from the CIO if he should become more hostile to them.

But the party's Secretary General, Eugene Dennis, who ranks alongside Chairman Wm Z Foster in the top leadership of the party, has notified the Communists in CIO that they must continue to get along with "the Murray forces"...meaning Phil Murray. They mustn't let themselves be isolated.

"The Murray forces have capitulated on a number of key questions to all sorts of reactionary pressures," says Dennis, using the term "reactionary" in the Communists' accustomed manner, to denote all anti-Communists. "The Murray forces...have...participated in a number of red-baiting attacks against unions under left-wing leadership." (Here he says "left-wing" in order not to admit that the leaders are Communists.)

But Dennis sharply warns against "existing tendencies to resolve the differences within the CIO, by adopting...a go-it-alone position, e.g., by seceding from the CIO or by breaking relations...with the Murray forces. On the contrary, a course must be steered that will counteract every vacillating or reactionary step of the CIO leadership....What is involved in the relations between the Left and the Murray forces, is a policy of struggle and cooperation to reinforce the unity of the CIO for progressive aims."

Struggle and cooperation between Communists and Murray...that's the Communists' policy...and Murray's too. He'll struggle more than before, but he'll still "cooperate" cautiously. He won't fire Lee Pressman until he's practically sure the Communists will be unable to retaliate effectively. You can expect him to hit the Communists, one blow at a time...but not to provoke them into taking the unions they control out of the CIO.

BIG COMMUNIST-LED UNION SHAKES HANDS WITH NAMESAKE IN JAPAN. The CIO United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers (known as UE) is the model for an electrical union in Japan, which has taken the U S union's name and is copying its contracts. Both unions are in Communist hands.

The Japanese Communists made headway through the special privileges allowed them in the first year of the American Army occupation, when Communists often seized control of plants and kicked the managers out.

In a letter to the U S union, the Japanese UE points out that General Electric has a large investment in Japanese electrical industry. It expresses desire to follow parallel policies with its big brother in U S.

COMMUNISTS IN FIRST BIG BANK STRIKE are urging a boycott of the bank and are getting help from Communist fronts. Bank is Brooklyn Trust Co, with main office and 24 branches. Small minority of employees have been organized by CIO United Office & Professional Workers...UOPWA for short. (We have sent a comprehensive report on UOPWA to all Counterattack subscribers.)

Communists have induced some storekeepers to boycott the bank.

Congress of American Women assists Communists. Some officers of this front are openly Communist...for instance, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, top woman Communist in U S, member of Communist Natl Committee. Brooklyn chapter of this front has withdrawn its account from the bank.

Wife of Rev Wm Howard Melish, Communist, is chairman of the chapter. Her husband is one of the seven clergymen now visiting Yugoslavia to whitewash dictatorship there. He's national chairman of Natl Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

RADIO STATION GIVES TIME TO COMMUNIST PLAYWRIGHT, Arthur Miller, to broadcast for the UOPWA bank strike. Station is WINS, New York, owned by Crosley Broadcasting Corp, which also owns WLW, in Cincinnati, and is affiliated with the Crosley radio and appliance manufacturing company.

Arthur Miller and Henry Morgan, comedian on ABC network, are members of a committee formed by the Fifth Columnists to induce depositors to withdraw their money from the bank. Repeatedly Miller has appeared in public on programs of well-known Communist organizations.

Miller has promoted the Communists' World Youth Festival, now going on at Prague...and he tried to send his prize-winning play, "All My Sons," to the festival (see Counterattack July 18, p 4).

But despite his Communist record he was given time on Station WINS.

U S ARMY WILL PRODUCE COMMUNIST'S PLAY. Arthur Miller has disclosed that the Army has acquired the right to produce his play, "All My Sons," in Germany. So American soldiers there and many Germans will see a play written by a Communist, based on the theme that U S manufacturers produced defective airplanes and other equipment during the war, calmly endangering the lives of their own sons.

Thus the U S Govt assists Moscow's propaganda in Germany. Miller wrote his play primarily as Communist propaganda in THIS country...but now our Govt will disseminate the same propaganda in Germany, helping Stalin in his efforts to convince the Germans that the U S is controlled by heartless plutocrats who are now seeking to extend their rule to Europe.

Miller twisted the facts in a central situation in his play. He wrote a scene in which a manufacturer releases some defective airplane cylinders to the Army by simply telephoning to his factory and giving instructions. But in reality no manufacturer had the power to release military equipment. That was up to the Army inspectors in the plant, who generally were pretty rigorous in their tests.

But this point has apparently been overlooked by some Army authorities in Germany. Who is responsible for choosing Communist Miller's play? Some innocent in the Army? Or some Communist?

COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL WILL MOLD PUBLIC OPINION THROUGH WORLD-WIDE STAGE FRONT. Lillian Hellman, Communist playwright, was a leader in a conference in Paris last week...and J B Priestley, English playwright and Communist fellow-traveler, was co-chairman. Playwrights, actors, and other

stage people from many countries organized the International Theater Institute, "for the advancement of international understanding"...which was the Communist phrase to cover up appeasement of Stalin Russia.

Unesco (U N Educational, Scientific & Cultural Organization) was tricked into sponsoring the meeting and paying half expenses of delegates.

Lillian Hellman's Communist record is as long as Moscow's arm. She and her producer, Herman Shumlin, have fought Stalin's wars together. They have twisted obediently with every twist of the party line. When Stalin signed his pact with Hitler, they switched from pro-war to anti-war. When he pulled a Pearl Harbor attack on Helsinki, Finland, on Nov 30, 1939 (two years before Japan did the same to U S), Hellman and Shumlin defended him. Unlike other playwrights and producers, they refused to give a Finnish benefit performance of the Hellman play which Shumlin was then producing.

Lillian Hellman was a director of Communists' Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences & Professions. Shumlin was its secretary. She is now a vice-chairman of its successor, Progressive Citizens of America. Shumlin is its secretary. She supports big Fifth Column front, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, which is used by Communist International to finance its traveling agents, like Gerhart Eisler. Shumlin was a director of this front till a few weeks ago. Last month he and 15 other directors were convicted of contempt of Congress for hiding the front's records. He promised to obey, and got off with a $500 fine, suspended jail sentence.

With Communists like Lillian Hellman running it, the International Theater Institute will be used all over the world for Moscow propaganda.

WHAT IS THE COMMUNIST PRESS SAYING? It approvingly quotes the statements of Wm L Shirer in his syndicated weekly column, jeering at the "red scare" and at "hysteria" about Communists. Naturally it doesn't mention Shirer's own connections with Communist fronts, and his recent appearances on the same platform with Communist Party members.

And it assails "Overseas Consultants, Inc, representing 11 of largest engineering and construction corporations in U S," which was formed to rehabilitate industrial economy of Japan. Communist press warns this is an attempt to build up Japan as prime U S outpost against Stalin.

WHAT CAN YOU DO TO BEAT THE COMMUNISTS? If you want to oppose the Fifth Columnists who control a union local, find out all you can about how they operate. For example, how do they disseminate Communist propaganda in union meetings? Do they have outside speakers? Outside entertainers? Singers from People's Songs or other fronts? Speakers from other party-line unions? Communist lawyers, writers, professors? Communist politicians? Do they show documentary films prepared by Communist fronts? In a crisis, do they bring in Communist celebrities from radio, the stage, or the movies?

Learn all you can of these outside forces. In many cases, ways of counterattacking the Communists will then suggest themselves.

Yours faithfully,

August 8, 1947

COUNTERATTACK

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July 25, 1947

Dear Subscriber:

THE FACT THAT NEW SECRETARY OF WAR HAS A COMMUNIST BROTHER-IN-LAW is his misfortune, not his fault. Communists happen in even the best-regulated families nowadays. Sec Kenneth C Royall explains that his relations with Johannes Steel "have been exclusively family contacts."

But Johannes Steel, radio commentator and writer, does present a problem for the Govt, which should find ways to circumscribe his activities.

Johannes Steel was once a Nazi and in recent years has become a Communist, even if not technically a party member. Early in 1933 he fled from Germany to Paris and called on Paul Scott Mowrer, correspondent of the Chicago Daily News. Mowrer, in his book, "The House of Europe," writes that Steel "had got across the frontier just ahead of the Nazis. He himself had been taken in by them, but something had gone wrong. Now here he was, with only the clothes on his back -- not a cent. If I would stake him, he said, he would write me an interesting series of articles. For it had been his job to raise funds for Hitler."

He had also been a trafficker in unlawful German armaments, according to his own story...and moreover a member of the Prussian Diet (legislature)...but this last statement has been proved false. Steel has told a prodigious number of cock-and-bull stories, picturing himself, for example, as a hero who killed his jailer in Germany, as the rescuer of fair womanhood from a harem in North Africa, and in a variety of other romantic roles.

He came to the U S in 1934 and has been a writer, lecturer, and radio commentator, frequently making fantastic predictions which have been proved false by events. A few months ago Station WHN, New York, dropped him as a commentator. But he has since broadcast for a new Communist front, the Voice of Freedom Committee, and he hopes to return to the air regularly under the sponsorship of a newsletter which he recently launched. This is the Johannes Steel Report on World Affairs, and he advertises it in the Communist Party's press.

He was a candidate for Congress last year in NYCity on the ticket of the American Labor Party, which the Communist Party controls, and he made an unexpectedly strong race. Henry Wallace endorsed him.

Sometimes the Govt has done him a favor...notably when the White House overruled the War Dept in the spring of 1945 and allowed Steel to join a party of correspondents touring the war zone in western Europe. But more often the favor has come from the Kremlin, which in March of this year bypassed the U S Govt and added Steel to the short list of U S correspondents at the Moscow conference. Moreover, Steel received an exclusive interview with Molotov, which was immediately quoted by the world press.

Now this professional Ananias acquires the added prestige of being

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a brother-in-law of the Secretary of War, whose half-sister he married years ago. This relationship will quietly be used by the Communists to enlarge the audiences for his written and spoken words.

What should the Govt do about Johannes Steel? In the first place, the day of Govt favors for this Fifth Column propagandist should definitely be over. But that isn't enough. The Govt has adopted the policy of denaturalizing Nazis, on the ground that they took the oath of citizenship falsely. Why shouldn't the same policy be applied to Communists? And why shouldn't a beginning be made with Johannes Steel?

ARMY & NAVY BAR OFFICERS OF TWO COMMUNIST-LINE UNIONS FROM DEFENSE PLANTS...and Communist Party charges a conspiracy against the unions.

In the huge RCA-Victor Corp plant at Camden, NJ, there are areas known as "17-5," where top secret work is done for Army and Navy.

John Leto is president of Local 103, United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers (CIO), the biggest Communist-controlled union. He doesn't work in the plant, because his union job takes all his time. Recently, when he tried to enter the 17-5 areas, he was barred on Army orders.

And the following workers have been transferred from 17-5 on orders of Army & Navy:

Bernard Cantor, second V-P of the United Electrical local.

Jos Pailoetti and Morris Tulini, leaders in the same local.

Harold Barron, unopposed candidate for secretary of Local 241, United Office & Professional Workers of America (CIO). Counterattack lately sent a special report on this Communist-led union to its subscribers.

Communist Party pretends to see plot by RCA-Victor with Army & Navy. Warningly it predicts the following pattern of events:

"War & Navy Depts bar union officers from access to top secret areas. Taft-Hartley Law denies NLRB access to unions with 'Communist' officers. Corporation refuses to bargain with union officers, pointing to Taft-Hartley Law and Army & Navy actions as justification. In any event, disruptive groups within union" (meaning the anti-Communist caucus in United Electrical) "use Army & Navy bans to smear union leadership."

What this really means is that Communist Party is trying to smear anti-Communists in the union by charging that the company, not the Army & Navy, actually barred the union leaders, and that therefore the anti-Communists who oppose these leaders for office are playing the company's game.

PHILIP MURRAY USES THE BROOM AGAIN, SWEEPING OUT ROBT LAMB, legislative representative of United Steelworkers in Washington. Murray is president of this union as well as of CIO. Recently he fired Len DeCaux, Communist editor of CIO News. Lamb fellow-travels with the Communists.

But Lee Pressman still holds his jobs as general counsel of both CIO and United Steelworkers. He's the last top Communist in either set-up.

NEW ANTI-COMMUNIST EDITOR OF "CIO NEWS" SHAKES UP STAFF. Allan S Swim, who has just succeeded Len DeCaux as CIO publicity director and as editor of its weekly paper, has already announced two resignations...those of Fred d'Avila, assistant editor, and Harry Gantt, advertising and circulation representative. And in the first issue of the paper under Swim's direction, he makes it clear that the days of Communist coloration of news stories, articles, and editorials are definitely over.

But CIO News will be NON-Communist...not ANTI-Communist. "I'll do my best to follow CIO policy -- right down the middle without veering to right or left to satisfy some personal whim or advance some pet project," Swim writes. In other words, he's a Phil Murray man. As public relations head of CIO's organizing drive in South, he followed the Murray policies.

"Now as to the editor himself and some of his beliefs," Swim continues. "Politically he's a Democrat. Ideologically he's a right-winger." But don't interpret the term "right-winger" as meaning that Swim is a conservative. In this case it's merely a euphemism for "anti-Communist." Swim doesn't say "anti-Communist," because that would be washing the CIO's dirty linen in public. But every alert member of CIO understands what he means.

For a clincher Swim adds, "He believes that in the trade union movement no ism should supersede unionism." Here he is obviously taking a crack at his predecessor, and at all Communists and Communism.

Yet in editing the CIO News, Swim won't go on warpath against the Communists, because that would embarrass the diplomatic Murray. All CIO unions, whatever their coloration, will be played up in the paper.

HENRY MORGAN, RADIO COMEDIAN, IS A SUPPORTER OF THE STRIKE of the Communist-controlled United Office & Professional Workers (CIO) against the main office and the 24 branches of the Brooklyn Trust Co. This is first major bank strike in the U S.

Morgan and Arthur Miller, Communist playwright, are on a committee formed to induce depositors to withdraw their money from the bank unless it recognizes the union, which has organized a minority of the employees.

Morgan's radio sponsor is Eversharp, Inc. Now on vacation, he'll return in the fall to the ABC network. He began broadcasting on ABC last September. Before getting on a network he hadn't associated conspicuously with Communists...but since then he has supported one Communist front after another. And on his program he has had Communist "guests," including the Golden Gate Quartette, a notorious Communist group, and Josh White, one of the stars of People's Songs, an important front for the Communist Party.

Wm S Gailmor, Communist commentator, has plugged the strike on Station WHN, New York. He's sponsored by Geo F Stuhmer & Co, bakers.

NORMAN CORWIN MADE KEYNOTE SPEECH AT HOLLYWOOD COMMUNIST CONFERENCE under auspices of Hollywood Arts, Sciences & Professions Council of biggest general Communist front, Progressive Citizens of America. Corwin, CBS writer and producer, is a national vice-chairman of Progressive Citizens.

The conference was planned by the Communist Party. It was called a conference on "thought control in the U S." Who gave it this name? If you look back to the Communist Party press of months ago you'll find the answer. It was the Communist Party that began assailing all anti-Communist programs as thought control...whereas in fact they're chiefly programs to control Communist action. It is because the Communist Party wants to be free to continue its conspiratorial action that it has invented the menace of "thought control" with which to scare liberals...and even conservatives who believe in civil liberties.

The Communists in the movie studios brought Corwin of the CBS network to the conference. They also brought former Congressman Hugh DeLacy of Seattle, who was an official of the Communist Party's American Peace Mobilization, which picketed the White House during the Stalin-Hitler Pact, de-

nouncing Pres Roosevelt as a warmonger. In a Govt investigation years ago, DeLacy was identified as a member of the Communist Party.

Norman Corwin is quoted by Natl Chairman Wm Z Foster of the Communist Party in a recent issue of an inner-party bulletin, Counterattack's investigators report exclusively. In the bulletin, which is intended for party members only, Foster recalls Corwin's "One World" tour last year and his report on it in 13 weekly broadcasts on CBS. Foster says, "He told of the youthful mayor of an Italian city, who, when asked why he was a Communist, answered in five words: 'Because I am a worker.'"

Foster is right. That is exactly how Corwin put it. It was one of the neatest touches of his whole pro-Moscow series, which threw the Communist press into ecstasies. Corwin is a clever man. Not that it takes much cleverness to fool the average radio listener. A detailed analysis of Corwin's series on CBS would easily show the tricks that were used.

Corwin is active in the new radio front, the so-called Voice of Freedom Committee, along with Dorothy Parker, Johannes Steel, Wm S Gailmor and other Communists. Steadily busy in various fronts, he is an important front man for the Communist Party in influencing public opinion.

The movie Communists and the radio Communists are working together in their campaign to smear all anti-Communist measures as "thought control," as "witch-hunts," as anti-liberal...and thus to protect the Communist Party.

"BUY NO MEAT WEEK," JULY 18-25, WAS COMMUNIST SCHEME. Along with the Communist-controlled "consumer councils" in many places, its sponsors were the League of Women Shoppers and the Congress of American Women. Both of these are Communist fronts. If you want facts on these fronts ask us.

WHAT IS THE COMMUNIST PRESS SAYING? Above all, it is stepping up its campaign against the Marshall Plan. In Moscow the party's paper, Pravda, denounces the Marshall Plan...and in this country the U S edition of Pravda, the Daily Worker, publishes a four-page supplement wholly devoted to an attack on the plan. Wallace, Pepper et al will pick up these arguments.

WHAT CAN YOU DO TO BEAT THE COMMUNISTS? One important thing is to avoid encouraging the kind of anti-Communist union leadership which is so rotten that it drives opponents into the arms of Communists. An example is "King" Joe Ryan, who has made himself lifetime president of Intl Longshoremen's Assn (AFL), at $20,000 a year plus a big expense account. Leading anti-Communists in AFL Executive Council say privately that if they were in Ryan's corruptly managed union they would be tempted to join the Communists themselves. There's a quiet but growing revolt in the union, led by Communists. Employers who rely on "King Joe" may regret it in the long run.

For ammunition against Communists, write to Canadian Chamber of Commerce, Bd of Trade Bldg, Montreal, Quebec, for copy of its 40-page pamphlet, "The Communist Threat to Canada." This contains information useful in U S as well as in Canada...for example, parallel columns showing "Comparative Rights and Privileges" of workers in Canada and in Stalin Russia. Price: 15¢ a copy in lots of 1 to 25. In larger lots, 10¢ a copy.

Yours faithfully,

July 25, 1947

COUNTERATTACK

Subscription Rate: $24.00 per year, U.S.A.

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PLEASE RETURN TO
CBS REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

COUNTERATTACK
THE NEWSLETTER OF FACTS ON COMMUNISM
55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

July 18, 1947

Dear Subscriber:

COMMUNIST PARTY SUSPENDED PRES LEWIS MERRILL OF CIO OFFICE WORKERS' UNION from party membership for a year, Counterattack's investigators learn exclusively. And at the same time the party ordered him to resign the presidency of the union.

This is the real reason for Merrill's resignation early in June. Merrill was and is a secret member of the party. Last December he tried to break away, announcing that he had resigned as a contributing editor of the party's New Masses weekly and as a trustee of its Jefferson School of Social Science. This meant that he wanted to get out of the party too. But the party cracked down on him, reasserting its control over the union, as related on page 5 of Counterattack's special report on the United Office & Professional Workers. This has been sent to all our subscribers.

Merrill's successor, Jas H Durkin, elected president June 28, is mere window-dressing. For 10 years an organizer for UOPWA, he has ranked far below many of its leaders. Naturally he has toed the party line. Now suddenly he is made president, because the party thinks he'll be less vulnerable than any of the others to attack as a party member.

COMMUNIST PARTY LOSES IN PLOT TO SEIZE UNITED AUTO WORKERS by a quick merger with Communist-controlled Farm Equipment union. Merger scheme has been overwhelmingly rejected in referendum of Auto locals.

Communists overreached themselves...they tried to grab too many small things along with the big prize. When Natl Chairman Wm Z Foster and Labor Sec John Williamson sent their directive from the celebrated "Ninth Floor" (the big shots' floor in the party hq in NY) they had one thing in mind above all. That was to throw into the Auto union enough votes to tip the scales in the union convention in November, and thus replace Pres Walter P Reuther with either Sec.-Treas. Geo F Addes or V-P Rolland J Thomas (see Counterattack June 20 p 3 and July 3 p 3). That was why they ordered the merger now, after preventing it for years.

But they didn't keep a close enough check on their subordinates who run the Farm Equipment union...Pres Grant Oakes, Sec.-Treas. Gerald Fielde, and the rest. These Communists wanted to take their small but decisive union into Auto with the greatest strength possible. So they asked for good terms ...and got them. That was just the trouble. The terms were too good. They were accepted by the anti-Reuther majority of the Auto Executive Bd, but they didn't sit well with the Auto membership.

Don't imagine the Communist issue was the decisive one in the referendum...that the Auto members voted against the merger because they feared the Communist Party's control of the Farm Equipment members. It would be

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wonderful if they had acted on that basis, but they didn't. They acted as business men usually act, as Congress acts, as governments act...on the basis of immediate self-interest, of the short-term view. It would be unrealistic to overlook this fact. If ever labor and business can be induced to take the long-term view, the Communist Fifth Column will easily be smashed.

Why was the merger rejected? Because the Farm Equipment locals were to govern themselves in a separate division within Auto, electing their own director and assistant director. And this same division would get control of the present Auto locals composed of members who work in agricultural equipment plants. And Auto would assume all assets, debts, and liabilities of Farm Equipment, even though no audit has been made. Etc, etc, etc.

It was because of these and other concessions that the Auto members astounded not only the Communist Party but Reuther by rejecting the merger.

How will this affect Reuther, Addes, Thomas in the convention? Certainly it helps Reuther. He won last year by only 124 convention votes. The Farm Equipment locals would have meant about 350 or 400 such votes for Addes or Thomas. Now Addes is unlikely to run for president. It looks like a Reuther vs Thomas race again...with Reuther leading at this moment.

STALIN HAS SET UP AN UNDERGROUND "POLITBURO" IN U S, to supervise the framework of an underground Communist Party, which will be expanded and become active in case the legal Communist Party is outlawed. These facts have been learned by Counterattack investigators exclusively.

The underground "Politburo" is a duplicate of the legal "Politburo" ...the Communist Natl Board, highest party body in this country. Both these boards are modeled on the Politburo (Political Bureau) of the Soviet Union. The formal name of the top board of the U S party has varied from time to time in the party's history...sometimes it has been Political Committee. But Communists informally call it the Politburo.

The underground board is hidden even from the legal one. Members of the legal Natl Board may make their guesses as to the membership of the underground board, but they are not supposed to know. That is, all but two of them aren't. These two act as liaison between both boards.

The two are Natl Chairman Wm Z Foster and Sec. Gen. Eugene Dennis. They constitute the new secretariat of the party. There were three other members of the secretariat but they have been dropped. They are Natl Labor Sec John Williamson, Organizational Sec Henry Winston, and NYState Chairman Robt Thompson. Only Foster and Dennis are left...the two leaders most relied on by Moscow to keep their mouths shut.

Foster and Dennis will head both the legal and the illegal boards until Dennis goes to prison. He was lately sentenced to serve a year for contempt of Congress...defying a subpoena of House Committee on Un-American Activities. But he's out on bond now, pending decision on his appeal.

The legal Natl Board has also been reshuffled. One of the reasons is to bring into the board the party chairmen in the three chief industrial states in the Midwest...Illinois, Michigan, Ohio. All the nine other members are stationed in NYCity. The board must be able to meet on short notice. This is why the West, notably Calif, isn't represented.

Here's the present membership of the legal Natl Board:

Wm Z Foster, national chairman.
Eugene Dennis, secretary general.
Benj J Davis, NYCity Councilman, president of Daily Worker.
John Gates, new editor of Daily Worker, party national paper.
Gil Green, state chairman in Illinois.
Gus Hall, new state chairman in Ohio.
Irving Potash, a leader in CIO Fur & Leather union.
Jack Stachel, party chief of education, agitation, propaganda.
Robt Thompson, NYState chairman.
John Williamson, national labor secretary.
Carl Winter, Michigan state chairman.
Henry Winston, organizational secretary.

John Gates replaces Morris Childs as editor of the Daily Worker. Gus Hall replaces Arnold Johnson as Ohio state chairman. Johnson becomes chairman of the party's Natl Legislative Commission.

Among those dropped from the LEGAL National Bd are Louis Weinstock, the top Communist in the Painters' union, AFL (see Counterattack July 3 p 3), and Steve Nelson, director of Communist work among various so-called "nationality" groups in the U S.

The underground Politburo acts in strict secrecy. It directs a skeleton underground party, based on the "cell" principle. If the legal Communist Party is outlawed, all its definitely reliable members will be absorbed in the underground party. Members of each small cell will be isolated from the rest of the party, except for liaison maintained through the cell leader. His contacts with the party will also be limited.

The Communist maxim is to trust nobody unless you have to, no matter how important he is. Anybody may suddenly turn against the party, as Louis Budenz did and as Lewis Merrill of the Office Workers tried to do.

Does the party expect to have to go underground very soon? No. Not very soon. But Moscow has ordered it to get itself completely ready.

SEN CLAUDE PEPPER, COMMUNIST FELLOW-TRAVELER, PERFORMED BRILLIANTLY on the "Meet the Press" program on Mutual Broadcasting System July 11. His newspaper interlocutors lacked both the nimbleness and the knowledge to cope with him. This is why party-liners usually shine when on this program. And if a party-liner is as slick as Claude Pepper he can shine marvelously.

The Communist Party is well satisfied with Pepper, as party leaders have shown repeatedly. It is true that on one or two issues Pepper can't go quite so far as Wallace. Unlike Wallace he is now in office...an elective office...and he must avoid offending his Florida constituents. So once in a long while he's unable to follow the party line. But the party understands this. It knows that Pepper must protect himself in Florida, getting himself reelected. Otherwise what good would he be to the party?

COMMUNIST PARTY HAS DISBANDED ITS "WIN-THE-PEACE" FRONT. Natl Committee to Win the Peace urges its members to join Progressive Citizens of America. Says its efforts have paved the way for "the leadership now offered by men like Henry Wallace, and by organizations like the PCA."

Two Communists became co-chairmen of "Win the Peace" when the party organized it. One was Paul Robeson, a Communist Party member. The other

was the late Brig. Gen. Evans F Carlson, U S Marines, retired. (For facts on Carlson's avowed devotion to Communism see Counterattack July 3, pp 3-4.)

All Communist fronts want war. War BY STALIN, whenever he's ready. Meanwhile they try to soften up the U S. "Win the Peace" was successor to party's American Peace Mobilization during Stalin-Hitler Pact, which picketed White House, calling Pres Roosevelt a warmonger, till the very night when news arrived of Hitler's attack on Russia. Then the party dissolved it. Now its successor, "Win the Peace," is dissolved in favor of another front, Progressive Citizens of America, which is also trying to soften up the U S.

"WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL" JULY 20 TO AUG 17 IS A COMMUNIST FRONT. It will be held in Prague, Czechoslovakia, under control of Young Communist International, through another front, World Federation of Democratic Youth.

U S affiliate of this is American Youth for a Free World. Many other U S youth and adult fronts are cooperating.

Some leading U S conservative newspapers have plugged this festival, urging that money be raised for various kinds of U S participation.

Our State Dept as usual fell for this fraud...promised transportation on troop transports for young U S Communists and their dupes. But after a while the State Dept woke up, washed its hands of the mess.

Arthur Miller, Communist playwright, tried to raise money from theatrical angels to send his prize play, "All My Sons," to the festival. But the angels whiffed the Moscow smell and backed away.

WEEKLY HINT ON HOW YOU CAN BEAT THE COMMUNISTS: Circulate facts on amazing decline in Russian workers' standard of living since the war. Write to Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington, DC, for new study, "Real Earnings Decline in Soviet Union." It bares the wretchedness of Russian workers, especially in comparison with conditions of workers here. To disillusion Americans about Russia, get these facts and repeat them...again, again, again.

WHAT THE COMMUNIST PRESS SAYS TODAY IS REPEATED TOMORROW by all the party fronts and stooges...by some newspapers, magazines, columnists, radio commentators, politicians. In Wallace's recent speeches you can trace what the party press said months ago. This is why the party press is important.

Right now the Communist press is emphasizing wickedness of Marshall Plan...the crime of U S in dividing Europe against the saintly Kremlin.

And domestically it emphasizes another important thing. This is the vile persecution of Eugene Dennis. Thus it whips up a campaign to abolish what it calls the "Un-American Committee." This is in line with the Fifth Column's strategy of defending itself by a "fight back" offensive against all anti-Communists...picturing all of them as anti-liberal, as "witch-hunters." Observe how the stooges are repeating this propaganda.

NORMAN CORWIN AND HOLLYWOOD COMMUNISTS have just held a conference under auspices of Progressive Citizens of America to launch a pro-Communist "fight back" drive against all anti-Communists. For lack of space we must postpone a report on this campaign by Corwin of CBS network till next week.

Yours faithfully,

July 18, 1947

COUNTERATTACK

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AMERICANS for DEMOCRATIC ACTION

NEW YORK OFFICE
9 EAST 46th STREET • NEW YORK 17, N. Y. • PLaza 8-0702

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Treasurer

MADGE WILSON
Secretary

EVELYN DUBROW
Executive Director

December 28, 1953

Has E. M. seen this?? Judy

Mr. Edward R. Murrow, Vice President
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

The Board of Directors of the New York City Chapter of Americans for Democratic Action unanimously passed a resolution at its last meeting commending you for the splendid presentation of the case of Milo Radulovich on your "See It Now" television program.

The results obtained from your simple and unbiased exposition of the facts in this case is a welcome relief to the continuing attacks of the guilt-by-association and half truth artists. We are certain that your future intentions are to continue such productions regardless of pressures exerted upon you.

Very truly yours,

Dorothy Kenyon

Dorothy Kenyon
New York City Chairman

DK/esf

December 3, 1953

Dear Harry:

Thanks very much for your very enthusiastic letter. It was very good to hear from you. Every time I hear anything about Norman Thomas, I think of you. I hope he is well, and I hope the next time you see him, you will give him my good wishes.

If you ever want to borrow a kinescope of the Radulovich show, please let me know.

Cordially,

Fred Friendly

Mr. Harry Fleischman, Director
National Labor Service,
386 Fourth Avenue,
New York 16, New York

NATIONAL LABOR SERVICE

386 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK 16, N. Y. MURRAY HILL 5-0181

HARRY FLEISCHMAN, Director

any answer

November 25, 1953

Dear Fred:

I am writing to congratulate you on the brilliant program Ed Murrow gave us yesterday on "See It Now".

Your presentation of the ACLU freedom of assembly problem in Indianapolis was both wonderful journalism and a social documentary of the first order. This impartial presentation of the facts seemed, to me at least, the most stirring dramatization of the civil liberties issue that could possibly have been presented.

I hope that Kinescope recordings of the film will be available to unions, schools and other civic organizations, to stimulate discussions of civil liberties in America.

Cordially yours,

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman, Director
National Labor Service

HF:ph

Mr. Fred Friendly,
"See It Now",
Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York, N.Y.

C. R. TOBIN
RICHARD RAOUL-DUVAL

A. McCULLOCH
CHARLES R. COLLINS
RAYMOND J. ARATA
T. ADAM MUSTO

TOBIN & TOBIN

GENERAL LAW PRACTICE

ATTORNEYS FOR
THE HIBERNIA BANK

OFFICE: HIBERNIA BANK BLDG.
TELEPHONE: HEMLOCK 1-7000

3/N

IN RE

SAN FRANCISCO 2, CALIFORNIA June 2nd, 1952

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
C/o Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I am writing you concerning the "SEE IT NOW" motion picture film showing the need for blood donors in Korea.

I am taking the liberty of sending you a copy of my letter to the Aluminum Company of America concerning this film, and their reply. If you agree with Mr. Hall, of the Aluminum Company, and with me, that a widespread showing of this film would result in greatly increasing blood donors, I hope you will do what you can to have the film shown by the motion picture exhibitors throughout the country.

Yours very truly,

R. Raoul-Duval.

R. Raoul-Duval.

enc.
rr-d:b

file
Mr. Cone
12:30

C. R. TOBIN
RICHARD RAOUL-DUVAL

A. McCULLOCH
CHARLES R. COLLINS
RAYMOND J. ARATA
T. ADAM MUSTO

TOBIN & TOBIN

GENERAL LAW PRACTICE

ATTORNEYS FOR
THE HIBERNIA BANK

OFFICE: HIBERNIA BANK BLDG.
TELEPHONE: HEMLOCK 1-7000

IN RE

SAN FRANCISCO 2, CALIFORNIA

March 26th, 1952

Mr. Howard Flye, Representative,
Aluminum Company of America,
Russ Building,
San Francisco 4, California.

Dear Mr. Flye:

Thanks to the cooperation and help of Mr. Richards and Dr. Gerald Gray, we had a showing last week in The Hibernia Bank of the Alcoa film relative to the need for blood donors for Korea.

I cannot praise the film too highly. It is far and away the most eloquent plea that I have seen or heard for this urgent and vital cause. Your company is certainly to be congratulated for taking the initiative in producing such a film and for having done such a fine job.

The response to the showing of the film was most gratifying and, as a direct result, a substantial number of the personnel of the bank have already given their blood.

I understand that there is only one print of this film in the Bay area. In view of the great good that results from a showing of this film, it seems to me a great pity that it cannot be seen by more people. Would it be possible to have it shown by motion picture exhibitors in their theatres throughout the country? I am quite certain that Mr. Skouras, president of Twentieth Century Fox, among others, would give his whole-hearted support to such a project. I would be very grateful if you would let me know what you think of the idea and can assure you of my whole-hearted support should your company decide to go ahead with it.

Yours very truly,

/s/ R. Raoul-Duval.

rr-d:b

C
O
P
Y

(Written on letterhead of)

ALUMINUM COMPANY OF AMERICA

Arthur P. Hall
Vice President

Pittsburgh 19, Pa.

May 19, 1952

Mr. Richard Raoul-Duval
Tobin & Tobin
Hibernia Bank Building
San Francisco 2, California

Dear Mr. Raoul-Duval:

Mr. Howard W. Flye of our San Francisco office has forwarded your good letter concerning the Edward R. Murrow "SEE IT NOW" film print showing the need for blood donors in Korea. We are most gratified that you felt it to be an effective job.

I have passed along your suggestion about the use of this film in commercial motion picture theatres to the Columbia Broadcasting System and Mr. Murrow, with whom at least a major part of the decision must lie -- since they control the rights to all public showings of this film of their television show.

Personally, I think you have an excellent idea in your letter, and I feel certain that Alcoa would cooperate if Columbia sees fit to go along.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Arthur Hall.

APH:gl

FOR E.R.M.

NEW YORK OFFICE
1270 SIXTH AVENUE

CABLE ADDRESS
"GOLDSAM"

HCA is on its way

SAMUEL GOLDWYN PRODUCTIONS, INC.

STUDIOS - 1041 NORTH FORMOSA AVENUE
LOS ANGELES 54, CALIFORNIA

F.F.

May 8, 1952

Dear Fred:

We are still anxiously awaiting the kinescope of the broadcast. Out here newspaper people keep requesting that we show it to them.

Thought you would be interested in the fact that the CBS business department has been after us to do something about either a Thanksgiving or Christmas Day show and Mr. Goldwyn's answer was: "If I do anything, it would only be with Murrow."

Is there any chance of your coming out before I return to New York? It would be nice to see you and your wife enjoying the sun.

All the best,

David Golding

Mr. Fred Friendly
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

PLAZA 7-7900

EDWARD R.

STUDIO. LOS ANGELES, CALIF.
1041 NORTH FORMOSA
GRANITE 5111

SAMUEL GOLDWYN PRODUCTIONS, INC.
RKO BUILDING RADIO CITY
1270 SIXTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 20, N.Y.

April 17, 1952

Mr. Fred Friendly
Columbia Broadcasting System
See It Now Program
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Fred,

As discussed with you, I would appreciate your sending direct to David Golding, at our studio, the negative and sound of the "Hans Christian Andersen" portion of "See It Now". The studio will make their own duplicate and return the original to you. We would also like to have the footage taken by your cameramen that was not used in the program.

Home Off Executive Eng. for B.B.C.

We should like to place this show in its original form on the British Broadcasting Company, and in other European and South American countries. We would make our own translations to conform as close as possible with the original. Courtesy credit will be given to Edward R. Murrow's "See It Now" program, the Columbia Broadcasting System, and the Aluminum Company of America. As you requested, we would not identify the unused footage with "See It Now".

In addition to all the other wonderful comments received on the show, I thought you would like to see the attached ad taken by the Society of Independent Motion Picture Producers in the Hollywood Reporter and Daily Variety... both Hollywood trade papers.

Will you let me know.

Sincerely,

Martin S. Davis

MSD:cb

April 30, 1952

Dear Martin:

Mr. Murrow and I are glad to supply you with one kinescope of the "See It Now" program of April 13th plus the overset of all the film which was shot on the Goldwyn set during the week of March 10th. As far as the overset is concerned, there is no reason why you cannot use it for any purpose you see fit as long as it is no connected with the Murrow name, the Murrow voice or the Murrow narration.

As for the actual kinescope, or television recording as it is termed in the trade, there are certain union agreements which prohibit us from letting anyone run it on television a second time. Whether or not this includes its use in theatres or on foreign television networks is something I know nothing about and which is not in my domain. If you want a specific ruling on this, I suggest you contact Mr. Walter Schier at CBS here in New York.

Very truly yours,

Fred W. Friendly

Mr. Martin S. Davis
Samuel Goldwyn Productions, Inc.
1270 Sixth Avenue,
New York 20, New York

SAMUEL GOLDWYN

APRIL 14, 1952

DEAR MR. FRIENDLY:

THANK YOU FOR A JOB WELL DONE.

I HAVE HAD A GREAT MANY CALLS FROM NEWSPAPERS AND EXHIBITORS, AS WELL AS FRIENDS, WHO MADE IT A POINT TO SEE THE SHOW. THEY ALL SAID IT WAS THE FINEST THING THEY HAD SEEN SO FAR.

YOU HAVE DONE A BRILLIANT JOB AND, AGAIN, I THANK YOU.

SINCERELY,

Samuel Goldwyn Jr

MR. FRED FRIENDLY
COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK

April 16, 1952

Dear Mr. Goldwyn:

Now that it is all over and all we have to worry about is getting Murrow out to Omaha and Sioux City to cover the flood, and getting the film and Murrow back here in time for Sunday, I should like to take a minute to tell you how gratified I was with our joint effort and how much favorable comment we've had here. It was a daring experiment and most of the courage was yours. If I appeared a bit difficult during the editing stage, it was only because I felt that the prestige of both Goldwyn and Murrow were riding with the project, and I didn't want to compromise on anything less than a maximum effort.

Thank you for your kind letter which arrived this morning. Actually my effort was quite secondary. Goldwyn was the star of the picture, and it was really Wershba and his cameramen who delivered the goods.

Thank you for letting us work with you.

Respectfully,

Fred W. Friendly

Mr. Samuel Goldwyn
1041 North Formosa Avenue,
Los Angeles 54, California

Dear mr. Golwyn:

Now that it is all over and all we have to worry about is getting Murrow out to Omaha and Sioux City to cover the flood, and getting the films and Murrow back here in time for Sunday, I should like to take a minute to tell you how gratified I was with our joint effort and how much favorable comment we've had here... It was a daring experiment and most of the courage was yours. If it appeared a bit difficult during the editing stage, it was only because I felt that the prestige of both Goldwyn and Murrow were riding with the project and I didn't want to compromise on anything less than a maximum effort.

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Thank you for letting us work with you..

Respectfully,

HEADQUARTERS STRATEGIC AIR COMMAND
OFFUTT AIR FORCE BASE
OMAHA, NEBRASKA

22 April 1952

Mr. Fred W. Friendly
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Friendly:

This is to certify that during the period 17-18 April inclusive I lived, ate, slept, drank, walked, rode and crawled with your "See It Now" crew, never letting them out of my sight for more than the time it took to go to the bathroom.

As a fully accredited Fred W. Friendly spy, I herewith submit my report.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow did climb a mountain of mud and clay to interview the pilot of an earth-mover. He did stand on the Douglas Street Bridge until 5 am interviewing philosophers in air-raid hats and making crazy circles in the sky with a $500.00-an-hour searchlight.

Mr. Jesse Zousmer did set the new light heavyweight world record for typing 15 minute radio news scripts while balancing a bottle of Scotch on the head. He also did achieve "LIFE-like" photographs of a two day river-rat-race.

Mr. Ed Scott did locate, drive a truck to, and direct the greatest flood scenes ever recorded on film and sound. He did all this while obtaining only 1 hour and 17 minutes sleep in a period of seven days.

Mr. Martin Barnett did stand out in a cold, driving rain storm from sunup to the going down thereof, photographing flotsum, jetsum and Ed Murrow, and did then retire to his hotel room to dry and clean his rickety old camera equipment with hotel towels only to don his sopping trousers and go out into the cold night to photograph dark waters, searchlights and Ed Murrow until 5 am.

Mr. Don Geis did achieve sounds never before heard by human ears with sound equipment plainly marked "General Grant's Army Signal Corps." He did further unwind and rewind mud-covered wires 4,761 times, each time running the wires through his hands to remove the tons of mud clinging thereto.

Mr. John "Shorty" Richardson did, without concern for his personal safety, hang by his toes from a hovering helicopter as the viscous Missouri rushed beneath.

In witness hereof, I hereby affix my signature hereto.

Yours truly,

Fred

FRED A. JOYCE, JR.
2d Lieutenant, USAF
Office of Special Assistant
to the Commanding General

cc: Ed Murrow
Jesse Zousmer
Ed Scott
Martin Barnett
Don Geis
John Richardson
file (Z)

April 24, 1952

Dear Lt. Joyce;

1. The undersigned is in receipt of your letter of 22 April 1952, has read and digested it and has made copies in line with the Army tradition which he knows so well.

2. As he has so often told Privates Murrow, Zousmer, Scott and Barnett, "Don't tell me your troubles."

Very truly yours,

Fred W. Friendly

Lt. Fred A. Joyce, Jr.
Office of Special Assistant
to the Commanding General,
Headquarters Strategic Air Command
Offutt Air Force Base,
Omaha, Nebraska

cc: Murrow
Zousmer
Scott
Barnett

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

Natalie

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
PL

November 18, 1952

Dear Mr. Murrow:

A geographer here in the Department has asked me to find out with what success the television industry has been able to project on the screen globular objects, specifically a globe. Your program of last Sunday, which contained footage showing the sun in bold relief indicated to me that the people who shot the film may be a key to the answer to my problem. For your information, our geographers, working with the Department of Defense, are trying to find a method by which briefings can be conducted using footage containing pictures of a globe rather than a Mercator projection. Their feeling is that only by use of a globe can they give a true picture of relative distances and locations. If you could forward to me the names of the people who shot your film of the sun it might be very helpful.

Belatedly I offer my sincere congratulations to you on the outstanding job which SEE IT NOW did on the election campaign. In my personal opinion, it was one of the consistently outstanding jobs done on the subject. What was more important in my opinion was that it was pure television.

By the way, although I have been over the topic many times with various of your representatives, we have not as yet given up hope that the Secretary will do an appearance on SEE IT NOW. We are currently preparing a proposal for him to do one speech, one television appearance and one radio appearance; the television proposal appearance is your program.

I will be grateful for any information you can give me on my inquiry concerning the projection of globes.

Sincerely yours,

John P. Meagher

John P. Meagher
Chief
Radio, Television & Visual Media Branch
Division of Public Liaison

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, New York.

November 25, 1952

Dear Mr. Meagher: RE: PL

We have your recent letter to Mr. Murrow requesting information about the film shot of the sun which appeared on "See It Now" November 16th. That particular film was sent to us by the High Altitude Observatory of Harvard University and University of Colorado at Boulder, Colorado. I believe that if you write to Mr. Robert J. Low, the Administrative Officer of the Observatory, he will be able to answer any questions you might have with regard to their manner of shooting the sun pictures.

Mr. Murrow and Mr. Friendly are delighted to learn of your proposal to the Secretary to appear on our program, and we are anxious to learn of his decision.

Yours very truly,

Natalie deW. Foster, for
Fred W. Friendly

Mr. John P. Meagher
Chief, Radio, Television & Visual Media Branch
Division of Public Liaison,
Department of State
Washington 25, D. C.

1105 Bankers Trust Bldg.,
Des Moines, Iowa
January 20, 1952

Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Television
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I watch your excellent program "See It Now" with great interest. Your announcement that you are planning to show your program on the treatment of thyroid cancer with radioactive iodine next Sunday prompts me to write you this letter. I am in favor of informing the public on medical advances and I know that you as a news reporter want to do that accurately and in its true perspective. As one working in the medical field I know of the despair and confusion of a cancer patient when he is the victim of mis-information. Therefore I appeal to you not to present radioactive iodine as a cure-all for thyroid cancer, for it is not that by any means. To be sure there are some thyroid cancers which can be controlled by this means, but there are many which for various reasons do not lend themselves to this type of treatment. Specifically, in an article published by Rawson, Rall and Peacock in the Journal of Clinical Endocrinology, Volume 11, October 1951, page 1128, it is reported that of 146 patients with cancer of the thyroid it was possible to administer radioactive iodine to only 20 of this group therapeutically. Thus you can see the limitations.

Your advisors have probably already pointed these facts out to you, but I feel so keenly about reporting such an important story accurately that I felt obliged to write you. The responsibility of reporting a story such as this is great and I know you will do it in such a way as not to give false hope to tragically sick people. Good Luck !

Respectfully yours,

James T. McMillan, M.D.

James T. McMillan, M.D.

January 29, 1952

Dear Dr. McMillan:

Your recent letter to Ed Murrow has been passed on to this office, and I would like to my thanks as well as his to you for writing to us as you did.

I hope that you saw "See It Now" last Sunday, and I hope you were not displeased with it. We are, off course, prisoners of the clock on our program, and it is often impossible for us to show all that we might wish.

Again, thank you for your interest.

Cordially,

Fred Friendly
Producer, "See It Now"

Dr. James T. McMillan
1105 Bankers Trust Bldg.,
Des Moines, Iowa

P.S. I'm sure yourrecognized Drs. Rall and Rawson.

WILLIAM H. DONAHUE
(1871-1948)
FRANK S. RICHARDS
A. R. ROWELL
JAMES E. GALLAGHER
GEORGE E. THOMAS
GEORGE W. HAUER
JOSEPH A. WOODS, JR.

DONAHUE, RICHARDS, ROWELL & GALLAGHER
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
BANK OF AMERICA BUILDING
OAKLAND 12, CALIFORNIA

TELEPHONE
GLENCOURT 1-0544

January 16, 1952

Mr. Fred W. Friendly
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Friendly:

Enclosed find copy of a letter which I sent today to Mr. Arthur P. Hall, which is self-explanatory. I also want to thank you and Mr. Murrow for producing this broadcast.

Sincerely,

Frank S. Richards

Frank S. Richards

FSR:ml

DONAHUE, RICHARDS, ROWELL & GALLAGHER
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
BANK OF AMERICA BUILDING
OAKLAND 12, CALIFORNIA

January 16, 1952

Mr. Arthur P. Hall
Director of Public Relations
Aluminum Company of America
Gulf Building
Pittsburg 19, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Hall:

You no doubt will be interested in what is happening to the kinescope recording of the December 2 broadcast of "See It Now." It has been shown before the Junior Chamber of Commerce, The Oakland Tribune four times, and they have again requested the film so that it can be shown to all of their employees -- about one thousand -- from publisher to truck drivers, the Blood Procurement Group of the Red Cross, College Avenue Merchants Association of Oakland and Berkeley, a group of doctors who are organizing a blood program; twice tonight in schools before the Parent-Teachers Association in connection with Boy Scouts Week and tomorrow night to another group of Parent-Teachers.

It will be shown the next day or so before the Central Labor Council, which will include approximately 150 heads of all of the A. F. of L. unions in this area, other than the Building Trades, and next week before the Emeryville Industrial Group. Emeryville is the largest industrial area in the San Francisco Bay Area; it will be shown in advance of Boy Scout Week, which

week will be devoted by the Boy Scouts to ringing doorbells of every home in Oakland for the purpose of procuring blood donors; the Rotary, Kiwanis and Lions Clubs, as well as various other service clubs, including veterans' organizations.

Everyone who has seen this film has stated that it is the most persuasive appeal for blood that they have ever seen or heard. You may be assured that the film is working overtime.

Because of the limited time allotted by these various organizations, we have, with the consent of Mr. Howard W. Flye, cut the film and are showing the last half. The film is cut, however, so that the last half commences where Mr. Murrow turns from the picture of General Bradley and announces that his sponsor will not have a commercial, but then continues to state the great public service being rendered by the Aluminum Company of America and CBS, etc. I have insisted that this portion of the film be shown in every instance and you may be assured that it will be.

Thanking you again for permitting us to use this fine film and assuring you that because of the use of this film your company, in connection with CBS, has made a very great contribution of blood to the men in Korea.

Sincerely,

FSR:ml

Frank S. Richards

SUSQUEHANNA UNIVERSITY
SELINSGROVE, PA.

Office of the President

September 27, 1952

Mr. Fred Friendly
CBS Television
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Friendly:

Thank you so much for giving me the address of Mr. John Fleming. I am writing him a letter thanking him and the Aluminum Company of America for sponsoring the program about Susquehanna University.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

G. Morris Smith

G. Morris Smith
President

GMS:jr

SUSQUEHANNA UNIVERSITY
SELINSGROVE, PA.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

3/10

September 9, 1952

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I want to send you just a word to tell you how much we appreciate the fine work you did in connection with the Stagg story and Susquehanna University. It was a pleasure to have you and the other men with us for a visit. I only regret that I could not be here to welcome you in person.

I am getting some reaction from our alumni constituency from various parts of the country, and it is all most commendatory. We do appreciate your good work especially.

If you will send me the name of the man in connection with the Aluminum Corporation of America to whom I might express our thanks, I would be happy.

With cordial regard, I am

Sincerely yours,

G. Morris Smith

G. Morris Smith
President

GMS:jr

NAVY confirm

"a number" have been
against my targets - N.K.

- designed points for use against "defended Targets" (where AA) lines

SUSQUEHANNA UNIVERSITY
SELINSGROVE, PA.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

September 9, 1952

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I want to send you just a word to tell you how much we appreciate the fine work you did in connection with the Stagg story and Susquehanna University. It was a pleasure to have you and the other men with us for a visit. I only regret that I could not be here to welcome you in person.

I am getting some reaction from our alumni constituency from various parts of the country, and it is all most complimentary. We do appreciate your good work especially.

If you will send me the name of the man in connection with the Aluminum Corporation of America to whom I might express our thanks, I would be happy.

With cordial regard, I am

Sincerely yours,

G. Morris Smith
President

GMS:jr

September 23, 1952

Dear Mr. Smith:

Ed Murrow and I were very pleased to hear from you and to know that you enjoyed our effort from Susquehanna University. I hope that we shall have the pleasure of working with your staff again.

The man to write to at Alcoa is Mr. John Fleming, Aluminum Company of America, 231 Park Avenue, New York City, New York.

Cordially,

Fred Friendly

Mr. O. Morris Smith
President,
Susquehanna University,
Selinsgrove, Pennsylvania

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Voice America

251 West 57th Street

February 21, 1951

Dear Mr. Friendly:

I would like to make this a sort of wholesale "thank you" for your recent favors. First of all, congratulations on the Voice of America spot on the "Hear It Now" show Friday night. It was an excellent presentation.

Secondly, many thanks for the KOPO script and tape of "The Thornton Story." They have been referred to our Special Events people, and we will be glad to inform Mr. Lemen of whatever use we make of the material.

And finally, my personal thanks for the third edition of "I Can Hear It Now." My family and I enjoyed it immensely, although I must admit that the first edition continues to be my favorite.

Sincerely yours,

Vestel Lott
Special Assistant
International Broadcasting Division

Mr. Fred Friendly,
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N. Y.

IMPS

Dear Fred:

Ben and I both want to join our voices with the swelling chorus:

The job you're doing is terrific, and Ed is wholly magnificent.

I hang my head in shame in thinking I might have added something to the initial thinking. You guys needed me about as much as a horse needs a spare inner tube.

But we do stand ready to produce with and for you the one-a-month tail-piece you thought perhaps we, as outsiders, might handle for you to relieve the load on your gang.

And we'll certainly experiment with doing it at a figure within your budget.

I'm asking Ben to call you next Monday to find out if and when you might want to talk about it.

My very warm congratulations for giving television and especially CBS a real shot in the arm.

Van Patten

KSWM
CBS Network - 1230 On Your Dial
Austin A. Harrison,
President and General Manager

Owned and Operated By Air Time, Inc.
Studios 1928 West 13th - Telephone 7260
JOPLIN, MISSOURI

April 21, 1951

Mr. Fred Friendly
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Friendly:

Congratulations on your "HEAR IT NOW" show. We are certainly proud to have the opportunity to carry it on KSWM. We have had many telephone calls complimenting "HEAR IT NOW!"

It was also a pleasure to be able to help the cause in our interview with Dr. Ralph Lapp.

Mr. John Whitt and myself of the KSWM staff found Dr. Lapp very cooperative and enjoyed a brief visit with him.

In regards to our expenses, they amounted to a "buck" to the air mail agent and about sixty miles of driving to Carthage and the airport.

Hope you will call on us again if we can ever help you.

Sincerely,

Ronald Robson
Program Director

ps-- Futher congratulations on the Peabody Award coming up.

January 16, 1951

Dear Paul:

Many thanks for your nice note of the 9th. Ed Murrow and I both appreciate your sending on the letters about HEAR IT NOW. They are a source of encouragement to us.

We still feel that the show is in the "shake-down cruise" stage, and comments are most helpful. I hope Cincinnati will continue to give the program such a warm welcome.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Fred Friendly

Mr. Paul Shumate
Program Director
Station WKRC
Hotel Alms
Cincinnati 6, Ohio

WKRC

RADIO CINCINNATI, INC.

HOTEL ALMS, CINCINNATI 6, OHIO

WOODBURN 0550

OFFICE OF PROGRAM DIRECTOR

January 9, 1951

Mr. Fred Friendly
News Department
The Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Fred:

Thought you'd be interested in the mail we have received on "Hear It Now".

We asked for reaction and got plenty of it. Most of the reaction, however, came by telephone. To date, not a soul has mentioned that the show doesn't exceed all expectations. Folks in this neck of the woods feel it's plenty terrific.

You might get an idea of how they feel by looking over some of this mail.

Kindest regards.

Cordially,

Paul Shumate

Paul Shumate
Program Director

PS:bt

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY
MILITARY SEA TRANSPORTATION SERVICE, ATLANTIC
58TH STREET & FIRST AVENUE
BROOKLYN 50, N. Y.

IN REPLY REFER TO

26 November 1951

Mr. Fred W. Friendly
"SEE IT NOW"
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Fred:

The other day I got a letter from Hugh Gallagher, President of the Matson Navigation Company. He is also National President of the Propeller Club of the United States and vitally interested in correctly telling the story of the merchant marine industry. Apparently he caught your new show and was much impressed. Since I am a member of the Propeller Club, Mr. Gallagher knows I went to Europe on a story for you. He wondered if I would pass along his assurance of cooperation should you ever be interested in a merchant marine story.

Meanwhile I am getting hungry to line up a good Navy story for this spring. There is a mighty fine one in the Far North should we ever succeed in breaking it loose. Then, of course, our transports are busy ferrying American, Belgian, Greek, Turk, Ethiopian and other U.N. troops to Korea. Now if together we could break loose a Navy cameraman, that would be a deal.

Sincerely,

ELMER M. BORSUK
Public Information Office

Campbell Soup

Columbia Broadcasting System
Warner Building
Washington, D.C.
April 20, 1950

Dear Rex:

Thank you for sending me the exchange of correspondence between your office and Mr. Culbertson and Mrs. Vale. I shall write to them in due course, and you will receive copies of my letters to these two people.

I do not regard your replies to these two people as exactly a vigorous and persuasive defense either of myself or of the program. You say that the charge--which is wholly inaccurate and without any substance whatever--made by Mr. Culbertson, "is a serious charge". What, precisely, is serious about it? We are living in highly emotional and contentious times and such accusations must be expected; and in my own mail, they are invariably balanced by equally vigorous charges that I am too reactionary and conservative. However, how you choose to handle mail regarding this program is your own affair, and I have no desire to make other than passing comment regarding it.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. R. M. Budd
Campbell Soup Company
Camden, New Jersey

Campbell Soup Company

LOOK FOR THE RED AND WHITE LABEL

ADDRESS ALL COMMUNICATIONS TO THE COMPANY

CAMDEN·NEW JERSEY·U·S·A·

CABLE ADDRESS "CAMELSOUP"

April Fourteenth
1950

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

Enclosed is an interchange of correspondence between this office, Mr. E. C. Culbertson of Ithaca, New York and Mrs. R. M. Vale of Chicago, Illinois.

We believe you will also want to write them and, for our guidance in future correspondence, we would very much like to have copies of your answers.

Very truly yours,

CAMPBELL SOUP COMPANY

Rea Burger

General Advertising Manager

RMB:VS
Enc.

Dear Rex:

Thank you for sending me the exchange of correspondence between your office and Mr. Culbertson and Mrs. Vale. I shall write to them in due course, and you will receive copies of my letters to these two people.

~~This affords me an opportunity to say certain things that are on my mind regarding the 7:45 [illegible] program.~~ I do not regard your replies to these two people as exactly a vigorous and persuasive defense either of myself or of the program. You say that the charge--which is wholly inaccurate and without any substance whatever--made by Mr. Culbertson "is a serious charge". What, precisely, is serious about it? We are living in a highly emotional and contentious times and such accusations must be expected; and in my own mail they are ~~frequently~~ invariably balanced by equally vigorous charges that I am too reactionary and conservative. However, how you choose to handle mail regarding this program is your own affair and I have no desire to make other than passing comment regarding it.

Sent 4/20/60

Of a rather more serious nature in my view, are the representations made by the Campbell Soup Company to my employers regarding

Hold

broadcasts I did last week. I have been aprised of these conversations and I cannot but regard them as coming very near to a withdrawal of confidence in myself on the part of the Campbell Soup Company. If that should prove to be the case, it would be a matter of minor regret to me--minor, because I value the respect and confidence of my colleagues in the news business, of the listening public, and of the officers of the Columbia Broadcasting System more than that of the officers of any corporation in this country.

I have never regarded my news judgement as infallible, but I am not accustomed to having it questioned in a framework that inevitably causes my loyalty and objectivity to be called into question. Let me put a few questions at random to you, Rex. Would you care to see a list of individuals, many of them high government officials, personal friends of mine, who have either been murdered or driven into exile by the Communists in Eastern Europe? Are you aware that I have, and still do, served the purpose of a whipping-boy for the Moscow radio? Do you know that in two out of the last three years, I have received the top radio award from the

Overseas Press Club (an organization of some five or six hundred men and women, each of whom has served at least six months as a foreign correspondent)? Are you aware that in 1948, the late James Forrestal asked me to come to Washington to sit on his right hand as an Assistant Secretary of Defense to have access to all secret communications and to handle all information regarding the Defense Department; and that John McCloy, our High Commissioner to Germany, asked me four months ago to go to Germany with him in a similar capacity?

Maybe you would like to see an unsolicited letter from J. Edgar Hoover, commending me for the fairness, objectivity and accuracy of my broadcasts sponsored by the Campbell Soup Company? Do you happen to recall that two weeks ago, General Omar Bradley, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, did an exclusive broadcast for me from The Hague on a first-name basis? Or that two weeks before that, I did a similar interview with Lord Woolton, the Chairman of the Conservative Party in Britain? ten days later, one with Governor Warren of California? or that I was the only

reporter, British or foreign, to lunch privately with Winston Churchill during the recent British election? Perhaps all of these men are unwittingly associating their names publicly with a subversive or misfortunate character. Do you recall that during the '48 campaign, we covered Henry Wallace's tour through the South with an objectivity that produced complaints from no part of the political spectrum?

The standing and stature of a broadcaster is not determined by any single broadcast, but rather by his performance over the years.

This letter is no effort to initiate any extended correspondence and it requires no answer. It is merely an effort on my part to

~~reporter~~

Columbia Broadcasting System
Warner Building
Washington, D.C.
May 4, 1950

Dear Mrs. Vale:

The Campbell Soup Company has sent on to me your letter of April 11. There is an old saying in radio that sometimes people "listen too quick". I think you may possibly have done that on the evening of April 10. What happened was this: I regarded--rightly or wrongly--the refusal of the Supreme Court to review that case as newsworthy. I went back and studied the unanimous decision of the Appeals Court and most of the broadcast was made up of direct quotations from that decision. There was nothing in the broadcast that can fairly be interpreted as an attack, direct or indirect, on the courts or laws of our country. I deeply believe that the only protection the citizen has against another citizen or against the State, is the law. And the reason I believe that is that I have seen the law subplanted by men over the last twenty years in much of Europe, and I have too many personal friends who have suffered death or exile in Eastern Europe not to appreciate what it means when rule by law is abolished. The case of the two Hollywood writers--whom I do not know--in complete point of law has not yet been decided because the Supreme Court, as is its right, refused to rule. I felt it important to point out the facts and I think if you will bother to read the copy

of the script which I am enclosing you may feel that your original impression of this broadcast is not altogether accurate.

Any broadcaster dealing with the voluminous and often bewildering flow of the day's news must expect to be accused of partisanship, and I am no exception. But to be accused of "Communistic leanings" is a charge which is too ridiculous to merit serious answer. You will not find a professional newsman, here or in Europe, no matter how much you may disagree with me, who will support you on that charge.

Sincerely yours,

Edward R. Murrow

Mrs. R. N. Vale
4330 Lake Park Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

cc: Mr. R. M. Budd
Campbell Soup Company
Camden, New Jersey

April Fourteenth
1950

Mrs. R. M. Vale
4330 Lake Park Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Mrs. Vale:

Your letter of April 11th addressed to the late Dr. G. M. Dorrance has been read by the President of our Company and referred to the writer for acknowledgment.

Although you write to voice a protest, we want to tell you we appreciate the opportunity to be informed of your criticism and to have a chance to reply.

In undertaking our sponsorship of Edward R. Murrow, it was the mutual desire of this Company and Mr. Murrow to treat the news objectively and without bias. This policy is outlined fully in the enclosed photostat of an article which appeared in a New York newspaper at the time Mr. Murrow launched his broadcasts under our sponsorship.

However, one of the greatest fears of newscasters is the possibility of being misunderstood.

Mr. Murrow is broadcasting from Washington today and will return to New York City tomorrow. Your letter is being sent him because we are sure he will give you a more complete and satisfactory reply.

Very truly yours,

CAMPBELL SOUP COMPANY

RMB:VS
Enc.

By:

C
O
P
Y

4330 Lake Park Ave.
Chicago 15, Ill.

April 11, 1950

Dr. G. M. Dorrance, Chairman, Board of Directors,
Campbell Soup Company
Camden, N.J.

Dear Dr. Dorrance:

For many years I have been a user of Franco-American Spaghetti and other Campbell products, and because I have enjoyed these fine foods I have made an effort to listen to Edward R. Morrow, the newscaster whom your concern sponsors.

Mr. Morrow's broadcast of last evening (April 10) ended all this, however, I feel I must, as a consumer, find another brand of spaghetti and other products. I will not contribute my food dollars to support such flagrant un-Americanism and vicious propaganda as Mr. Morrow put in his broadcast of last night.

In his attack on the courts and laws of our country to defend two convicted Hollywood writers (John Howard Lawson and Dalton Trumbo) who had refused to answer questions put by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Mr. Morrow not only revealed his own Communistic leanings, but also he showed that his sponsor was putting his money on un-Americanism.

There is no way I, as a consumer or as a student of political affairs, can persuade you to support the system of government of this country if you are convinced that the Russian way is better. I might add, however, that I hope that such utter stupidity as this will be rewarded with speedy liquidation if or when the Communists take control of this country!

I am bringing this matter to the attention of as many people as I can reach and who feel as I do.

Sincerely yours,

RMV/m

/s/ R. M. Vale

Columbia Broadcasting System
Warner Building
Washington, D.C.
April 24, 1950

Dear Mr. Culbertson:

The Campbell Soup Company has sent on to me your letter of April 3.

As I understand it, you accuse me of bias and hypocrisy in my reporting of the Senate subcommittee inquiry into the State Department. I had a look at my scripts on this subject and can find that I have engaged in no editorializing upon this controversial subject. I have reported, as adequately as time permitted, Senator McCarthy's charges and the replies that have been made by his fellow Senators and by those accused. If the weight of the public testimony has tended to show that so far, Senator McCarthy's charges are unproven, that is not my responsibility.

You say, "Personally, I feel Senator McCarthy is rendering the country a distinguished service..." As a reporter, I prefer to wait until all the evidence is in and until we see what hard evidence he produces, before reaching a conclusion. You further say that you have a suspicion that I feel that Fuchs got a very raw deal. Now, I haven't the least idea where you got that suspicion, but you certainly didn't get it from anything I have said either in public or in private. My personal opinion, which is worth no more than yours, is that Fuchs got off very lightly. And I regret that British law doesn't provide for more severe penalties in cases of that sort.

You want to know: "Where does this fellow, Murrow, stand anyway?" I could write you a book on that one, but I suppose where I stand is pretty well reflected in the broadcasts I have done in the last twelve years. It happens to be a stand which has won me every award in the radio business for objectivity and fairness. I am acutely aware of the possibility of error and have always been anxious and willing to publicly correct error when I have made one. I am also aware that the line between objective explanation and subjective interpretation is a very narrow one and that all reporters, including this one, are fallible. But in this case, I don't find myself accused of a single misstatement of fact or a false deduction from available evidence. I am surprised you, as an ex-Marine, don't call your shots more accurately.

Anyway, thanks for writing.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. E. C. Culbertson
220 University Avenue
Ithaca, New York

cc: Mr. R. M. Budd
Campbell Soup Company
Camden, New Jersey

April Fourteenth
1950

Mr. E. C. Culbertson
220 University Avenue
Ithaca, New York

Dear Mr. Culbertson:

Your letter regarding Edward R. Murrow gives us great concern. We assure you we give careful and objective review to the comments of any listener to broadcasts which we sponsor.

It is only by obtaining the frank and open expression of listeners that we can help shape our broadcasts to be of greater service to those they are intended to please and serve - i.e., the listening public.

In reporting the news, it is extremely difficult not to be charged with interpretive shading. An article regarding Mr. Murrow which appeared recently in the Saturday Evening Post - a publication noted for its conservatism - outlines some of the various charges made against him. It is enclosed.

It has always been the unqualified aim and desire of our Company to provide an objective news report. In carrying out this policy, Mr. Murrow certainly strives to dig out the complete story through reliable sources of information. That you have felt his reports are biased and critical is a serious charge.

Complete copies of this correspondence are being sent to Mr. Murrow in accordance with your wishes. You will hear from him direct.

Very truly yours,

CAMPBELL SOUP COMPANY

RMB:VS
Enc.

By:

COPY

220 University Ave.
Ithaca, New York
April 3, 1950

Franco-American Co.
Camden, New Jersey

Gentlemen:

Will you accept the protest of this listener to your newscasts of the biased and hypocritical statements of Mr. Murrow regarding Senate inquiry of the State Dept.

If it was up to the likes of him the moral degenerates and the spys would all be given a jolly old pat on the back and cheerio. Personally I feel Senator McCarthy is rendering the country a distinct service when he forces the admission by State Dept. management of the fact that perversion and moral turpitude have been completely out of hand there.

But Murrow always was the fellow to sneer and make light of attempts to protect our tax payers from leeches and fakers. Everything for the rest of the world - and the back of his hand to any American who dares ask why.

I have a suspicion that in the case of Fuchs the confessed spy and traitor that Murrow probably feels he got a very raw deal. Where does this fellow Murrow stand anyway?

I know it will not cause you any great concern but this is just to say that I am fed up, but plenty, with dear Mr. Murrow.

Yours truly,

/s/ E. C. Culbertson
U.S. Marines 1917-19

P.S. I trust this finally reaches
Mr. Murrow personally

Campbell Soup Company

LOOK FOR THE RED AND WHITE LABEL

ADDRESS ALL COMMUNICATIONS TO THE COMPANY

CAMDEN·NEW JERSEY·U·S·A·

CABLE ADDRESS "CAMELSOUP"

April Twentieth
1950

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

Enclosed is copy of another letter received from Mr. E. C. Culbertson, 220 University Avenue, Ithaca, New York. You have his first letter which we sent you Friday.

The clippings enclosed with Mr. Culbertson's second communication are also attached.

It looks as though he has done an "about face."

Very truly yours,

CAMPBELL SOUP COMPANY

General Advertising Manager

RMB:VS
Enc.

220 University Ave
Ithaca N.Y.
April 17, 1950

ANSWERED
APR 20 1950
R.M.B.

Mr. R. M. Budd
Campbell Soup Company
Camden N. J.

NOTED
APR 19 1950
R.M.B.

Gentlemen,

Thank you for your courteous reply to my recent letter.

There are days of hasty words and hasties tempers and very, very great confusion upon the part of the people of this country as to just what the future holds for them.

In the case of our own family the war is not over yet - due to continued illness resulting from thirty-two months in a Japanese prison camp — of one of its members. See Life Magazine Feb 26-1945. Page 38

So perhaps when I turn on a newscast I am expecting or at least hoping for views which express my own feeling as to the causes of all

the tension under which we live.

So I wish to withdraw any implications I made regarding Mr. Murrow's attitude towards those people who may be investigated or have their loyalty questioned. I also wish to say that I realize he is entitled to his own opinion about Senator McCarthy's charges and that he is beyond doubt as good an American as anyone.

It is a fact though, that when anyone upholds the right of an individual to join any and all types of groups or movements - he should also be willing to look at those groups objectively and to view with suspicion an individual that display an unusual softness or affinity for those that go too far to the left or right.

I'm attaching two clippings which I ask that you be

good enough to read as they express my own views much better than I can do it myself.

If we are going to protect this country and the spiritual values which have made it great I think that we must have no one but Americans on watch.

Thanks again for taking the trouble to reply and please forward this note to Mr. Murrow - and clippings.

Yours truly,

E. C. Culbertson

U.S. Marines 1917-19.

NOTED

APR 19

H. F. J.

McCarthy's Achievements

George F. Sokolsky

THE ATTACK ON SENATOR McCARTHY OF Wisconsin, so far, seems to be focussed upon one point: He is being accused not of saying too much but of being ill-mannered, loud and exaggerative. He is being accused of overstatement, of employing such a term as "top spy" when nobody can know actually who the "top spy" ever is.

George Sokolsky

Maybe so! Joe McCarthy, I am sure, would not advertise himself as a delicate powder-puff. He is both Irish and a marine and that involves a man in a pattern of life. My old friend, Smedley Butler, was a Quaker; yet he became a marines general. I once heard him deliver an address to his marines which would, had they known about it, have made our state department lulus not only blush but positively crimson.

Now, let us see what Senator Joe McCarthy's noise has so far accomplished:

1. It forced Deputy Under-Secretary Peurifoy to admit that the state department had become a nest of homosexuals and that he had fired 91 of them—all subject, because of their vice, to blackmail. Mr. Peurifoy can probably in truth say that he did it before he heard Joe's bellow, but he kept whatever he did strictly to himself and nobody has yet assured us that these unfortunates have not got jobs elsewhere in the government;

2. HE ESTABLISHED, THRU THE WASHINGton (D. C.) police force, that this is only a segment of the colony of perverts in government;

3. He reopened interest in the "Amerasia" case, which is the key to espionage in the state, treasury, army, navy departments and the OSS;

4. He established the fact, beyond doubt, that the administration protects Communists, pro-Communists, fellow-travelers and stooges by objecting to a full, impartial, bipartisan investigation into the perils of espionage at a time when espionage has been proved in the Alger Hiss and the Fuchs cases;

5. He exposed Senator Tydings as capable of misquoting J. Edgar Hoover and of giving a false impression that the FBI clears persons as tho it were a court and not a police department;

6. HE BLEW THE TOP OFF THE STATE DEpartment Far Eastern policy. In this regard:

A. He forced Owen Lattimore to give publicity to his own recommendations which many Americans, including myself, will regard as harmful to the United States;

B. He frightened Dean Acheson into a publicity campaign to separate himself from Lattimore;

C. He reopened interest in the Institute of Pacific Relations.

D. He reopened interest in "The Pacific Story" a series of 181 NBC broadcasts to our troops during and after the war;

E. He ended the trickery of the Bangkok conference by which the state department sought a way to recognize Soviet China by indirection;

F. He knocked the spots out of the smart trick of bringing Soviet China into the United Nations by majority vote.

MUCH OF THIS SENATOR JOE McCARTHY accomplished by indirection, just as he had nothing to do personally with Dean Acheson's attempt to restore the bipartisan foreign policy by having the obscure John Sherman Cooper and the Deweyite John Foster Dulles taken into the state department.

To the rank and file of the Republican party, Cooper is wholly unknown and when they check his voting record during his one term in the senate, it does not look Republican. As for John Foster Dulles, this act surely ends his political career as a Republican.

For any man is entitled once to such a mistake as recommending Alger Hiss to the Carnegie endowment, but when to that is added an effort to throw a protective wall around the current administration of the state department, it is indicative of political cloudiness. Besides, the Dewey group seems to be abandoning participation in national Republican leadership.

THE POINT IS THAT THE STATE DEPARTment would not have begged Senator Vandenberg and Senator H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey to help them put up a false facade of bipartisanship had not Senator McCarthy's excitement proved that there never has been a Republican-Democratic bipartisan foreign policy on the most vital issues. Policy has been made by little people in key jobs.

It sometimes takes unusual means to bring out the truth—but the truth will come out.

Miss Kenyon's Activities

George F. Sokolsky

GUILT BY ASSOCIATION IS AN UGLY doctrine. Among some primitive peoples, if one member of a family were accused of a crime, every member of the family was held accountable. In some schools, teachers still hold an entire class responsible for the conduct of one pupil, which is a form of socialized guilt repugnant to our way of life which is based on individual responsibility.

George Sokolsky

However, the term, "guilt by association," as it is currently being used, is something quite different. What we do is to follow the old adage, "birds of a feather flock together." We go back to the proved sociological postulate that where there is a community of kind, there is likely to be an association of those who have similar tastes. When, therefore, a person appears on a large number of Communist or Communist-front activities, the assumption must be that that person has made a voluntary choice to associate with such people and their activities.

Take, for instance, the case of Dorothy Kenyou. The lady says that she is not a Communist and has never been one. We must take her word for that.

BUT HOW SHALL THIS RECORD BE EXplained?

1. The American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom petitioned to discontinue the Dies committee. This organization existed to defend Communists from investigation; Dorothy Kenyon appears among the signatories.

2. American Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born has been officially declared subversive. This organization was established by the Communist party and has been closely linked to the International Labor Defense (also listed as subversive); Dorothy Kenyon's name appeared there.

3. In 1944, a number of American women of distinction sent greetings to the women of Soviet Russia. (We were then allies in war.) Dorothy Kenyon's name appeared there.

4. From 1934 to 1941, one of the principal transmission belts of Communism in this country was the American Youth congress. Dorothy Kenyon appeared there.

5 Earl Browder, testifying before the house committee on un-American activities in September, 1939, described the Consumers National federation as a Communist transmission belt. Dorothy Kenyon's name appeared there.

6. THE CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE TO lift the embargo was a Communist front organized to aid Soviet Russia's efforts in the Spanish civil war. Dorothy Kenyon's name appeared there.

7. The Council for Pan American Democracy was organized and supported publicly by the Communist parties of the United States, Canada, Mexico, Chile, Cuba and Venezuela. Dorothy Kenyon's name appeared there.

8. The Descendants of the American Revolution was designed to be a left-wing organization to compete with and ridicule the Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution. Dorothy Kenyon's name appeared there.

9. A group of organizations came into being to bring pressures on the motion picture producers to produce pro-Russian and pro-Communist films. The most active was "Film Audiences for Democracy." Dorothy Kenyon appeared on the advisory board.

10. Simon W. Gerson, an active and admitted Communist, was given public office by the boro president of Manhattan in New York city. This led to an active protest. A committee was formed to defend Gerson. Dorothy Kenyon appeared on that committee as representing the Consumers union.

11. The lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain was on the Communist side of the Spanish revolution. Dorothy Kenyon's name appeared there.

---

12. LEAGUE OF WOMEN SHOPPERS HAS been declared a Communist-front by the house committee on un-American activities after prolonged investigation. Dorothy Kenyon's name appeared there.

13. The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, successor to Friends of the Soviet Union, has been officially declared subversive. Dorothy Kenyon's name appeared there.

14. For many years, Tom Mooney's imprisonment was used to raise money for the Communist party. Dorothy Kenyon's name appeared on the New York Tom Mooney committee.

15. Political prisoners bail fund committee was organized to aid arrested Communists and left-wingers. Dorothy Kenyon's name appeared there.

16. Morris U. Schappes, an admitted Communist, was tried in a court for perjury and convicted. The Schappes defense committee was organized for him. Dorothy Kenyon's name appeared there.

I have cited these examples to show a pattern of activity. This pattern does not necessarily make Miss Kenyon a Communist, but it does, in my opinion, open to question her judgment and her associations. In the present war between this country and Soviet Russia, the constant association, for whatever reason, must stimulate concern.

Campbell Soup Company

ADDRESS ALL COMMUNICATIONS TO THE COMPANY

CAMDEN·NEW JERSEY·U·S·A·

CABLE ADDRESS "CAMELSOUP"

April Fourteenth
1950

Mr. E. C. Culbertson
220 University Avenue
Ithaca, New York

Dear Mr. Culbertson:

Your letter regarding Edward R. Murrow gives us great concern. We assure you we give careful and objective review to the comments of any listener to broadcasts which we sponsor.

It is only by obtaining the frank and open expression of listeners that we can help shape our broadcasts to be of greater service to those they are intended to please and serve - i.e., the listening public.

In reporting the news, it is extremely difficult not to be charged with interpretive shading. An article regarding Mr. Murrow which appeared recently in the Saturday Evening Post - a publication noted for its conservatism - outlines some of the various charges made against him. It is enclosed.

It has always been the unqualified aim and desire of our Company to provide an objective news report. In carrying out this policy, Mr. Murrow certainly strives to dig out the complete story through reliable sources of information. That you have felt his reports are biased and critical is a serious charge.

Complete copies of this correspondence are being sent to Mr. Murrow in accordance with your wishes. You will hear from him direct.

Very truly yours,

CAMPBELL SOUP COMPANY

By: [signature]

RMB:VS
Enc.

May 31, 1950

Dear Mr. Culbertson:

Thank you for your letter of April 26th.

I assure you, no apologies were necessary. It is always helpful to me to exchange frank correspondence with my listeners and the critical letters are often more useful than the laudatory.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. E. Culbertson
220 University Avenue
Ithaca, New York

220 University Ave
Ithaca NY
april 26, 1950

Mr. Edward R. Murrow -
485 Madison Ave
New York NY.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Received your courteous letter of April 24th for which please accept my thanks.

I sent a subsequent note to Campbell Soup in which I apologized for my harsh words and bad manners. At least I tried to do so.

The way a lot of people view this McCarthy matter is that here is a fellow with a lot of guts who is bucking the whole administration, so to speak, in trying to protect

us all from possible betrayal by fuzzy minded do gooder's and down right traitors who may be on the government payroll. I know this because I do a lot of traveling and hear this idea expressed quite frequently.

He is not getting much encouragement from the press or radio generally speaking and it discomforted me to see how little his efforts were being appreciated.

It is my hope that you will accept my apology and also my very best wishes for continued success. I know that you must be quite a fellow.

I took a few very hard belts as a member of the Marine Corps in World War I - but have managed to work at my job for twenty-six years and get two of my sons enter West Point —

Sincerely yours,
Ed Eubankston

Dickey, Dr. John

February 2, 1950

Dr. John Sloan Dickey
Dartmouth College
Hanover, N. H.

Dear John:

Many thanks for your kind words about the "Mid-Century Report". I appreciate your thoughtfulness in writing me about it.

In the event that you may want to have it for your files, I'm enclosing a printed copy of the text.

As ever yours,

DARTMOVTH COLLEGE
HANOVER, N.H.
Offices of Administration

THE PRESIDENT

January sixth
1950

Dear Ed:

I made it a point to hear the round-up program over which you presided the other night. I just want you to know that I thought it was one of the very best things of that sort I have ever heard and I also want you to know that quite a few of us appreciate your going to all the trouble involved in such an undertaking in order to help the rest of us find a true perspective in this squally weather.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

John

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Goldwyn, Sam

July 9, 1951

Dear Sam:

This is the first day of my vacation, part of which I am spending in our log house on Quaker Hill in Duchess County. I cannot rest or relax without saying how grateful I am for your generous gracious comments about my broadcasts during the last few months. At the moment I am enjoying keeping silent and attempting to recharge the batteries.

I shall probably be on the west coast the third week of July but unfortunately have no plans for visiting Southern California. Janet joins me in sending you and your gracious wife warmest personal regards.

As ever yours,

Mr. Samuel Goldwyn
1041 North Formosa Avenue
Los Angeles 28, California

SAMUEL GOLDWYN
1041 NORTH FORMOSA AVENUE
LOS ANGELES 28

June 26, 1951

Dear Ed:

I have just finished listening to another one of your great broadcasts. Your commentary on a year and a day of war in Korea was one of the best. Keep up the good work! You are rendering a great service to the nation, and I am sure you are winning more friends every day.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Sam

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York City 22, N. Y.

Johnson, Harry A. General.

E. R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

July 13, 1949

General Harry A. Johnson
Headquarters Tenth Air Force
Benjamin Harrison Air Force Base
Indiana

Dear General Johnson:

Thank you for your gracious letter of July 8th.

I enjoyed my visit to Attebury Air Base, and I am most pleased that you found my comments on the Reserve Program acceptable.

Sincerely yours,
/s/ E. R. Murrow

cc: General Lasey V. Murrow

HEADQUARTERS TENTH AIR FORCE
~~FORT BENJAMIN HARRISON, INDIANA~~
Benjamin Harrison Air Force Base, Indiana

OFFICE OF THE COMMANDING GENERAL

8 JUL 1949

Mr Edward R Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

Your broadcast from Station WFBM, Indianapolis, on Wednesday July 6, was one of the greatest "boosts" for the Air Force Reserve Program to date. The Reserve Program will benefit immeasurably by the coverage and prestige given through your comments. It will undoubtably be responsible for a large number of Reservists attending camp this year who would otherwise spend their vacations elsewhere. Many who were "on the fence" will look more favorably on a summer tour as a result of your comments.

It is difficult to find words to express the appreciation of The United States Air Force, the Tenth Air Force, and my own. You and CBS have done the Air Force a great service. Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Harry A. Johnson

HARRY A JOHNSON
Brigadier General, USAF
Commanding

25088

PLEASE RETURN TO
CBS REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

ADVERTISEMENT

"They Even Put Waste to Work..."

EDWARD R. MURROW Interviews 5 Well-Known Oilmen—Hears How The Oil Industry Makes Sure You Get The Most From Each Drop of Oil

MEET THE PANEL:

I'm General Ernest O. Thompson, Chairman of the Texas Railroad Commission—a conservation agency of our state charged by law to prevent waste of natural resources like oil and gas. We set oil and gas production for Texas—controlling 146,000 wells.

My name is E. DeGolyer. I'm a geologist and an independent oil producer, Chairman of DeGolyer-McNaughton, Petroleum Engineers. My chief interest is in the exploration of oil and the estimation of oil reserves.

My name is George L. Parkhurst, I'm Chairman of the Board of the Oronite Chemical Company, San Francisco. I'm concerned with petro-chemicals and also with other phases of the oil industry.

I'm John M. Lovejoy, Chairman of the Board of the Seaboard Oil Company of Delaware. This is solely a producing oil company with a production of 33,000 barrels a day in various parts of the United States.

My name is John W. Newton. I am Vice-President of the Magnolia Petroleum Company, in charge of refining. At this time, I am also serving as Vice-President for refining, American Petroleum Institute.

Here are the highlights of Mr. Murrow's interview—one of the most important discussions ever held on conserving the nation's oil supply, and its significance to you as an American:

MURROW: ***Dr. DeGolyer—you're one of the greatest geologists in this or any other country—how much oil do we have available in the U.S.?***

De GOLYER: About 30 billion barrels in proven resources—almost 4 times what we had in 1925.

MURROW: ***Are we finding as much oil here as we're using up?***

De GOLYER: Available statistics show that, on the average, we have found as much oil each year as we've used.

MURROW: ***I'd like to ask—what's happened to the wasteful, old-fashioned gusher we used to see?***

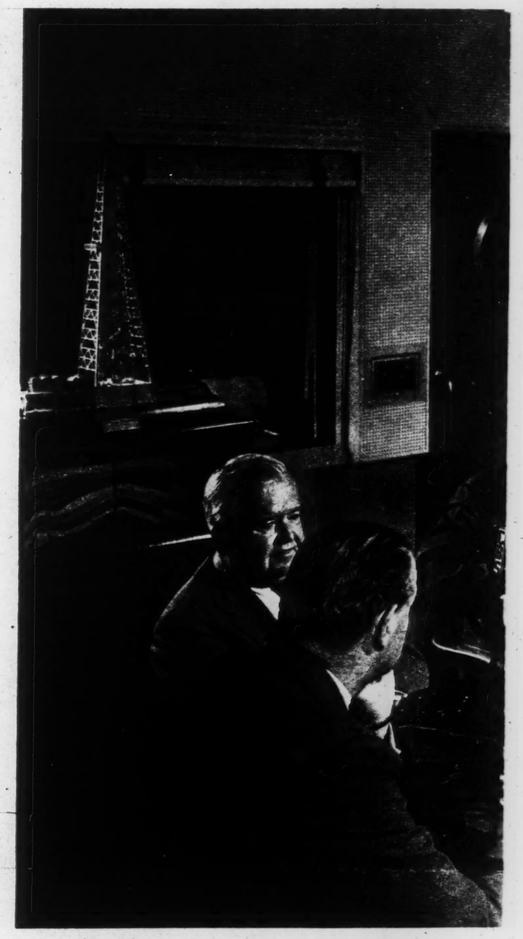
THOMPSON: Well, in the old open flow days, every man got all he could under "devil-take-the-hindmost" production. That was very wasteful. Wells would blow their heads off, gush for a while, then go flat.

NEWTON: In 1901 in Beaumont, Texas, we had America's original gushers at "Spindletop." One flowed at the rate of 100,000 barrels a day, but only for a short time. In contrast with today's efficient practice, little of the oil in the ground was recovered.

THOMPSON: In those days we recovered only 25 to 30% of the oil in the ground. In East Texas today, by carefully conserving reservoir energy, we are not content unless we get up to 80% recovery.

MURROW: ***What do you mean by conserving reservoir energy? Is this a key problem in oil conservation?***

De GOLYER: It's the basic problem—keeping the pressure on the oil in the reservoir. An oil field has been best compared to a bottle of soda water. If the bottle is opened and the gas is allowed to escape, the thing goes flat. If an oil field is produced wide open and the pressure gets too low, then the field goes flat and you lose a lot of oil which you never recover.



EDWARD R. MURROW'S ROUNDTABLE on oil conservation practices brought 5 outstanding oilmen to his CBS Radio studio in New York. Mr. Murrow questioned his guests (identified

MURROW: ***Would someone please explain to me how oilmen inject gas or water to get more oil out of the ground?***

LOVEJOY: If your natural forces become exhausted, then you have to pump in water or gas to provide artificial forces. The best time to do this is before the natural forces are exhausted. In the New Hope Field of East Texas, natural forces were very small compared to the size of the reservoir. The wells stopped flowing before the field was completely drilled.

By putting in an artificial water flood before the natural pressures were gone, we've maintained production there for many years.

MURROW: ***What are oilmen doing to conserve oil once it gets to the refinery?***

NEWTON: I'd like to comment on that. We've developed new refining processes, principally catalytic cracking,

For a new free booklet on oil conservation, "Oil Con-*Serves* For You," write to Oil Industry Information Committee,

10-4-53

at left) for over 2 hours. This entire interview was recorded on tape. Its highlights are reproduced on these pages to bring you one of the most important discussions ever held on conserving the nation's oil supply. The scale model of the oil derrick in background was used to illustrate technical questions on conservation in oil production.

alkylation, polymerization, etc. and learned how to make better use of gases formed in some of these operations. Compared to years ago, twice the quantity of useful products can now be obtained from a barrel of crude.

MURROW: That's conservation indeed.

NEWTON: We are now able to meet the requirements of the public out of 2½ billion barrels of crude yearly. Without these many process improvements we would have used about 5 billion barrels of crude oil last year.

Also, oil products have constantly been made better. The fact that two gallons of today's gasoline do the work that three did in 1925 shows an outstanding achievement in quality. This is real conservation.

MURROW: ***Mr. Newton, I wonder if you could tell ·s a little about some of the other products you ·ople make from oil?***

JEWTON: Petroleum products go into production of in·ecticides, fungicides, antifreeze, detergents, etc. Today ·ere are something like a thousand different products arying types made from petroleum.

URROW: ***This is down your line, Mr. Parkhurst. What about the use of petroleum products in the manufacture of synthetic rubber?***

PARKHURST: That's very important. Nearly all synthetic rubber today comes from petroleum. Other things in the same general category are plastics, paints, textile fibres—great varieties of things we don't normally think of as petroleum products.

MURROW: ***Somebody told me you were even conserving the smell of oil these days. Is this true?***

NEWTON: Yes. There is one smell that is being conserved and actually being used. That's in the recovery of sulphur. With some oils, sulphur gases are generated, which we can recover and so make possible their conversion to sulphuric acid. This acid helps manufacture hundreds of products.

PARKHURST: That's an example of a by-product which was not only a waste—its smell was a nuisance. Taking that waste product and upgrading it into a valuable chemical is an excellent example of conservation.

MURROW: ***With all the thousands of companies engaged in the oil business, how much has competition contributed to oil conservation?***

LOVEJOY: I think competition is probably the secret of the success of the oil industry in this country. In the countries where governments themselves have tried to develop their own resources, they have been completely unsuccessful. To illustrate, in Russia they have not been able to increase their oil production materially over the last twenty years—and their oil potentialities are vast.

De GOLYER: The 13,000 small and large producers in the U.S. don't all think alike. I might look at all the data on a certain prospect and decide it didn't justify the cost of a well. Mr. Lovejoy might think differently and drill it. Even if both of us thought it was bad, there would be some third fellow who came along and drilled it. That's one reason we find as much oil as we do, and find it as fast as we have.

PARKHURST: Mr. Newton has mentioned new refining processes and improvements in products. This has been stimulated greatly by competition in research. Companies large and small, all competing to bring out a better product and do a better job of processing the crude oil, have made a great contribution—

MURROW: ***—So that good conservation practices extend throughout the entire industry?***

PARKHURST: That's true. Going beyond production and refineries, conservation never ceases. The oil industry has worked with the automotive people, equipment manufacturers and consumers to get better use out of oil products and to give better value.

Our lubricating oils have been improved to the point where engine overhauls are much less frequent. An automobile will go farther on a gallon of gasoline. Fuel oil has been upgraded by more efficient combustion and better oil burners. And, so, conservation extends from the oil in the ground to the final, individual user.

EDWARD R. MURROW SUMS UP...

It seems to me, that these five distinguished oilmen say this:

Nature has given us a wealth of petroleum, but it is not necessarily inexhaustible. Man, through his skills and ingenuity, has converted petroleum to his own use. And now man—the oil industry—is trying through sound conservation to assure us:

FIRST, that the maximum amount of oil is produced from each field.

SECOND, that researchers are finding new ways to provide new oil supplies for the future.

THIRD, that oil, once taken from the ground, is processed efficiently to meet the consumer's needs.

The one thing I already knew was that all this pays off in effective service to the public.

Hear Edward R. Murrow on CBS Radio, Monday through Friday; see "Person to Person," his new TV show, CBS-TV Friday nights.

AMERICAN PETROLEUM INSTITUTE, Box 147, 50 West 50th Street, New York 20, N. Y.

Back to the Farm

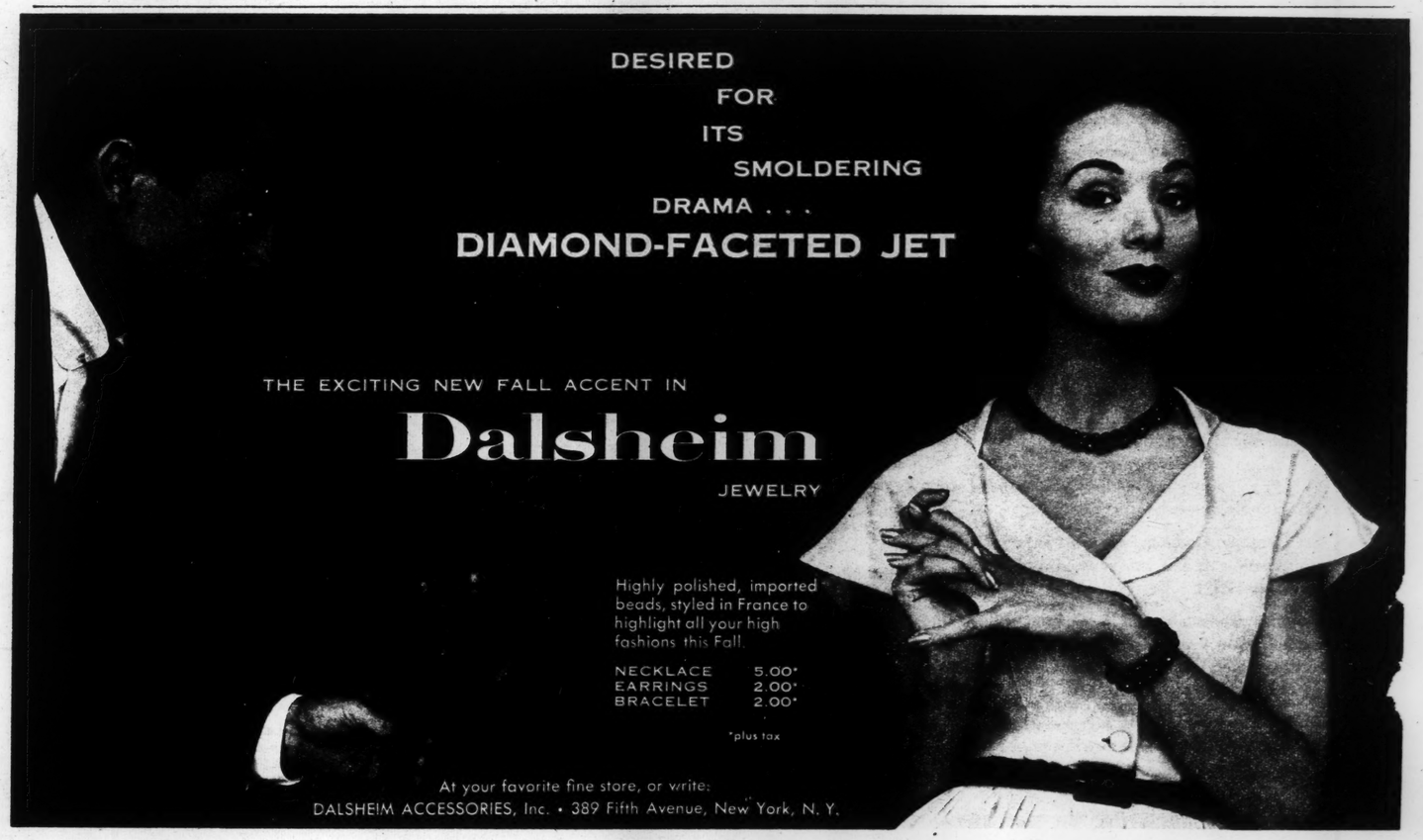
The only way to find out what's on a farmer's mind is to ask him. Congress is more than ordinarily interested these days (an election is only a year away) because of reported discontent in the Farm Belt. One result was that members of the House Agricultural Committee hopped on an air-conditioned bus recently and rolled 1,500 miles through six Southern states to listen to farmers. They kept fifteen-hour days for a week, attended a dozen meetings a day. Here's how Congressional members looked on the tour.

WELCOME—Band from Negro junior college turns out at Okolona, Miss., to greet touring Congressmen. House Agricultural Committee toured six Southern states to gauge sentiment.

CONFAB—Outside Florence, Ala., committeemen talk to a cotton farmer's wife. At far left is Chairman Clifford R. Hope.

SOO BOSS—Dr. Walter Wilcox, on loan to the committee from Library of Congress, remonstrates with a herd of cows.

New York Times Photographs by GEORGE TAMES



FYI. Original has been sent to Dr. Stanton for reply.

dmcd

COPY

CECIL AND PRESBREY INC.

ADVERTISING

March 25, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Mr. Fred W. Friendly
CBS Television
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow and Mr. Friendly:

We know that Senator McCarthy is scheduled to occupy "See It Now's" time on the CBS-TV network from 10:30 to 11:00 p.m. on Tuesday, April 6th. We understand that this time is being made available to Senator McCarthy specifically to reply to Mr. Murrow's show of March 9th.

Since four weeks will have elapsed between the time of the original telecast and Senator McCarthy's reply to it on April 6th, and since a great many of the viewing public did not see the show of March 9th, the sponsor of the preceding half hour on Tuesday night on CBS-TV believes that an important public service could be rendered by repeating the show of March 9th on April 6th, just preceding Senator McCarthy's reply to it.

The Block Drug Company has authorized me, as their advertising agent, to offer you the time between 10:00 and 10:30 on the CBS-TV network on Tuesday night, April 6th. This is the time in which the Block Drug Company now sponsors "Danger" on behalf of Amm-i-dent Toothpaste.

This offer, of course, depends on the solution of many problems concerning details on costs, commercials, etc. Once we are in agreement that you and the Columbia Broadcasting System believe that this re-programming of the March 9th "See It Now" show into "Danger's" time on April 6th is feasible, I am confident that we can then quickly resolve the details.

We will have to meet very quickly together to discuss this matter and finalize it, if it appears to you that there is likelihood of its becoming a reality.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Archibald McG. Foster

CBS NEWS FROM 485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK

PLEASE RETURN TO
CBS REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

STANFORD MIRKIN
General Information Division
Reference Department

April 25, 1949

CAMPBELL SOUP COMPANY VICE PRESIDENT HARRY F. JONES

PAYS TRIBUTE TO EDWARD R. MURROW'S ACHIEVEMENTS

Harry F. Jones, vice president of Campbell Soup Company, sponsors of "Edward R. Murrow with the News," broadcast nightly over CBS, was a guest of Mr. Murrow on a recent program. We believe the remarks of Mr. Jones and Mr. Murrow will be of interest to the trade press.

Mr. Jones:

"Here in New York today, Ed Murrow received the George Foster Peabody Award for outstanding news reporting. This is one of the top honors in radio. It is similar to the Pulitzer Prize for outstanding work in the fields of literature and drama. It is bestowed annually, and this is the second time Mr. Murrow has been chosen for this honor.

"Ed Murrow, when we selected you to broadcast the news, we believed radio listeners would like your clear, graphic reporting. You were not on the air very long for Campbell's Soups before we knew that millions do approve your treatment of the news. Your listening audience is greater than that of any news broadcast in the history of radio.

"I want to take this opportunity to congratulate you, on behalf of Campbell's Soups, for this latest recognition which has come to you in winning the Peabody Award. I am sure your constant listeners everywhere join us in marking this further endorsement of a job well done."

(More)

In reply, Mr. Murrow said:

"Thank you, Harry Jones. We'll keep the record of those remarks. For any broadcaster, it's a good and pleasing thing to be sponsored by a good product...and that's what Campbell's Soup is. I have seen it made and trust my own taste. Also, my three-and-a-half-year-old son can do the "Ummmmm-good" part of the commercial as well as Bob Dixon. Some day I'll try to tell you the story of Campbell's Soups. It's quite a story of research and inventiveness and belief in the discrimination of the American housewife. It's an honest quality product. From time to time, people write me letters. Sometimes they really take me to task for what I've said, but there don't seem to be any complaints about the quality of Campbell's soups. I conclude that the soup is more consistently good than the broadcaster. But of course, they can and do control with scientific accuracy the contents of the soup, and I can't do that with the news. In any event, there are no leftovers used in the soup or in the news.

"I think these words from Flaubert pretty well sum up the attitude of those of us who work on this program...Jesse Zousmer, Johnny Aaron and myself. Flaubert said: 'Making myself known is not what is uppermost in my mind. That is something that can satisfy only the most mediocre vanity. What I am aiming at is something better...to please myself.'"

* * *

WU009 NL PD NEWYORK NY JAN 2

ED MURROW

CBS

DEAR ED MY OFFICE TOLD ME YOU WERE GOING TO TRY AND USE MY SUNDAY NIGHT EDITORIAL I THOUGHT YOU MIGHT LIKE TO KNOW CONGRESSMAN ISADORE DOLLINGER INSERTED IT INTO THE JANUARY 2ND CONGRESSIONAL RECORD WITH THE FOLLOWING INTRODUCTION "MR SPEAKER A GREAT MANY AMERICANS STARTED THE NEW YEAR WITH A GLOOMY OUTLOOK SO IT WAS VERY HEARTENING TO READ THE MESSAGE FROM WALTER WINCHELL WHICH APPEARED IN THE NEW YORK DAILY MIRROR ON JANUARY 1 1951 AND WHICH GAVE US A RAY OF SUNSHINE.

WALTER WINCHELL HAS FOUGHT FOR MANY YEARS AGAINST ISMS WHICH ARE UNAMERICAN IN HIS ARTICLE HE EOLOQUENTLY AND IN A FEW WELL CHOSEN WORDS CRYSTALIZED THE ISSUES WHICH SERIOUSLY CONCERN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TODAY AND GAVE US A REASSURANCE THAT THIS LAND OF OURS STILL IS AND WILL CONTINUE TO BE THE WORLDS GREATEST ARSENAL IN THE BATTLE FOR DEMOCRACY.

FROM THIS PEOPLE THE WORLD OVER WHO CHERISH FREEDOM CAN TAKE HEART AND KNOW THAT NO IDEOLOGY FOREIGN TO OUR AMERICAN IDEAL WILL BE ALLOWED TO FLOURISH AND THAT WE CAN AND WILL CONTINUE TO WIELD OUR INFLUENCE IN THE CAUSE OF DEMOCRACY UNDER LEAVE TO EXTEND MY REMARKS IN THE RECORD IN INCLUDE MR WINCHELLS ARTICLE SO THAT MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE MAY HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO READ IT: HAPPY NEW YEAR AND BEST WISHES

WALTER WINCHELL.

123A..

Used 1/5 AIR

January 3, 1951

Dear Miss Bergman:

Thanks for sending me Walter's piece of last Sunday night. As I told you on the phone, I had no air time until Monday and couldn't make use of it then. But Fred Friendly and I will try to work it into our hour show on Friday night.

Thanks again.

Sincerely yours,

Miss Rose Bergman
NEW YORK DAILY MIRROR
235 East 45th Street
New York 17, New York

NEW YORK MIRROR
DAILY AND SUNDAY

235 EAST 45TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 2-1000

Call ABC
for

December 31,1950

Dear Mr.Murrow:

Would appreciate hearing as to whether and when you could use this. In his memorandum to me, Mr.Winchell said:

"Phone Ed Murrow and say I think it should be given wider circulation by his weekly news show because it will lift the people high. What does he think? Even if I am opposition."

Many thanks for your consideration and best wishes for a wonderful New Year.

sincerely,

Rose Bigman

for Walter Winchell

Communism

TO: Miss Williams

FROM: Miss Throop

2/20/50

Mr. Ream asked me to send in to Mr. Stanton the communications re the Draper incident which came addressed to Mr. Stanton.

They are attached.

t

Background?
File
Follow up
For appropriate action
F Y I
Note and return
Noted
Phone FS
Present status?
Reply direct
Return to sender
Suggest reply
To discuss
Urgent
Your comment or recommendation

Dear Dr. Stanton:

It really was a disgraceful spectacle during the past CBS crawl on its knees before the institution jowlings of the bigots of an Indian in the Drafer case. If you don't stop this practice of running like hell at the organized minority, your announcers would logically have to declare: This is CBS, where 80,000,000 people gather each week to listen what Hearst et al would have us learn. And push that thought.

Sincerely,

Eli Jaffe

NEW YORK FEB 1 1950 P
BRONX CENTRAL STATION

Ch. Jaffe
308 W. 164th St.
New York 32, N.Y.

20

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

FRANK STANTON
FEB 2 1950
9 10 11 12 1 2 3 4 5

Frank Stanton
C.B.S.
485 Madison Ave.
New York City

CBS WILL CUT DRAPER DANCE FROM TV FILM

New York, Jan. 25 (AP)—The Columbia Broadcasting system said today a performance by Dancer Paul Draper will be removed from the film version of a recent CBS television broadcast. The network said it had received a number of protests against Draper's dancing on Ed Sullivan's "Toast of the Town" program last Sunday night.

Draper was unavailable for comment. He has identified himself as a supporter of several organizations called subversive by the United States attorney general's office.

Sullivan, New York Daily News columnist and master of ceremonies on the program, said today in a letter to the advertising agency that handles the show: "I am sorry if some people were offended by the appearance of a performer whose political beliefs are a matter of public controversy." A CBS spokesman said that about 350 protests came to CBS by telephone along with 60 or so telegrams objecting to Draper's appearance.

WCH

Background?
File
Follow up
For appropriate action
F Y I
Note and return
Noted
Phone FS
Present status?
Reply direct
Return to sender
Suggest reply
To discuss
Urgent
Your comment or recommendation

4432 N. Seeley Ave.,
Chicago, 25, Ill.
Jan. 28, 1950.

President
Columbia Broadcasting Co.,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

I am enclosing a clipping from the Chicago Tribune of January 26th in which a statement is made that your organization will delete a portion of one of your programs in which Paul Draper, the well known dancer, participated.

The explanation offered is that protests were received because of Mr. Draper's identification with and support of groups about whom the Attorney General has arrogated a kind of judicial declaration of loyalty. It would seem that Mr. Draper's dancing would be the only concern of people who are sincerely appreciative of a person's talents and extraneous matters, at least in the field of entertainment would not carry any weight. Or is everything based upon who can advance or with-hold economic support? That definitely is totalitarian in the constricted sense of an oligarchy.

I have enjoyed the ability and frankness of the following competent people on your programs: Larry Lesueur, Howard K. Smith and Edward R. Murrow.

EXECUTIVE FILES

Yours truly,

Claire M. Hillman (Mrs. S.)

Daily Worker
clippings
returned to
Al Berry 7/20/54
by M. Turoff

N. Y. HERALD-TRIBUNE - March, 1954

RADIO AND TELEVISION

By JOHN CROSBY

The Aroma of Decency

Well, it's the only thing any one is interested in, so let's have at it again.

In Edward R. Murrow's second "See It Now" program devoted to Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy, the star witness was Annie Lee Moss, an earnest, humble, scared Negro woman who had been suspended from her job in the Army because she had been accused by McCarthy of being a member of the Communist party. She denied this simply, earnestly, humbly. At the end of her testimony Senator Symington said: "I may be sticking my neck out, but I believe you."

John Crosby

* * *

At the end of Ed Murrow's program I guess every one did. It was impossible not to. A friend of mine named Peter Lind Hayes, who happened to be watching the show with me, made a great remark: "This is the most dangerous woman in America." And, without having any idea that she was so damaging, she was.

Here was a woman who had been deprived of her job on the flimsiest pretext, who earnestly denied that she had ever been a Communist, who had to have the meaning of the word espionage explained to her, who could barely read (though that great phony McCarthy had intimated she was stealing code secrets). I greatly doubt whether Annie Lee Moss knows she has any rights. Yet, they were being so clearly violated in front of our very eyes that she won every heart.

And then there came a point in this broadcast which is one of the greatest experiences television has ever offered. That came when Senator McClellan began to rumble with indignation over the clear transgressions of this woman's rights. For the first time in a long time an American Senator began to act like an American (rather than whatever McCarthy acts like) and get damned angry about individuals who get pushed around.

At the very end, when Senator Symington leaned forward and said to Annie Lee Moss that, if she could not find a job, he would give her one—right there history turned a small but important corner. Here, for a change, was a Senator who wanted to *give* a woman a job, not to take it away. Here, for a change, was a Senator who said: "I trust you," not "I don't trust you." Here, for God's sake, was affirmation on which this country was founded rather than fear, suspicion and hatred. Here was a man who was trying to help a woman, not to hurt her.

* * *

"We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and pursuit of happiness." Joe McCarthy would very probably like to imply (as he clearly implies about the Fifth Amendment) that that was written by Lenin, but it was written by Thomas Jefferson, and it is the second paragraph of the Declaration of Independence. When Thomas Jefferson wrote it, the phrase "pursuit of happiness" meant simply the right to hold a job, the right to earn a living.

The American people fought a revolution to defend, among other things, the right of Annie Lee Moss to earn a living, and Senator McCarthy now decided she had no such right. It's about time McCarthy was labeled for what he is—a subversive who is trying to undermine the very cornerstone of our country.

* * *

When Senator McClellan started to defend Annie Lee Moss' right and when Senator Symington said "I believe you," the sweet clean aroma of decency filled the room—and the aroma of decency has been missing for a long time. The shocking thing about Senator McCarthy and about this horrible mess with the Army is that it is indecent. And Americans are not indecent people. (And when I get called before a Congressional committee for *that* remark, the end is in sight.)

One other thing. Roy Cohn was on "Meet the Press" the other day, and for the second time they let him slip through their fingers. There is only one question to ask Roy Cohn in his dispute with the Army, and that is one of veracity. There is no other issue. Why didn't some one on the panel ask: "Why—since Senator McCarthy has clearly been proved a liar on half a dozen occasions—should any one take his word over any one else's"—including Annie Lee Moss'?

Especially Annie Lee Moss'.

Copyright, 1954, N. Y. Herald Tribune Inc.

John Crosby's column also appears on Sunday in Section 4 of the Herald Tribune.

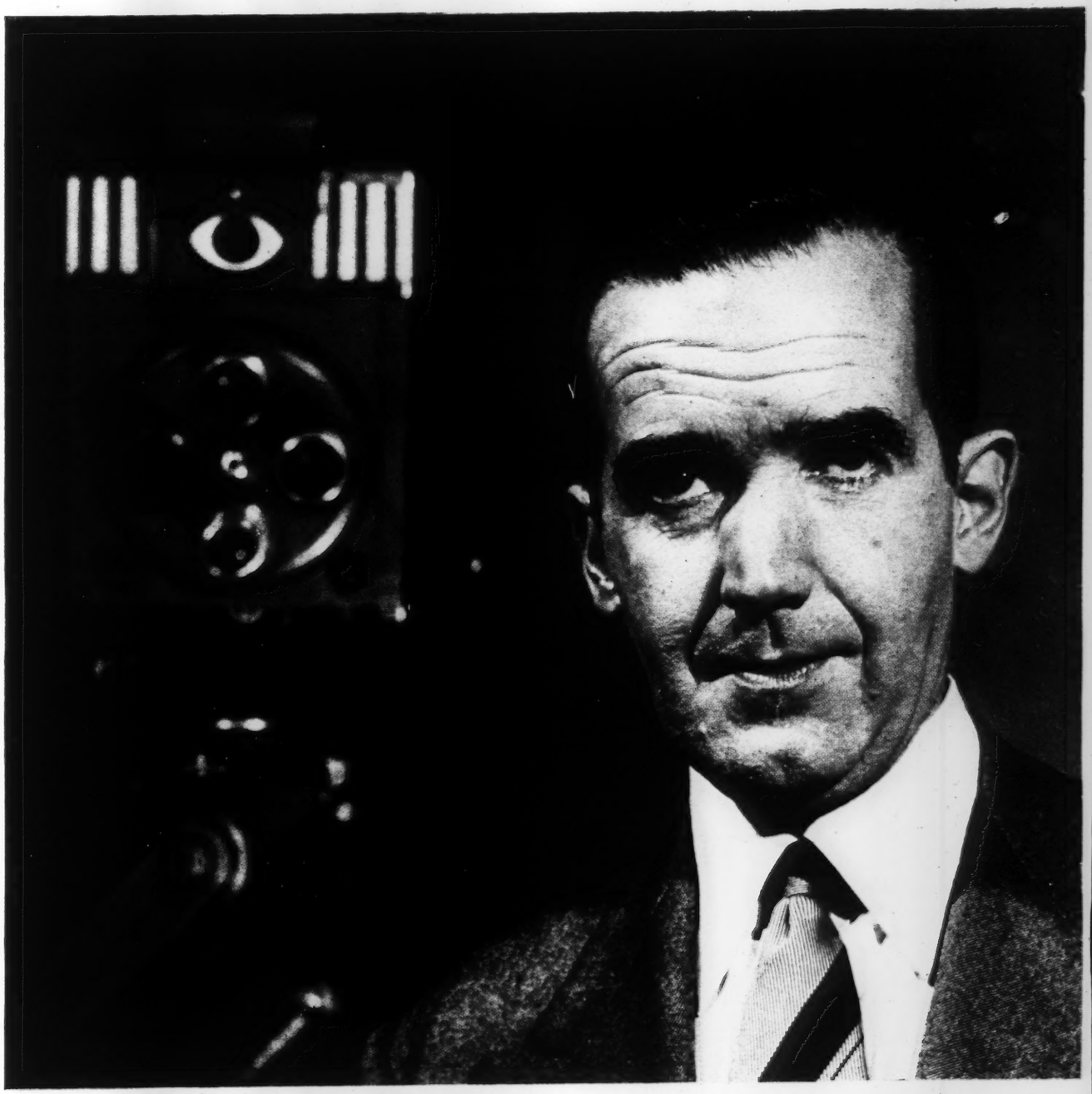
Newsweek

SPECIAL INTERVIEW—

Income-Tax Cheats, BEWARE!

(See National Affairs)

MARCH 9, 1953 20c



Edward R. Murrow: Born to Broadcast

(See Radio-TV)

THE COVER: While Edward R. Murrow was broadcasting on his TV program See It Now, Ed Wergeles, our chief photographer, set up his equipment in an empty studio next door so he would be all ready to take a cover picture of Murrow when he came off the air. He used a stand-in as a temporary subject while he adjusted his lights and camera. Right after the program, Murrow came in to pose.

Wergeles was about to make his first exposure when a lot of people suddenly arrived and several began to wander between the camera and Murrow. Some were in costumes, several were dressed as policemen. Others were stagehands lugging equipment. Booms swung over Wergeles's head, props and scenery bumped into him and dragged across his light wires. People yelled at him to get out of the way. The cast and crew for a rehearsal of The Web had arrived.

The show's directors were adamant. There was no time for picture-taking. They had to rehearse immediately. "It was like Grand Central station during rush hour," said Wergeles. Finally Murrow gave the signal for surrender and said that they'd have to set another time, and find a place where such a mob scene could be avoided.

During the bedlam Wergeles had made two exposures and they both turned out excellent. Our cover picture is one of them. Although caught in The Web, Wergeles, as usual, made the best of a bad situation and got his picture.

Theodore F. Mueller
Publisher

Edward R. Murrow of CBS: 'Diplomat, Poet, Preacher'

Back in 1948, when saloons that needed clientele were the TV-set manufacturers' best customers, television seers had already announced that a newscaster on radio would soon be obsolete. Television could *show* the news. These industrial forecasters turned out to be quite as wrong as the political pollsters of that year.

No other medium can touch TV when it comes to describing arranged sight events (political conventions, ball games, dog shows, *et al.*). But television has not replaced radio in up-to-the-minute, comprehensive news reporting. It is not likely to. A TV commentator can, of course, talk into a camera about the latest news flash. But this is radio news that happens to be on a screen; it is not television news, which by definition requires a picture of the event. Radio can almost always keep higher on top of unpredictable incidents (one definition of one kind of news) than can TV. And, compared to television, which has to pay for mobile units and then stop and add up its time charges and film and cable costs, radio as a news dispenser is quite cheap.

Formula: Du Mont, the smallest American TV network, has never seriously tried to present real news. ABC-TV, always a news-conscious network, attempted to program four and a half hours a week on an $8,000 budget. No go. NBC-TV, with more money and more facilities than any of its rivals, has John Cameron Swayze. As one newspaperman put it: "All NBC needs is Ed Murrow." He was referring, of course, to See It Now, the weekly half-hour TV show on CBS, and, of course, to Edward R. Murrow, the man who narrates it and helps plan it.

Edward Roscoe Murrow (see cover) and his co-producer, Fred Friendly, have devised a formula for TV news that seems to many to be so far unbeatable. After their first show in the fall of '51, Friendly claimed that "we just look good by default." They still do. Long before the première, Murrow had come to the conclusion that "there is one thing TV can do—take people places where they're unlikely to get," and See It Now spends no time on studio conversations. Murrow and Friendly make no attempt to handle anything like all the news of the week, or even all the high lights. They choose, instead, to concentrate on a few subjects in their half hour, and, sometimes, to accent the peripheral rather than the main action. Their Eisenhower Inauguration coverage showed street cleaners going to work after the parade and Republicans hunting their cars after the balls were over. Their cameramen are instructed to stick, as far as possible, to close-ups. And the people in the close-ups are supposed to have something to say. The news ideas for the weekly show come from Murrow and Friendly, their crews, their assistants, and their friends. The show has won a Peabody Award and more intelligent and continuing viewers than anybody could shake a really accurate TV yardstick at.

Staff: Few of See It Now's standards could be upheld without a large, active, and talented staff. Four camera crews, each with a photographer and a sound man, work full time for the show. Two reporters, Joe Wershba and Ed Scott, help hold down the news front. All CBS correspondents everywhere are available, and extra footage from News of the Day comes in every week. These people and their equipment cost money. As Murrow puts it: "In this lousy business it costs 500 bucks to take the cover lens off the camera." The sponsor, the Aluminum Co. of America, which can almost always dig up $500, provides some $20,000 a week for the show. CBS has to make up a difference "too often." When Murrow, six other reporters, and twelve camera crews went to Korea to prepare the unforgettable "This Is Korea—Christmas 1952," Alcoa provided an extra $65,000, and CBS anted up $15,000. The network may not be delighted with the financial aspect of See It Now, but, characteristically, it knows a prestige show when it owns one.

An added attraction is the relationship between Murrow and the sponsor. The board of Alcoa bought See It Now after one lunch with Murrow and without seeing an audition film. President I.W. Wilson went farther: He wanted Murrow to report if he objected to any commercial, and he wanted Murrow to delete commercials if the show warranted the time. "I was still curious," Murrow says, "as to what would happen the first time we threw it out. Nothing happened."

Since then, he has dropped it four times—probably creating no bad will for Alcoa. When See It Now presented a report on iron ore (tantamount to Dorothy Collins singing "Be Happy, Go Lucky" on

Christmas in Korea: Murrow doesn't stay in studios and talk

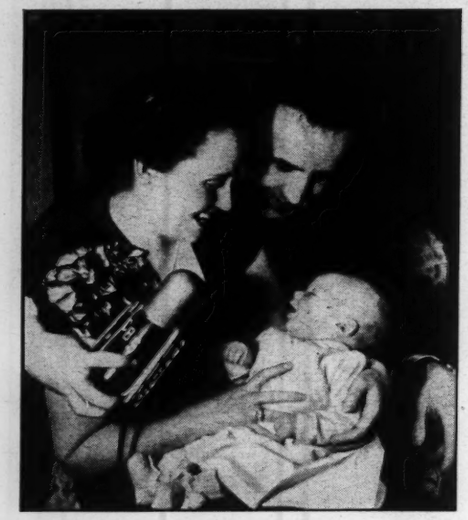
the Camel News Caravan), Murrow never heard a word from Alcoa. On March 8, on their own, Murrow and Friendly are going to produce a commercial for Alcoa free of charge.

Murrow has the same luck with his radio bankroller. The American Oil Co., which sponsors his nightly newscast over most of the country (the Hamm Brewing Co. picks it up in ten Western states), has never objected to Murrow's eliminating Amoco commercials in the interest of the news—something he has done on numerous occasions.

Voice: Murrow, a slim and tall (6 foot 1), dark-haired man with a furrowed brow, is now 44. Christened Egbert Roscoe, near Greensboro, N.C., he moved to Skagit County, Wash., when he was six. His parents still live there, and one of his brothers, Dewey, is a successful contractor in Spokane. His other brother, Lacey, is a brigadier general in the Air Force. Egbert was a chubby, round-faced kid with the biggest voice in Skagit County. He used to tell Dewey that he got the fewest spankings because his neighborhood-wide hollering embarrassed the household. Murrow's latter-day colleague Eric Sevareid called it cold when he said: "Murrow was born to broadcast."

Murrow's first public speech was an unscheduled one at a PTA meeting. Each mother was to make a brief comment on a current problem, and when the chairman called on Mrs. Murrow, little Egbert jumped to his feet to report that he and his brothers had trapped a rabbit the day before and sold it on the way home. The address is said to have made a great success.

The Murrow family was not rich. The senior Murrow, a farmer in Greensboro, became a railroad engineer for a logging



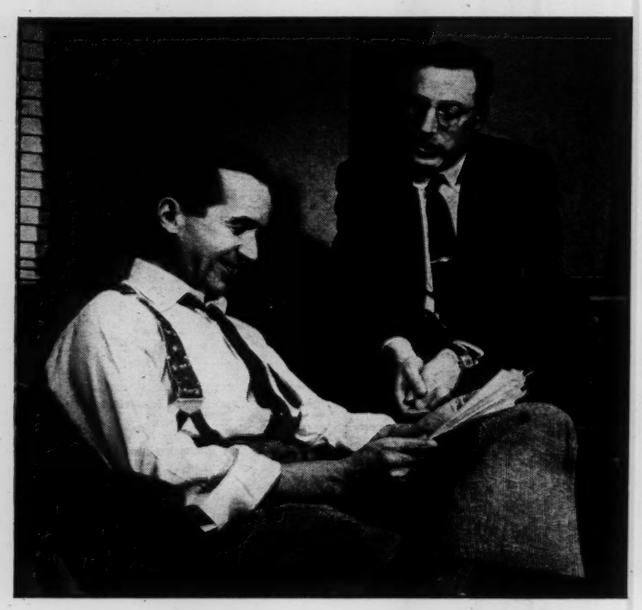
1945: Janet, Ed, and Casey at the mike

company in the state of Washington. Egbert took a year off after high school to earn money to go to college by working in the woods on a survey gang. After his freshman year at Washington State College, he shifted scenery in the school auditorium and served as houseboy at the Kappa Delta sorority house. He was serious-minded, seldom dated, and didn't care for athletics, although he played a little golf. Ed Lehan, now a Spokane attorney, who roomed with Murrow for the four college years, says that "he had a photographic mind. He could sit through classes all week and never take a note, but on Friday nights he could rattle off the professors' lectures almost verbatim."

Egbert changed his name to Edward after his sophomore year, became president of the junior class, and was student-body president as a senior. He was the top cadet in the ROTC, noted for his firm and effective parade-ground voice. He also was the best debater on the campus and the No. 1 man in dramatics. His voice caught the fancy of a little crippled WSC speech teacher named Ida Lou Anderson, who made him her protégé and perhaps did more to perfect his vocal delivery than any other person. When, during the blitz, Murrow was abroad for CBS and broadcast This Is London, Miss Anderson caught every program. Murrow asked her to cable him collect each week with criticisms. She occasionally had some, but always sent them air mail. Miss Anderson, who died during the war, suggested that he put more emphasis on the subsequently sonorous "*This*." Murrow's present "This is the news" is not only his unregistered trademark but practically antiphonal.

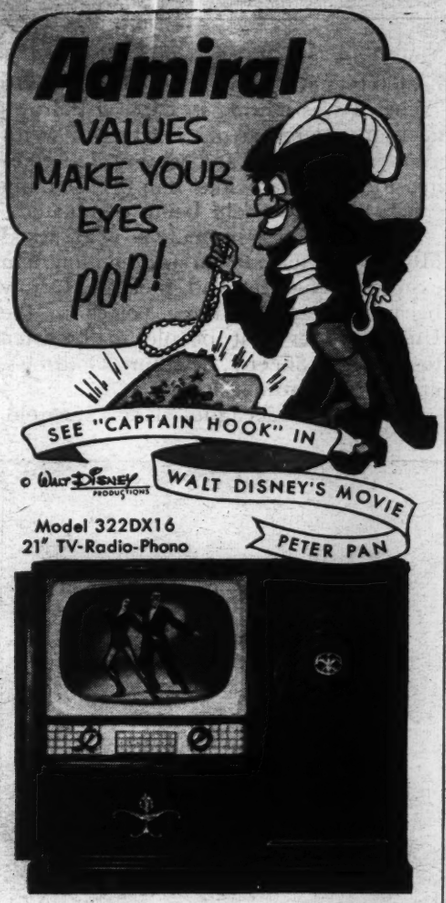
Murrow was 22 when he received his Phi Beta Kappa key and his B.A. in history and speech—his only earned degree (he now has five honorary doctorates). He then became president of the National Student Federation in New York at $25 a week, and made two trips abroad to study. Two years later, he was made assistant director of the Institute of International Education.

Talks: In 1935, Edward Klauber, the executive vice president of CBS and a former New York Times man, hired Murrow as director of talks and education. Klauber, whom Wells Church, now head of CBS radio news, calls "the godfather of the whole damn radio-news business," sent Murrow to London as director of foreign talks. CBS being without any other men abroad, Murrow, with a secretary and an office boy, was the European bureau. He and radio were so unimportant that "I couldn't even go to an American press club meeting, let alone



Newsweek Photos—Ed Wergeles

Collaboration: Murrow and Friendly talk TV while Aaron and Zousmer help out with radio



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Hartford 15, Connecticut

be a member." (He was elected president in 1945.)

At first Murrow merely arranged for important people to speak and set up cultural programs. Then, to combat NBC's more extensive coverage (two men), he hired William L. Shirer. (The CBS staff today is knee-deep in Murrow men; he has since hired Wells Church, Eric Sevareid, Larry LeSueur, Charles Collingwood, Dick Hottelet, Bill Downs, Howard K. Smith, Charlie Shaw, and Cecil Brown.) When Hitler moved into Austria and the authorities refused to let Shirer speak on the air from there, Murrow flew from Berlin to Vienna in a chartered plane, rode a streetcar into town, received permission, and delivered his first news broadcast. Except for one brief period after the war, when he served as vice president in charge of news and public affairs, he has not stopped since. Now a member of the CBS board of directors, Murrow's first love is broadcasting. He has "no mind for budgets, no heart for firing people."

News: Murrow's broadcasts from London during and after the blitz made a great score in the world of the radio-news business. So did his broadcasts, after the United States entered the second world war, from North Africa and Europe. He got to know his top boss, William S. Paley, in wartime London. Paley recalls: "His entrée was just fantastic, and he was full of inside information. Everybody had a genuine respect for him, and they would come clean with him. It seemed he was almost the most important American there."

Since 1945, Murrow, the boy who was born to broadcast, has continued his radio program, except for his short tenure as vice president. He and a staff of five (Jesse Zousmer, his news editor; John Aaron, his researcher; and three girls) turn out a show that is heard by 1,750,000 radio listeners every night. See It Now, according to the Neilsen rating, is seen as well as heard in almost three million homes each week. (When Walter Winchell first went on ABC-TV, his rating was nearly double Murrow's, but he is now below Murrow.)

Features: In addition, Murrow has narrated the three "I Can Hear It Now" albums which Fred Friendly compiled, and introduces This I Believe, the daily five-minute radio program that features prominent people explaining their philosophies. Murrow wrote the introduction to the best-selling book (more than 200,000 copies sold) of the same name that Simon & Schuster published. He conducts the annual CBS year-end show on both radio and television. Last week he was also busy planning a new television program, a live-interview show featuring Murrow talking to newsmaking people throughout America.

Murrow, his handsome wife, Janet,

OMNIBUS

for the unusual in Television!

This Sunday... (Mar. 8)

Pimpinella—Touching tale of a doll in a world of fantasy. German-made film features puppets photographed with "stop-motion" technique.

This Sunday... (Mar. 8)

Lodging for the Night—Robert Louis Stevenson's tale of a bizarre incident in the life of Francois Villon. Starring Yul Brynner.

AMF...

for the unusual in products!

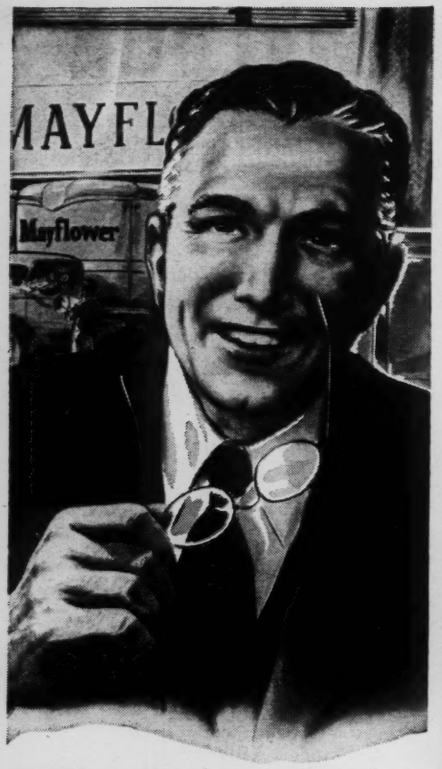
This Sunday... (Mar. 8)

AMF Lowerator® Dispenser—See the ingenious device that *automatically* dispenses china, glasses, trays at a convenient serving level!

AMF

products ARE BETTER...*by design*

AMERICAN MACHINE & FOUNDRY COMPANY
Executive Offices, 511 Fifth Avenue,
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.



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"We're neighbors. We belong to the same service club, the same P.T.A. and the same Chamber of Commerce. Our children go to the same school. We have the same interest in our community.

"My business has been built here among my friends where my chief concern has always been to give the best possible moving and storage service—that's why I'm a Mayflower Warehouseman.

"We offer you the advantage of local interest plus nation-wide facilities and 'know how'."

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ADDRESS _____
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Know your near-by Mayflower Warehouseman—consult your telephone directory

Mayflower Warehouses
Coast to Coast
EXCLUSIVE AGENTS AERO MAYFLOWER TRANSIT CO.

whom he calls Köchin (German for cook), and their 7-year-old son, Charles Casey, live most of the time in a large Park Avenue apartment. Since Casey entered the first grade, he has stopped joining his father on his annual Christmas broadcast. They spend part of each week end at their "log cabin," an eight-room house on a hill near Pawling, N.Y., where Murrow cuts brush, hunts, fishes, and plays golf (sometimes with neighbor Lowell Thomas).

Casey, it is said, was in favor of General Eisenhower in the last Presidential campaign. Who was his father for? Who, indeed, is CBS for politically? Two fifths of his mail accused him of being pro-Ike. Three fifths of his mail called him pro-Stevenson. Murrow's answer to the total criticism of his broadcast content: "Nobody can be wholly impartial, but you must discount prejudice and not reach a conclusion unless you try to trace the facts that led you to it." Murrow is also accused of being gloomy, portentous, and even pompous by some of his most severe viewers and listeners.

Not severe is Fred Friendly, a burly, loose-jointed dynamo of a man who deserves more credit for See It Now than he gets. "I don't kid myself. Even what I do myself, I do in his [Murrow's] name. I can move mountains through him and with him. Whatever Wershba or Scott or I do, we try to live up to Murrow." Friendly, whom Murrow describes as "the only man I know who can take off without warming his motors," was left in New York at Christmastime to cut the 77,000 feet of Korean film down to 6,000. "When I was editing it, I found that my decisions were unconsciously *his*. With all my exuberance and vitality, I'm coming to understate like him. He's a big spirit; you can't help being dominated."

A civil-defense executive who asked Murrow to narrate an information film explained that he had picked Murrow because there are three voices in the United States that people really listen to—Bishop Sheen's, Arthur Godfrey's, and Ed Murrow's.

Murrow's colleague, Eric Sevareid, wrote of him in "Not So Wild a Dream" in 1946: "He is a complex of strong, simple faiths and refined, sophisticated intellectual processes—poet and preacher, sensitive artist and hard-bitten, poker-playing diplomat ... He could absorb and reflect the thought and emotions of day laborers, airplane pilots, or Cabinet ministers ..."

Peace in Pawling: Murrow swings while Lowell Thomas takes time out

Paley, boss of Murrow as well as of CBS, certainly is satisfied: "Murrow measures up as a broadcaster, a writer, and as a thinker—especially as a thinker—as well as any man I know. He hides, on the job, his own personal feeling, and never takes advantage of his privileged position except maybe from time to time and then unconsciously."

And so, curiously, it is said, is Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy satisfied. He is quoted as observing that he wished every radio and TV commentator were as fair as Ed Murrow.

Murrow may have everything.

Clark, R. T.

Columbia Broadcasting System
Warner Building
Washington, D.C.

March 21, 1950

Dear Skipper:

After a week in Washington, I am prepared to refugee back to London. The whole McCarthy business is squalid beyond words. I think you can be pretty sure that foreign policy is going to play a considerable part in next Autumn's election over here. Acheson is in serious trouble, but I feel he will survive. I hope so for he is the ablest man in this administration. The other night I sat with Lippmann, Harsch and several others and raised the question as to who could succeed him and no one could suggest a name that didn't represent a complete disaster.

Please tell Jules his book is in the hands of publishers, and I will let him know the results as soon as may be.

It refreshed me greatly to see you again and I hope we may spend more time together when I return in the Autumn.

As ever yours,

Mr. R. T. Clark
31 Buckland Crescent
London, N.W.3, England

31 Buckland Crescent

N.W. 3

Wash

March 6

My dear Ed.,

I do hope Janet and you have got safely back and are nothing er of you none the worse physically of your stay over here ; trust the last traces of gastric flu have vanished.

It was absolutely great to see you again and to yarn as in the old days and also to see you looking so much fitter than the last time I saw you, while parting loses half its poingnancy by the knowledge that we shall see you again in October.

I don't think anything will happen here before that but I think something must happen before by then. The King's speech is colourless but there is an ominous hint that if measures necessary to maintain full employment are necessary then they will be introduced. This is more than just a sop to a disgruntled left wing ; it is a hint of the issue on which the next appeal to the country will be made in the expectation that it will be then what it was not in February a relative issue. I am told that the hint has not been lost on the Tories and that they may decide to try to force an issue at once They certainly want to try out the strength of the government majority for I hear that the "keep leftists", if they thought the issue a good one, might stay away and let the government be defeated. Unless they do I see no chance of a defeat on a major issue in the near future - except by sheer accident.

Mr. Strachey M.I. 5 and Dr. Fuchs still agitate us but not over much. I think the comments of the columnists in the U.S. have probably saved John ; it would be difficult to sacrifice him now especially when the Tories outside the Standard have made no move. They would I think be silly to make one

I am enclosing Monday's article You will see how much you supplied It is largely in words of one syllable but it is meant as an introduction to two more which will deal with the German problem If you hear privately when Acheson is actually coming I'd be grateful if you would let me know. The story here is that he won't come till after the Atlantic Council, or whatever it is, meets.

I'll send the articles regularly ; some of them will be very feeble.

Meantime all the best to Janet and you and affectionate regards to Casey whom I hope you found well and kicking in all senses That goes for both of us. Lord it was good to see you

As ever

R.T.

WEST POWERS' BID FOR UNITY

France's Mistaken Devotion to Vanished Empire

EUROPE STILL MAIN PROBLEM

FROM OUR DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENT : LONDON, Sunday.

The order of Western diplomatic events is now sorting itself out and the only thing that is uncertain is whether Mr Dean Acheson, U.S. Secretary of State, will come to London for talks before the Atlantic Council meeting or whether the talks will be simultaneous with it or after it.

The need for heart to heart talks has been more and more urged upon all the politicians, for as the menace of Russia grows the unity of the Western Powers does not grow with it. There is an uneasy consciousness that in some still unfathomed way we have, to use a phrase of Neville Chamberlain's most unfortunate in its timing, "missed the bus."

Six months ago, thanks to the successful cold war action fought in Berlin, we had, it appeared, wrested the initiative from the Russians. To-day we have entirely lost it for, without giving real ground on the European front, Russia was able to shift the main action to the Asiatic front, on which we have suffered defeats much more serious than appears simply from a study of the map.

For Russia policy is one and indivisible. For us it is carried out in many and separate compartments. Western diplomacy is subject to the action of "pressure groups"—oil interests, "the old China hands," export interests, tariffs interests, and the like—such as is quite unknown in the Soviet Union.

Russia fights a war while the West plays at peace, and in peace, a peace which is no peace, the unity of policy which war demands has so far proved unattainable. It has not been attained within each country much less within the Westearn alliance.

Pressure of Events

The true end of the coming negotiations is the attainment of unity, however much it may be disguised, and the measure of their success will be the degree of unity attained. The pressure of outside events is now so great that to the man in the street it seems so impossible that that unity should be lacking that the extent of the actual disunity escapes him and the manifestations of it in the press or on the radio perplex him to the extent of imperilling what unity there is.

The General Election brought here from many lands the ablest of foreign correspondents, and it is only fair to say that that perplexity was fully shared by them.

One of the best of U.S. correspondents was "appalled" at the "anti-Americanism" of British politicians irrespective of party. He was generous enough to say that he was not unaware either of the fact that a creditor is never beloved of a debtor or of the fact that a powerful motive behind the U.S. programme of Western rearmament is the fear of sudden and colossal unemployment, but he could not see why even a natural feeling should obscure the realities of the situation and that is that, if the forces of peace engage in a war among themselves the forces of war "scoop the pool."

Another found the indifference of the British public to foreign affairs "staggering" and from that indifference, which he admitted extended into other fields, deduced a decline in patriotic vision that confirmed him in the views of those foreign military experts who said that Britain in a world war could not be defended.

"No More Sacrifices"

Defence can be helped by an ally, but it is based fundamentally on the defensive power of a people, and he opined that, if the electorate represented the people and that if the motto of two-thirds of that electorate was "no more sacrifices," then the defensibility of Britain against a world aggression was as dubious as her value as an ally.

These things were said in argument to provoke argument. They represented apprehensions rather than convictions, but they have their importance for they augur a mutual incomprehension in high places which of itself would make unity difficult of attainment.

The coming talks between Mr Bevin and M. Robert Schuman, the French Foreign Minister, will only be an incident in the pageantry of the visit to Britain this week of the French President. Such demonstrations of Anglo-French unity, whether it be an entente or an alliance that has to be affirmed, are not lightly undertaken. They are meant as a serious affirmation in a serious situation and the student of history will recall that the two most striking manifestations of the kind were in 1914 and 1939 within a few months of a world war on each occasion.

Two Main Questions

The popular bases of unity will be publicly affirmed in the traditional London manner, but the task before the Foreign Ministers will be the consolidation of political unity.

When Mr Acheson comes to London the two main questions which he will bring for answer are on Western policy as regards Asia and Germany. It is these two questions that interest M. Schuman likewise, and his meeting with Mr Bevin affords an opportunity to get Anglo-French policy straight before Mr Acheson arrives.

In Asia a whole chain of unfortunate circumstances has forced France into a policy which is as near one of adventure as she has ever embarked upon. Her Asiatic empire had been for long a source of pride and profit and was yet a source of weakness and expense. Its lack of bases was demonstrated in 1940-41 when neither could France defend it nor it defend itself against the Japanese.

On the defeat of Japan France found herself faced with the old Nationalist movement in far greater dimensions and far better organised. Like the Dutch, but with far less justification, she decided she would meet it only on her own terms with the result that it turned virtually completely into a Communist movement, thanks to its proximity to China and the Russian propaganda base in Bangkok.

The solution has been to found three independent States within a new and badly defined "French Commonwealth." They exist in theory, but in practice what does exist is three puppet Governments kept in power solely by French rifles in an area bounded by rifle range.

France seeks help here in money, in arms, and in diplomatic support, and the only one of the three we can afford is the last, which in the circumstances is of no use at all.

Indefensible

Mr Bevin's views on Asia are as fluctuating as are his views on most subjects, but two facts are plain. South-East Asia is indefensible in the present circumstances when rearamament looks towards other objectives, and help from the other Western Powers is not likely to be forthcoming for an area where it is not only likely to be wasted but where the effects of waste, not to say of defeat, will have highly undesirable consequences in the main theatre.

When one views the nature of the French fears of Germany, the fear not only of the revival of the German Army but of the revival of an economic competitor within measureable distance of being in population twice as strong as France, it is hard to understand the devotion to a vanished empire in the East.

If the French intend to "keep Germany down" with the greatest Continental Power ever perfectly prepared to "raise her up," she cannot afford to spend an ounce of her military strength elsewhere. If she insists on seeking to maintain by arms the new régimes she has created in Asia she can maintain that insistence only by the wholehearted military co-operation of her allies, which can in no circumstances be forthcoming, or by coming to terms with Germany.

Bevin's Doubts

Mr Schuman may know what to do, but if French actions are any clue his solutions are either wrong or too simple. Mr Bevin is certainly doubtful. Mr Acheson has little except doubts. But to know at least where one partner stands forms a basis for discussion, and prevents idle talk on solutions which are bound to be rejected.

We cannot hope for much more, and even the most optimistic of communities will not remove the impression that that is all we shall have got. But that will at least be something, and the next talks can go on to the real problem—the place of Germany in the new Europe and the degree to which her defence on the one hand and her economic expansion on the other can both, without undue risk, be integrated nto the Atlantic Unon.

For the new Europe the only German policy can be—"Be my brother or be destroyed." The anomaly is that Germany is less afraid of either alternative than is the united West.

KINESCOPE EXCERPTS

SEE IT NOW

Vol. 1, No. 5
December 16, 1951

[After review of Caudle investigation testimony.]

MR. MURROW: Outside of the tax investigation, Congressional activity was rather limited in Washington. But it was not so throughout the nation, with at least a third of the Senators beating the bushes back home preparatory to getting out the vote in '52.

In Milwaukee the Junior Senator from Wisconsin opened his campaign at a testimonial dinner where they hailed him as a courageous American who was being smeared.

SPEAKER AT TESTIMONIAL DINNER: You would sometimes think ... the quartet who call themselves "Operation Truth", damning Joe McCarthy and resorting to the vilest smears I have ever heard. Well, this is the end.

VOICE: That is ex-Congressman Frank Keith [?] the toastmaster, who plucked a carnation and dedicated a poem to Senator McCarthy.

MR. KEITH: If I can express what is in my heart right now, it is to do it in the terms of the poet who once

said: "Ah, 'tis but a dainty flower I bring to you, yes, 'tis but a violet glistening with dew; but still in its heart there lie beauties concealed; so in our heart our love for you lies unrevealed."

MR. MURROW: Two senators, Butler of ..... spoke glowingly of McCarthy .... The Senator too talked of the ordeal by smear he had just been subjected to, and then, in a mood seldom seen by the American people, said he was overwhelmed.

SENATOR McCARTHY: You know, I used to pride myself on the idea that I was a bit tough, especially over the past 18 or 19 months when we have been kicked around and bullwhipped and damned. I didn't think that I could be touched very deeply. But tonight, frankly, my cup and my heart are so full, I can't talk to you.

MR. MURROW: We too agree with the Senator in his disdain for politics by smear. We have no way of knowing what the Senator's thoughts were at this emotional moment in his career. But from here we cannot refrain from recalling another McCarthy on other days.

SENATOR McCARTHY: The planks in Mr. Lattimore's platform are identical to the planks in the platform of the

Communist Party. The law firm that was on record as the agent of Communist Poland was the law firm of Dean Gooderham Acheson. The almost criminal folly of the disastrous Marshall mission to China. Who paid for the smear campaign against Nationlist China, a campaign that was so successfully pioneered by the publication of Mr. Jessop's organization?

MR. MURROW: We played recordings of those last three or four sentences from earlier speeches by Senator McCarthy to remind us of a time when he was attacking or smearing--whichever you like--Acheson, Marshall, Lattimore and others. It would appear that the difference between smearing and straightforward attack depends upon whose reputation is being gored. The Senator himself is now under attack.

KINESCOPE EXCERPTS

SEE IT NOW

Vol. 1, No. 18
March 16, 1952

MR. MURROW: These are days when there are a great many investigations going on. This is probably the most investigating Congress that we have ever had. Some people say they are smeared and other people say they too are smeared.

One man who has been prominent in many investigations is Senator Joe McCarthy. He is stting in our studios out in Chicago right now. Are you there, Senator McCarthy?

SENATOR McCARTHY: I am here, Ed.

MR. MURROW: Good afternoon. Let's start with a simple and blunt question. Are you worried about being flung out of the Senate?

SENATOR McCARTHY: You mean am I worred about being flung out by the voters of Wisconsin or by Connecticut's mental midget?

MR. MURROW: Take your choice. Well, let's go on to another question. A lot of people have said that you have smeared them, and you have said that you have been smeared, and this raises the whole question of the rights and privileges of

an ordinary citizen or a Senator before an investigating committee. What do you think ought to be done about that, Senator?

SENATOR McCARTHY: What do I think ought to be done about what, Ed?

MR. MURROW: About the protection of the traditional rights of the individual citizen who may be called before a Congressional committee?

SENATOR McCARTHY: A man who is called before a committee and who tells the truth, has nothing to worry about. It's only the man who has something to cover up, a man who is perjuring himself, he has something to worry about.

MR. MURROW: Then you feel that if you should be called before an investigating committee, you would have nothing to worry about?

SENATOR McCARTHY: I have been called before a committee.

MR. MURROW: And do you expect to be called again?

SENATOR McCARTHY: I don't know.

MR. MURROW: Tell me this, Senator McCarthy: How do you feel on the subject of Congressional immunity?

SENATOR McCARTHY: Congressional immunity, like many

other necessary parts of our Republic, you understand, Ed, can be abused--has been abused many times. You understand that the idea of Congressional immunity originated way back in England, at a time when the representatives of the people couldn't freely speak their mind for fear of being hung by the King. Now as of today we have Congressional immunity, not for the benefit of the Senators, but for the benefit of the public, so they may get the facts. Incidentally, Ed, let me take another thirty seconds.

MR. MURROW: Right.

SENATOR McCARTHY: I have before me a document which I think displays the rather humorous attitudes of some Senators about Congressional immunity. I have the testimony of Bill Benton, Connecticut's mental midget, before the committee. At that time he was speaking under Congressional immunity, objecting because I used Congressional immunity to expose Communists, and when this was handed to the press, we find the following on the front of his testimony: "No part of this must be used by the press until it becomes immune as I testify." So you've had the Senator shouting and screaming to high heaven that McCarthy shouldn't use Congressional immunity to expose Communists, but he's using Congressional

immunity to smear hell out of McCarthy.

MR. MURROW: What do you think is going to happen in the Wisconsin primaries?

SENATOR McCARTHY: I don't know. It's too early to predict. I would say that's the most important primary in the country now. It will either skyrocket a man into the presidency or may eliminate one or two men.

MR. MURROW: Senator McCarthy, thanks very much for coming down and answering a question or two. In the course of the next few weeks we will be putting other questions.

KINESCOPE EXCERPTS

SEE IT NOW

Vol. 1, No. 19
March 23, 1952

MR. MURROW: That was Senator Taft at Warsaw, Wisconsin.

When we began this series of reports, we said that we would try to be the first to correct any errors that might occur. That applies likewise to our guests.

Last week we put a few questions to Senator Joe McCarthy of Wisconsin. We asked him what could be done to protect the essential rights of citizens appearing before Congressional committees, and we asked him what he thought about Congressional immunity. Senator McCarthy said, in part, "I have before me a document which I think displays the rather humorous attitude of some Senators about Congressional immunity. I have the testimony of Bill Benton, Connecticut's mental midget, before the committee. At that time he was speaking under Congressional immunity, objecting because I used Congressional immunity to expose Communists." And then Senator McCarthy quoted: "No part of this must be used by the

press until it becomes immune as I testify."

Now what actually appeared on the front of that 30,000 word document is this: "No portion, synopsis or intimation may be given out, published or broadcast except under the conditions herein set forth." Nothing was said whatever in the cover to that document about immunity. Later Senator Benton offered to waive his senatorial immunity.

Now I am going to put those same two questions to Senator Benton now. How are you, Senator?

SENATOR BENTON: Hellow, Ed Murrow.

MR. MURROW: Senator, we will start with the same question I put to gentle Joe McCarthy. What if anything do you think can be done to protect the essential interests of citizens appearing before Congressional committees?

SENATOR BENTON: Ed Murrow, I congratulate you on asking that question, and I congratulate you on asking it for the second Sunday in a row on this great TV program of yours. I think it is one of the most important questions before the American people, and I shall try to answer it without accusations or personalities. I really don't mind much being called a mental midget. I don't think it's going to hurt me up in Connecticut, with my friends up in Connecticut who know me and

understand me.

Now the importance of this subject is brought out by the New York Times today. Here we have a New York Times front page story saying there are 225 Congressional investigations running simultaneously, and here we've got the lead article in the New York Times magazine section; that cartoon at the top shows a little, frightened, terrified guy being beaten by the Klieg lights, being whipped, let us say, by a psychological rubber hose. Now it's possible in these investigations to play politics, and to play very dirty politics. Some Congressmen--only a few, fortunately--take advantage to do just that. Mr. Newbold Morris this week complained bitterly that he was being treated like a dog, as he put it, by one Senator.

Now I have, as one suggested answer to this problem, drawn up a ten-plank platform which I would like to see incorporated into the oaths of office as we Congressmen and Senators take office. One of my planks is a pledge which reads as follows: "I shall treat witnesses before committees on which I sit with courtesy and fairness, following self-imposed limitations which for centuries have been the hallmark of the judicial process." I joined with Senator Kefauver and

other Senators in introducing a resolution and protecting these witnesses when they are attacked, to let them subpoena witnesses, to let them answer, to give them a lawyer. This is just in line with the great traditions of Anglo-Saxon justice.

MR. MURROW: Now Senator Benton, what about the matter of Congressional immunity, that is, the privilege of a Senator or a Congressman to attack from the floor without being subject to legal liability?

SENATOR BENTON: Well, Ed Murrow, I would like to read a phrase out of the Constitution to you and your audience. The Constitution says this about members of Congress, that for any speech or debate in either House they shall not be questioned in any other place. Now of course there is great wisdom in that, Ed; because, suppose a Senator is after the racketeers, let's say, or suppose he's after monopoly--trying to bust up monopoly--a subject I am greatly interested in: this keeps him from being subjected to a continual stream of libel suits and other things that might hold him back.

I want to call attention again, however, to that phrase, "shall not be questioned in any other place." This certainly means that he is responsible to his colleagues. If no other place, at least the Constitution makes him responsible to

them. Each House shall be the judge of the qualifications of its members. This is why I put in my resolution calling for the expulsion of Senator McCarthy, and I documented my charges with 30,000 words, carefully documented, showing how he was practicing fraud and deceit. The Senate has yet to act on that resolution, and the subcommittee right now is pressing for a vote of the Senate confirming their own honesty and integrity which have been assaulted by Senator McCarthy. If the Senate fails to act, Ed Murrow, I do have confidence that the good citizens of Wisconsin will act themselves at the election next November.

MR. MURROW: Well, that, like everything else, Senator Benton, will depend upon the outcome of the elections.

SENATOR BENTON: Thank you very much, Ed Murrow.

MEMORANDUM FOR DICK SLOANE

E. C. Perkins April 12, 1954

I am attaching seven prints of photographs showing documents, the titles of which are more or less illegible. Also attached is a memorandum in which an attempt is made to decipher this material. I would appreciate it if you would do some sleuthing and see if you can identify those items which appear to be printed pamphlets. The memorandum may be of some assistance in this.

I would like to have the photographs back when they have served your purpose, and would like to have copies of such documents as you are able to identify.

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.

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RICHARD S. SALANT
Vice President

April 9, 1954

Dear Ned:

Here is what they could get out of the stills on the McCarthy program. As soon as the prints are ready, I will send them down to you.

Sincerely,

Dick Salant

Mr. E. C. Perkins
Cravath, Swaine & Moore
15 Broad Street
New York 5, N. Y.

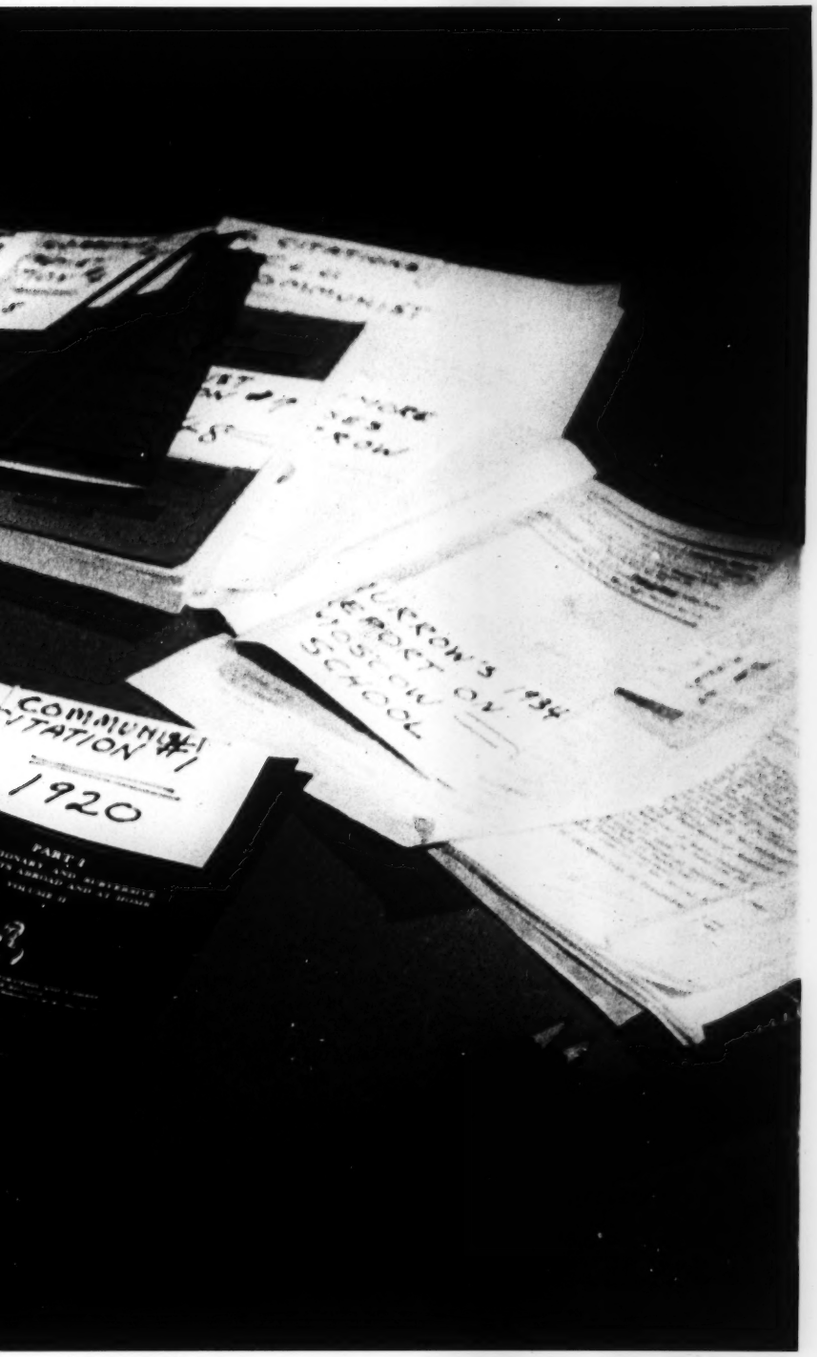
Enclosure

C O M M U N I S T C I T A T I O N #1.

New York State. Legislature. Joint Committee Investigating Seditious Activities.
Revolutionary radicalism,.its history,... purpose and tactics...being the report of the Joint Legislative Committee Investigating Seditious Activities. Albany, J.B. Lyon Co., 1920.
4 Vols.

(Part I, Revolutionary & Subversive Movements Abroad and At Home, Vol. II" [redacted])

CITATION #2
1930
COMMUNIST

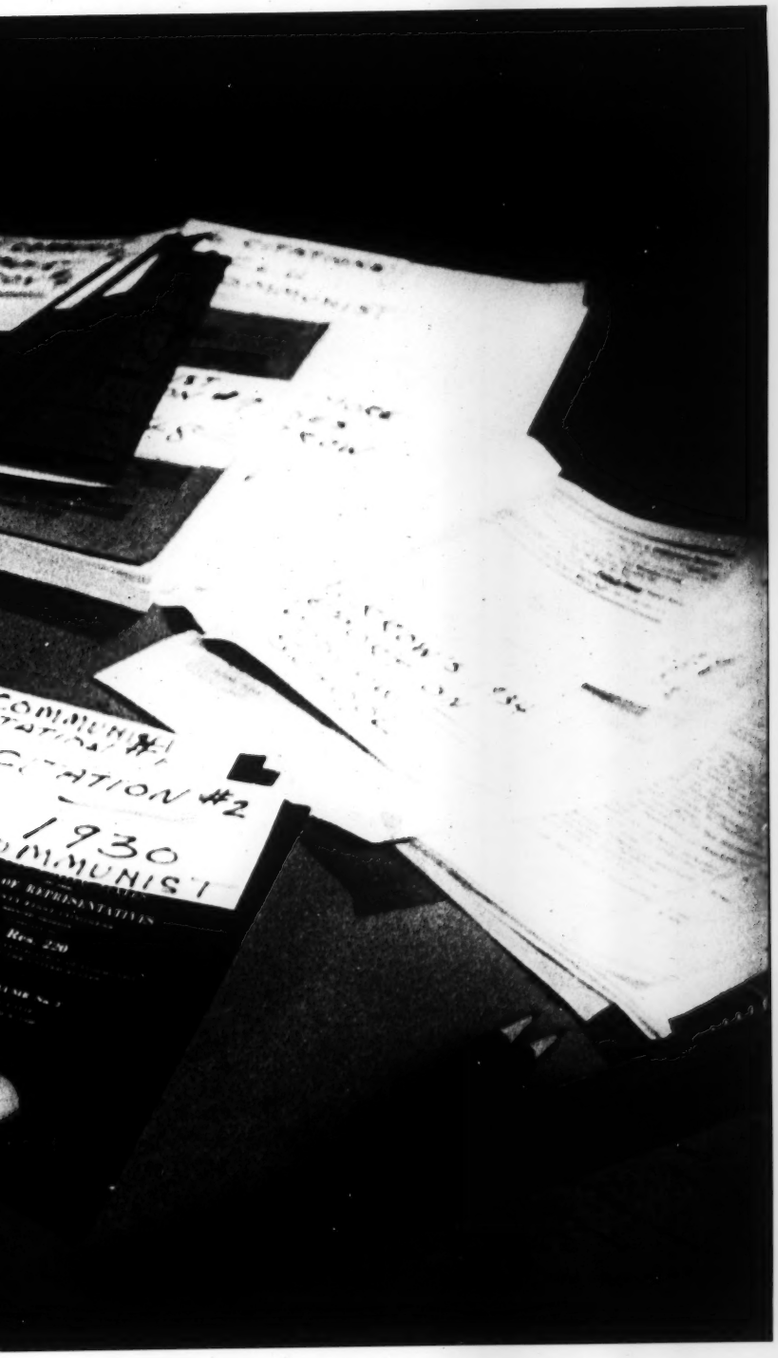

COMMUNIST
CITATION #1
1920
PART I

C O M M U N I S T C I T A T I O N # 2

[These are the Fish Committee Hearings]

U,S, Congress. House. Special Committee to Investigate Communist Activites in the United States. 71st Congress, 2nd Sessions Hearings pursuant to H. Res 220.

Part 5 - Volume No. 3
Los Angeles, Calif.
October 8 and 9, 1930.


COMMUNIST
ATION #2
1930
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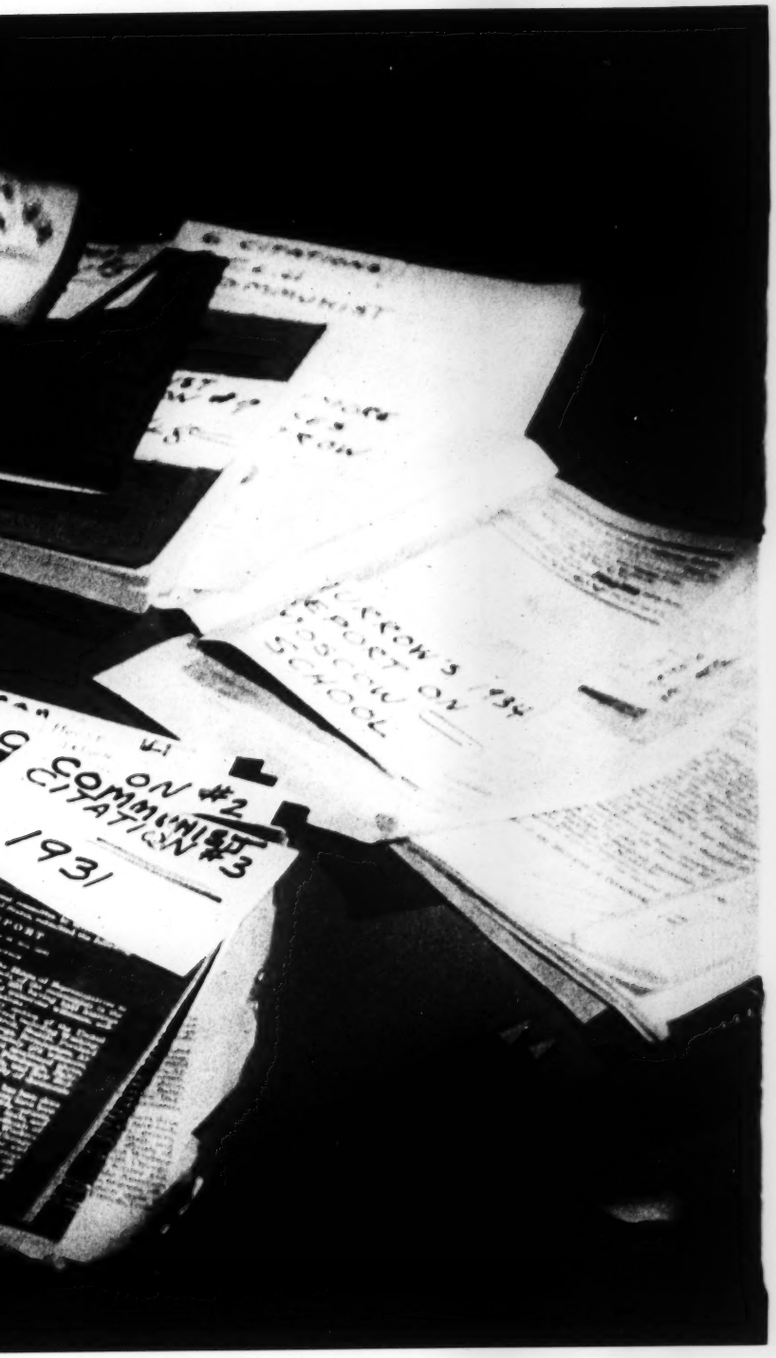
C O M M U N I S T C I T A T I O N # 3

[Fish Committee Report]

H. Report 2290, 71st Congress, 3rd Session.

Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Communist ~~Pro~~ Activities in the United States, pursuant to H. Res. 220. (Mr. Fish from the Special Committee.... January 17,1931)


COMMUNIST
CITATION #3
1931

C O M M U N I S T C I T A T I O N~~S~~ #4.

House 2100

Report of the

Special Commission to Investigate the Activities Within this Commonwealth of Communist, Fascist, Nazi and Other Subversive Organizations So Called.

Under Chapter 32, Resolves of 1937

Revised Edition

Printed Under Chapter 87 of the Resolves of 1938

Boston

Wright & Potter Printing Co.
Legislative Printers
32 Derne Street
1938

[Pamphlet #3, Volume 1250
in the Library of the
Ass'n of the Bar
of the City of N.Y.,
42 West 44 St.,NY

N.Y. Times front page story on this now being photostated (June 2, 1938, p. 1, Col. 6)

#2
#4
1938

C O M M U N I S T C I T A T I O N #5

U. S. Congress. House. Special Committee ~~investigating~~ on Un-American Activities.
Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activites in the United States.

Hearings Before a Special Committee on Un-American Activities. House of Representatives, 75th Congress, 3rd Session on House Resolution 282.

(9 lines omitted)

August12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22 and 23, 1938

at Washington, D.C.
U. S., Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1938.

COMMUNIST
#2
COMMUNIST #4
COMMUNIST #5
CITATION
935
SCHOOL

C O M M U N I S T C I T A T I O N # 6

[Dies Committee Report]

House Report 2, 76th Congress, 1st Session.
Report of the House Special Committee on
Un-American Activites, entitled,

"Investigation of Un-American Activities
and Propaganda...pursuant to H. Res. 282.
(75th Congress)

Jan 3, 1939

REPORT

C O M M U N I S T C I T A T I O N # 7

F O U R T H R E P O R T
U N - A M E R I C A N A C T I V I T I E S
IN CALIFORNIA
1948

COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

Seal of the
State
Pictured here

Report of the Joint Factfinding Committee
to the 1948 Regular Californkia Legislature
Sacramento, 1948

Cat. No.
1200
L5243U
at the Library of the
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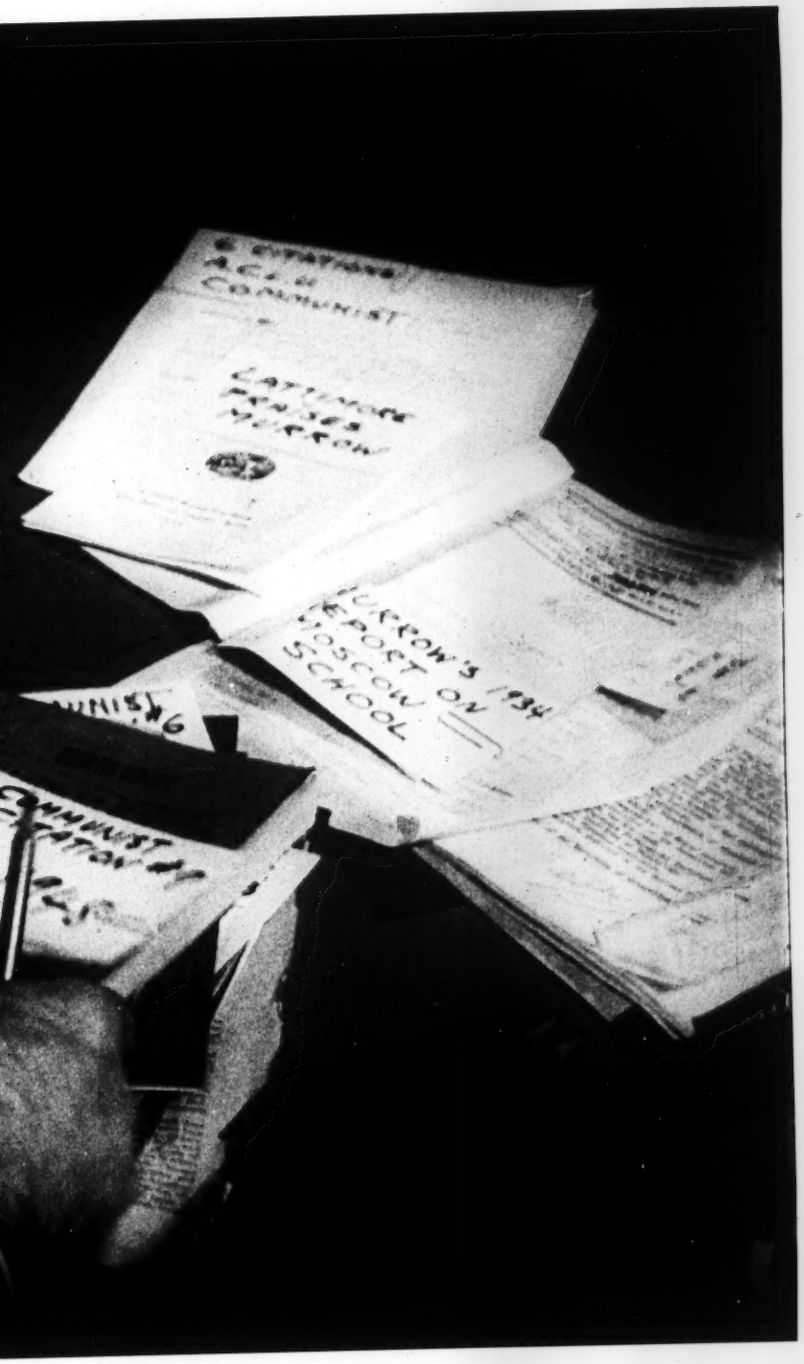
the City of N.Y.
42 W. 44 St.


LATTIMORE PRAISES NIXON
BURROW'S 1954 REPORT ON MOSCOW SCHOOL

SHUTE

aff rot 24:52

Good evening. Mr. Edward R. Murrow, Educational Director of the Columbia Broadcasting System devoted his program to an attack on the United States Senate Investigating Committee and on me personally as its chairman. Over the past 4 years he has made repeated attacks on me and those fighting Communists. And of course neither Joe McCarthy nor Edward R. Murrow is of any great importance as individuals. We are only important in our relation to the great struggle to preserve our American liberties. The Senate Invetigating Committee has forced out of government and out of important defence plants Communists engaged in the Soviet conspiracy. And you know its interesting to note that the viciousness of Murrow's attacks is in direct ratio to our success in digging out Communists. Now ordinarily, ordinarily, I would not take time out from the important work at hand to answer Murrow; however in this case I feel justified in doing so because Murrow is a symbol, the leader and the cleverest of the jackal pack which is always found at the throat of anyone who dares to expose individual communists and traitors. And I am compelled by the fact to say to you that Mr. Edward R. Murrow as far back as 20 years ago was engaged in propaganda for Communist causes, for example, the Institute of International Education of which he was the acting Director was chosen to act as a representative by Soviet Agency to do a job which would normally be done by the Russian secret police. Mr. Murrow sponsored a Communist school in Moscow. In the selection of American students and teachers were to attend Mr. Murrow's organization, acting for the Russian espionage and propaganda organization, known as VOKS V-O-K-S. Many of those selected were later exposed as Communists. Murrow's organizations selected such notorious communists as Isadore Bogun John Bovington who was fired by the US government after his Communist activities were concerned, others such as Bakley Johnson Isidore Bigun (sp?) David Sabadowsky (sp?) Sab .... was forced out of the United Nations when my Chief Counsel presented his case to the Grand Jury and gave a picture of his Communist activities. Now Mr. Murrow by his own admission was a

of the IWW, that's the Industrial Workers of the World, a terrorist organisatiion cited as subversive by an Attorney General of the United States who stated that it was an organization which seeks, and I quote, "to alter the government of the United States by unconstitutional means." Now other government committees have had before them actors, screen writers, motion picture producers and others who have admitted communist affiliations, but pleaded youth or ignorance. Now Mr. Murrow can hardly make the same plea. On March 9th of this year, Mr. Murrow, Mr. Murrow, a trained reporter who had travelled all over the world, who was the Educational Director of CBS, FOLLOwed implicitly the Communist line as laid down in the last six months, laid down not only by the Communist Daily Worker, but by the Communist magazine Political Affairs and by the National Conference of the Communist Party of the United States of America. Now the question Why is important to you the people of America to know where the Educational Director and the Vice President of CBS so closely follows the Communist Party line ... to answer that question we must turn back the pages of history. A little over a hundred years ago, a little group of men in Europe conspired to deliver the world to a new system .. the Communists. Under their system the individual is nothing, the family was nothing, God did not even exist ..1 their theory was that an all powerful state should have the power of life or death over its citizens without even a trial. That everything and everybody belonged to the rulers of the state. They openly wrote ... nothing secret about it ... that in their efforts to gain power they would be justified in doing anything ... justified in following the trail of deciet, lies, terror, murder, treason, blackmail ... all these things were elevated to virtues in the communist rulebook. If a convert to Communism could be persuaded that he was a citizen of the world, it of course would be much easier to make him a traitor to his own country. Now for 70 years, the Communist

made ~~it a practice~~ progress. Let me show you a map of the world as it stood in the middle of the first world war, 1917, before the Russian revolution. You will see that there is not a single foot of ground on the face of the globe under the domination or control of Communists, and bear in mind that this was only thrity six years ago. In 1917 we were engaged in a great world war in defense of our way of life and in defense of American liberties. The Kaiser was obliged to divide his armies and fight on both eastern and western fronts. In the midst of the war, the Russian people overthrew their Czarist masters and they set up a democratic form of government under the leadership of Alexander Kerensky. Now Kerensky's government instantly pledged all our support to the Allies. Now at this instant, the Imperial German government secretly financed the return to Russia of seven communists exiles led by Nicolia Lenin ... exiles who had been forced to flee the country. A rather important event in the history of the world. Now once in Russia, by the same methods which the Communists are employing in the United States today, they undermined the Army, they undermined the Navy and the civilian heads of the Government. And in 100 days, those 7 communists were literally the masters of Russia. Now with all the wealth of the nations at their command, they prodeeded to finance Communist parties in every country of the world. They sent to those countries trained propagandists and spies. In every country, they, of course had to find glib, clever men like Edward R. Murrow who would sponsor invitations to students and teachers to attend indoctrinations schools in Moscow. Exactly as Murrow has done. They trained communists in every country in the wordl ... their sole purpose was to infiltrate the government, and once communists were in government, they in turn brought others in. Now lets us look at the map of the world as it was 20 years ago. At that time there was one country with 180 million peopel in communist chains. Now let us look at a map of the world as of tonight, this sixth day of April 1954. Over one third of the earth's area is under communist control and 800 million people in communists chains. In addition to the 800 million in communist chains in

Europe and Asia, finally the communists have gained a foothold and ~~the~~ a potential military base herein our half of the world, in Guatamala, with the communists seeping down into the Honduras.

Reel two:

My good friends how much of this was achieved by military force and how much was achieved by traitors and by communist ~~lying~~ lie and propagandists in our own government and in other free governments. Let's start in Europe if we may, they took ~~the~~ by military force ~~and~~ little piece of Finaland, in the same way they took 3 small baltic states, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. They took half of Poland the same way. They acquired the restof Poland through Polish traitors and Communists in our own government who gave American dollars and American support to the Communists in Poland. They took over Romania, Bulgaria ~~&~~ and Hungary without firing a single shot. They did this by the infiltration of Communists in ~~the~~ a key spots of the government. The communists took over Czechoslovakia without firing a shot. This they did by the infiltration of Communists into the ~~XX~~ CZE...government also. And listen to what a high official in the anti communist government of Cze... had to say about the communist enslavement ~~in~~ of SZE ... here's what he said. He said, "In my country, the pattern was identical to what it is in the United States. If anyone before the communists took over dared to attack those ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ communists who were preparing and shaping the policy of my government ... shaping the policy to betray my people, he was promptly attacked and destroyed by a combination of Communists, and fellow travelers and those unthinking people who thought they were serving the cause of liberalism and progressx but who were actually serving the cause of the most reactionary credo of all times ... communism". Still quoting: "Because of those people night has fallen upon my nation and slavery upon my people." Now ~~xxxxxx~~ shifting to another area of the world .. the East. How about this vast land area ...

and the teeming masses of China. Let's just take a look at that map, if your please, keep in mind that a few short years ago China was a free nation, ~~the~~ friendly to the United states. Now were they ... let's take a look at that map . were those 400 million Chinese captured by force of arms. Certainly not, they were delivered ~~kyx~~ delivered to communist slave masters by the jackal pack of communist lying propagandists including the friends of Mr. Edward R. Murow, who day after day shouted to the world that the Chinese communists were agrarian reformers and that our ally, the republic of China represented ~~ik~~ everything that was evil.and wicked.

Now my good friends, if there were no communists in our government, would we have consented to, and connived to turn over all of our chinese friends to the russians? And my good friends, if there hadbeen no communists in our governments would we have rewarded them with all of Manchuria, half of the Kurile islands and one half of Korea? Now how many Americans, how many Americans have died and will die because of this sell out to communist russia? God only knows. If there were no communists in our government why did we delay for 18 months, delay our research on the hydrogen bomb even though our intelligence agencies were reporting day after day that the russians were feverishly pushing their development of the H bomb. And may I say to American tonight, that our nation ~~may~~ may well die, our nation may well die because of that 18 month deliberate delay. And I ask you, who caused it. Was it loyal Americans or was it traitors in our government? It is often said by the left wing that it is sufficient to ~~gk~~ fight Communism in Europe and Asia, but that communism is not a domestic ~~xxxx~~ american issue. But the record, my good friends is, that the damage has been done by cleverly calculated subversion at home and not from abroad. It is this problem of subversion that our committee faces. ~~MUMBLE~~ Now ... let us very quickly glance at some of the work of our committee .. some of the work thats done in slightly ~~xx~~ over a years time, for example 238 witnesses were examined in public session. 367 witnesses examined in executive session. 84 witnesses refused to testify as to communist activity on the ground that if they told the truth they might go to jail. 24 witnesses with communist background have been discharged from jobs

in which they were handling secret, top secret and confidential material. Individuals who were exposed before our committee ... of course you can't measure the success of the committee by box score based on the number of communist heads that have rolled from secret jobs. It is completely impossible to even estimate the effect in our government of the day to day pledding exposure of communists. And that is, of course, why the Murrows bleed. For example, the exposure of only one fifth amendment communist in the government printing office, an office having access to secret materail from almost every government agency, resulted in an undisclosed number of suspensions ... it resulted in the removal of the loyalty board and the revamping of all the loyalty rules so that we do have apparently a good tight loyalty setup in the Printing Office at this time. Also a disclosure of communists in the military ... and the radar laboratories resulted in the abolition of the Pentagon Board which had cleared and ordered reinstated Communists who had for years been handling government secfets. Also as a result of those hearings Army orders have been issued to prevent a recurrence of the Major Peress scandal, which was exposed by the Committee. Now to attempt to evaluate the effect of the work of an investigating commitee would be about as impossible as to attempt to evaluate the affect of well trained watchdogs upon the activities of potential burglars. We Americans live in a free world .. a world where we can stand as individuals ... where we can go to the church of our own choice and worship God as we please, each in his own fashion ... where we can freely speak our opinions on a subject or any man. Now whether ... whether we shall continue to so live has come to issue now ... we will soon know whether we are going to go on living that kind of life or whether we are going to live the kind of life that 800 millions slaves live under communist domination. The issue is simple. It is the issue of life or death for our civilisation. Now Mr. Murrow said on this program, and I quote: He said "the actions of the Junior Senator from Wisconsin have given considerable comfort to

the enemy. " That is the language of our statute of treason ... rather strong language. If I am giving comfort to our enemies, I ought not to be in the Senate. If on the other hand, Mr. Murrow is giving comfort to our enemies, he ought not to be brought into the homes of millions of Americans by the Columbia Broadcasting System. This is a question which can be resolved with very little difficulty.

REEL 3

What does the Communists think of me and what does the Communists think Of Murrow.

April 6, 1954

R-3

SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY:

What do the Communists think of me and what do the Communists think of Mr. Murrow. One of us is on the side of the Communists. The other is against the Communists. Against Communists slightly. Now, the Communists have 3 official publications in America. These are not ordinary publications. They have been officially determined to be the transmission belts through which Communists in America are instructed as to the Party line, or the position which Communist writers and playwrights must take. Also, of course, telecasters broadcast. The first of these is a booklet which I would like to show you, if I may. It's entitled "The Main Report Delivered At The National Conference of the Communist Party of the U.S.A." published in New York in October, 1953. The report states quote the struggle against McCarthyism is developing currently along the following main lines. Keep in mind this is the Communist publication giving instructions to the members of the Party on the following main lines - struggle against witch-hunting; struggle against investigations of the McCarthy-McCarran type, and defense of the victims of McCarthyism such as Owen Lattimore, etcetera. In addition, there is the direct attack on McCarthy. May I ask you, does that sound somewhat like the program of Edward R. Murrow on March nine over this same station? Now, in this report, the Communists do not hesitate to

SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY:

instruct to instruct the comrades that their fight on McCarthy is only a means to a (larger) end. Again, let me quote from the instructions from the Communist Party to its membership from page 33. I quote: Our main task to mobolize the masses for the defeat of the foreign and domestic policies of the Eisenhower administration and for the defeat of the Eisenhower regime itself. The struggle against McCarthyism contributes to this general objective. There is one more quotation, if I may, from page 31 of these instructions from the Communist Party to its members. I quote: Since the elections McCarthyism has emerged as a menace of major proportions. I think maybe we know what the Communist Party means by a menace of major proportions. They mean a menace of major proportions to the Communist Party. Now, let's take 30 seconds or so if we may look a little further - see who is giving comfort to our enemies. Here is a Communist Daily Worker of March nine containing 7 articles and a principal editorial all attacking McCarthy and the same issue lists Mr. Murrow's program as -- listen to this - one of tonight's best bets on T.V. And then there is one more. Here is issue of March 17. This principal front page article's on attack on McCarthy... He does 3 other articles attacking McCarthy - there's a special article by William Z. Foster, the head of the Communist Party in America and now under indictment on charges of attempting to overthrow this government by force and violence. This article by Foster praising Edward R. Murrow. Just one more, if I may impose on your time. Issue of March 26. This issue has two articles attacking witch-hunting -- 3 articles attacking McCarthy. A cartoon of McCarthy and an article in praise of Mr. Edward R. Murrow. And now I would like to also show you THE Communist political

SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY:

organ entitled "Political Affairs " the lead article is report dated October 21, 1953 the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States attacking McCarthy and telling how the loyal members of the Communist Party can serve their cause by getting rid of this awful McCarthy. Now, as you know, Owen Lattimore has been named as a conscious, articulate instrument of the Communist conspiracy. He has been so named by the Senate Internal Security Committee. He is now under criminal indictment for perjury with respect to testimony in regard to his Communist activities. In his book Ordeal By Slander he says - I think I can quote him verbatim. He says "I owe a very special debt to men I have never met. I must mention at least Edward R. Murrow." Then there is the book by Harold Lasky, admittedly the greatest Communist propagandist of our time, in England. In his book "Reflections On The Revolution Of Our Times" he dedicates the book "To my friends, E.R. Murrow and Lanham Tichner with affection." I am perfectly willing that the American people decide who is giving comfort to our enemies. Much of the documentation that we have here on the table tonight will not be available to the American people by way of television. However, this will all be made available to you within the next two weeks.

In conclusion, may I say that under the shadow of the most horrible and destructive weapons that man has ever devised, we fight to save our country, our homes, our churches, and our children. To this cause, ladies and gentlemen, I am dedicated and will continue to dedicate all that I have and all that I am. And I want to assure you that I will not be deterred by the attacks of the Murrows, the Lattimores;

SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY:

the Fosters, the Daily Worker, or the Communist Party itself. Now, I make no claim to leadership. In complete humility I do ask you and every American who loves this country to join with me.

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SAYS REDS LED C. I. O. IN ITS UNION DRIVES

Massachusetts Report Charges Communists Aim to Dominate in War Time

By The Associated Press.

BOSTON, June 1.—Charging that the Communist party aimed to control transport and labor "so that it could paralyze the country in event of war," a special commission reported to the Legislature today that the organization's prime objective was to rouse to a militant or revolutionary mood organized labor and the unemployed.

"Every indication of present evidence points to the fact that the National Maritime Union along the Atlantic Coas, and in the ports of Massachusetts is controlled by the Communists," the commission charged as it made public a full report on its eight months' study of "subversive" activities in Massachusetts.

Asserting that it was one of the objectives of the Communist party to control all water fronts, the commission said:

"Such control of transport, coupled with control of industrial labor, would enable the Communist party to paralyze the country should we be engaged in war with any other nation.

"The Communist party could that much more easily carry out its avowed purpose to turn any war into a civil war."

The commission also reported that Massachusetts Communists had been sent to a school outside the State, where the curriculum included such instruction as "the effect of dropping phonograph needles in dynamos" and "the best way to burn out boiler tubes and how to disable the steering gear."

Charges Reds Rule C. I. O. Groups

The commission said that "in large industries organized by the Committee for Industrial Organization, Communist functionaries occupy leading and strategic positions through which they dominate and control the groups of which they are a part."

Denying that C. I. O. unions were led by Communists, the New England office of the Committee for Industrial Organization, in a statement late today, said:

"C. I. O. officials are amazed at the commission's findings as they affect this organization, inasmuch as no C. I. O. official ever was called before the commission, although our leaders stood ready to testify at any time."

"The C. I. O. unions in Massachusetts, which are under Communist leadership, have large memberships," the report set forth. "If they follow the program planned for them by the Communist party, then that party in the past two years has added approximately 100,000 persons to the forces under its leadership.

"There has been evidence," the commission said, "that the leadership of the American Federation

Continued on Page Six

SAYS REDS LED C.I.O. IN ITS UNION DRIVES

Continued From Page One

of Labor has directed its efforts to keeping Communists from membership in its unions, and with few exceptions has succeeded.

"It appears from evidence before the commission that this has not been the policy of the Committee for Industrial Organization, but that the Communist membership has been welcomed in the C. I. O. and training and experience of Communist trade unionists and organizers have been utilized in the huge campaigns of industrial unionization.

Blame Put on Leaders

"In saying this, the commission refers to the leadership of the C. I. O., and in no way applies it to the masses of loyal citizens making up the membership of the organization. The latter do not realize to what extent Communist functionaries have foisted themselves into places of agitation and leadership among union labor."

The commission was headed by Senator Sybil H. Holmes of Brookline, Massachusetts's only woman Senator.

In summarizing its findings the commission offered a program of education and legislation to counteract the effect of alleged subversive activities. The program included laws which would punish distribution of defamatory propaganda and would force organizations of foreign-born citizens to make public their records.

The commission charged that the Communists had sought, "ever since the Civilian Conservation Corps was started, to create dissatisfaction and unrest and class consciousness among the young men in camps."

Reporting that limited resources prevented it from inquiring into communistic activities among WPA workers, the commission said, however, its "belief is that active recruiting has been going on and various Communists or their organizers have obtained strategic posts in WPA units."

Drive on Students Charged

Discussing the American Student Union, the commission reported that for years past the Communist party had sought to win masses of student youths to the party's objective and to organize them into a revolutionary organization. Groups named as such targets were Young Men's Christian Association, Young Women's Christian Association, organizations of Hebrew youths and of boys' and girls' clubs, American League for Peace and Democracy, American Student Union and the American Youth Congress.

Most "vicious" of "subversive" radical groups in Massachusetts, the commission said, was the International Defense Association, Inc.

The commission said that it wished to obtain more than "hearsay" evidence that fascist schools were operated in Lawrence, Watertown and other communities.

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The BULLETIN

The League of Free Nations Association

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The League of Nations as a Liberal Instrument

RAYMOND B. FOSDICK

Former Under Secretary General of the League of Nations

THE League of Nations is no longer an academic proposition. It is a going concern. It is fast gathering momentum and its influence is spreading. All the countries that were neutral during the war have joined, including Spain, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Switzerland. Every country in South America, except Ecuador, is now a member of the League. Even the two countries which have been more or less under our particular care—Liberia and Panama—have not waited for the United States, but have joined with the others. Outside of Russia and the Central Empires of Europe, Portugal and Rumania are the only important countries that have not yet come in, and their accession is now merely a matter of weeks. China's accession is included in the Austrian Treaty which will shortly be signed. At the first meeting of the Assembly, which is to be held next November, it is probable that Germany and Austria will be admitted, and it is hoped that with a stable government in Russia that country soon will be invited to accede.

One who examines the minutes of the meetings of the League Council and the details of the work of the Secretariat is struck by the fact that political questions such as constituted the bulk of the work of the Paris conference are here subordinated to larger considerations of human welfare. It is not boundaries or indemnities, but food and coal and health which concern the League authorities. Theirs is the task not of determining the privileges and rights of victorious Allies, but of discovering and applying the remedial measures necessary to keep a shattered world alive. Where the Paris conference sat down with a map and a ruler to make a new Heaven and a new earth, the League officials are taking first steps to protect vast populations from starvation and disease and to re-establish the economic life of the world. Only one who has been recently in Europe can realize the extent of its social and industrial collapse. Mr. Davison's recent statement is sober truth without color or exaggeration. The world is face to face with a catastrophe of appalling proportions interpretable in loss of life on a scale hitherto undreamed of. Over wide areas in Eastern Europe, civilization as we defined it prior to 1914, has completely collapsed and people are thrust back into an agricultural state of existence in which the man on the farm is the only one who has a chance of survival. For the vast city populations which have been built up on industry and the intricate processes of trade there is little hope. The breakdown in the currency system, with the resulting collapse of the exchange, makes it practically impossible for countries like Czecho-Slovakia, Poland and Serbia to purchase raw materials, such as cotton, jute, tin, leather, rubber, etc. Consequently there is nothing to start the factories so that they can begin to turn out their finished products. It is not that Eastern Europe does not want to work—most of the people through this vast territory are industrious and used to hard work; but with all the factories shut down and all the industries closed, there is literally nothing for them to do. So that there follow unemployment and starvation on an unprecedented scale. Disease breeds on malnutrition, and typhus and other epidemics are sweeping in wherever the wheels of industry are stopped.

It is this situation which the League of Nations is grappling with. Indeed, it is this kind of work—in the interests of the human family—that the League was created to perform. How is it going about this task? Let us briefly consider the answers seriatim:

1. It is organizing an International Health Office as a sub-division of the League of Nations. Already the machinery is practically completed, and the first test of its efficiency will be its handling of the devastating spread of typhus in Poland.

2. It has attempted, although thus far without success, to send a committee of inquiry to Russia, with the idea of opening up that country and re-establishing it in the processes of international trade and commerce. The blockade of Russia and the policy of the *cordon sanitaire* have proved far more disastrous to the rest of Europe than to Russia herself, and a means must be found of making available whatever exportable surplus of food or raw materials the latter may possess. Up to this time the policy of the Allies in handling the Russian problem has been shaped largely by fear of Bolshevism. There has been but little attempt to learn the real facts of the situation, and it is this defect that the League of Nations has proposed to correct. Whether Russia will admit within her borders the commission which the League desires to send, is at the present writing impossible to tell.

3. The Financial Conference called by the League for Brussels early in June marks the first rational step in an endeavor to solve the industrial chaos of Europe. It is the intention of this Conference to bring home to the people of the world the fact that there is no hope for the future until nations bring their current expenditures within the compass of their receipts and get over the idea that the printing press as a means of creating wealth can take the place of taxation. The second purpose which the Conference hopes to ac-

(Continued on page 7)

The Awakening of China

[Extracts from the Stenographic Report of Speeches Delivered at a Luncheon Discussion under the Auspices of the L. F. N. A., March 13, 1920]

I. Hon. Paul S. Reinsch

Ambassador to China from 1914 to September, 1919

THE movement of national reconstruction in China means, on the economic side, development of home industries. Naturally if you do not purchase for a time from your nearest furnisher of cottons and iron manufactures, etc., you must provide some means of filling that gap. The development of the Chinese home industries at the present time is perfectly natural, but it has gathered force and energy and enthusiasm from this particular impetus. There have been created in the last year so many cotton mills in China that one American firm alone sold $25,000,000 worth of cotton machinery.

There are two things about which I believe public opinion in China, as far as it is now actively organized, is absolutely unanimous. One is the thorough and absolute resistance to all further inroads on the part of foreign, political privilege, or economic privileges combined with political advantages and influence. And the second is representative institutions and a constructive and developmental government.

It is often stated that the Chinese are not fitted for democracy by their experience and general social customs; that democracy can only be very superficial. That is not true. China is essentially one of the most democratic nations in the world. Its democracy rests upon a widely diffused sense of equity which lives among the people, and which is the greatest treasure of Chinese civilization, so that no act of injustice passes unreprimanded. The people among themselves often settle their controversies by an appeal simply to the bystanders, who form a little informal court when a controversy arises. They gather about on the street. The oldest among them, or one of the elders will question what is the matter, and then everybody will give his opinion, add his judgment, and there will be given an informal verdict to which the two or more in the controversy will always submit. The appeal to that feeling can be made directly.

If a villager feels that he has been injured by some rich and influential neighbor, he will make a direct appeal to the public, sometimes in the most primitive way by standing before the house of the offender and shouting the grievance to all who pass. Now if he is a mere trouble-maker, or she, then the people will pass by without giving notice, but they will listen for a while, and it will be impossible for the man within the house to avoid giving an answer. And the public opinion of the village and community will judge him.

Now these things are so informal; the election of their leaders in these communities is so informal. They have no ballot election, but it is election when one of the elders passes away or becomes old enough to retire. It is already known which one of the other members of the community has made himself a place in the public esteem by his judgment, good sense, and wisdom, and it is known that if one of the elders drops out this man would naturally take his place. It is a natural form of selection.

Now the difficulty is how to organize such a society according to the abstract principles which we are accustomed to in our legal systems. In China all confidence and trust is a purely personal relation resting on personal knowledge and personal loyalty. With us it has become impersonal. The trustee of a corporation, the director of a corporation, has a feeling of trust to all the stockholders. He ought at least to have it, and whether he has ever seen them or had personal contact with them or not, it makes no difference in his duties. However, you can imagine how the dropping of a ballot with the name of a person whom you do not know, about whom you know very little, in a box,—how artificial such a procedure must appear to people who have been accustomed to select their leaders in this more gradual fashion through education, through the examinations of the state for the official positions, and through this natural selection that I have mentioned. That is the problem—to preserve the virtues of the old system of personal relationship and personal contact, and carry them over into a new organization based upon the abstract principles of a sovereignty of law and of a trusteeship extending far out beyond the circle of persons actually known to the man or woman concerned.

There are many interesting things about the methods of these Chinese masses and Chinese organizations, students and merchants in this great crisis. I believe that the influx of athletics, competitive athletics, into the colleges has done more to develop a national spirit and a spirit of fair play among the Chinese than any other single factor. I witnessed a great athletic meet at an interor capitol where the grand stand was hollowed out of a huge city wall which ran on an incline down towards the city, and here sat at least 20,000 Chinese on the walls, and around the other side were enough more to make the audience thirty or forty thousand, and upon this quadrangle there were on three or four of these spirited conquests at the same time.

And the enthusiasm of these young fellows—their college spirit, school spirit and national spirit! I could understand then why it was that the students had played such a part in this national movement. The universities are the nuclei of national life—the colleges and normal schools—because the students there come from different provinces,, and look upon each other not so much as provincials, as in the old days, but as Chinese.

It is the strong feeling of the leaders who are looked upon by this vast organization as men of judgment, as men of wisdom, that this is preeminently the time for educational and economic development. One of the best men said to me: "Ten years of peace we need. We need the privilege of being left alone for ten years without international intrigue, without constant pressure, without the constant attempt to disarrange and disorganize. We need that period and we shall devote it, not to politics, but to education and to the up-building of our industrial and economic life." There is the program—ten years of preparation, laying solid the foundation, and then they feel confident that the public opinion which has sporadically expressed itself in the past, and which was strong enough to secure very important action to be taken in one specific instance,—the so-called student revolt— will then have grown to be the daily sustenance of the Chinese government and nation.

As for us outside nations, if we see what is going on here, if we desire to avoid the most terrible consequences for the future of the world,—that call for a ten year tolerance will be heeded. If the Chinese are let alone, they will work out even the most difficult questions in their national affairs.

II. Dr. P. C. Chang

Of the Chinese Educational Commission

THERE are two possible attitudes of mind in looking at international affairs, which bring about very different results. One is the attitude which has been so common, the attitude of mutual suspicion and self-interest,—the fault-finding attitude—the difference-finding attitude—to find how other people are different from us, and so often it comes out as a result that that difference will be altogether in our favor. "Civilization" is an extremely hard word to define. Sometimes it seems to mean something that we have and you have not.

However, the topic for our consideration this afternoon is one of hope—looking ahead to constructive measures. It is full of youthful exuberance. Realizing all the shameful things that have been done, appreciating all the difficulties in the way, the only satisfying attitude, as we come to see it, is an attitude of faith, an attitude that looks toward the future. It is a sane, optimistic attitude, but optimism of the realistic and constructive kind. The wording of the topic has been used again and again—"The awakening of China." It seems as though we have awakened many, many tmes. It is one

of those words which readers of the New Republic would demand a definition of, and a new definition. I think Dr. Reinsch gave the keynote to the discussion in commenting on the fact that this new movement that has arisen since the Shantung decision is really something which has not happened in China in recent years.

There are a few interesting things concerning the new movement. The Chinese are not naturally born politicians in the modern sense. Really they sincerely dislike it. They think it is a necessary evil at its best. If we can do away with political organization so much the better for everybody concerned. To change the Chinese, therefore, you do not begin with organizations. You begin with ideas. The interest of the educated class is in new ideas. First the wave came about 1895 through the effort of a literary man by the name of Leon, who wrote some great articles in the magazine that he published. The movement spread all over the country although certain people in authority at that time—that was still during the Manchu regime—objected to certain ideas expressed in those journals which seem to be quite harmless today. The Chinese were interested in that movement and read about it not simply because it contained new ideas but also because it was expressed in a style that suited them. You know, people of long cultivation are so extremely insistent upon manner as well as matter, and that is the special characteristic of the educated Chinese. They want the thing done but done in a style that they understand. This man wrote in a style just a little bit away from the old style so they could appreciate it, and also he had a fund of knowledge concerning old things, and he could introduce the new ideas together with the old ideas. Sometimes they were so well sugar-coated that the people who took them did not realize that they were pills.

That movement spread and resulted in the "coup d'etat" which did not succeed, but nevertheless planted certain seeds which took deep root. Then people were educated to the level of his understanding and so today what this gentleman has written is no longer new. We need a new revelaton, a new inspiration coming in with a new wave, but nevertheless it must be connected with the old things, or must be done by men who are known to have had a very good sound education.

That is a very important point, because it is not in our make-up to do anything violent; it is not in our make-up to be apish—to imitate. The Chinese, you may say, are so unreasonably reasonable, that they never consent to take on a thing unless they understand it thoroughly. We are so hopelessly intellectually independent that it is to our disadvantage at times. And today we hear about this student movement.[9] At the bottom of it was this new literary revolution, a new one. I think in writing the history of modern China you have to write it according to episodes of literary revolutions. You may laugh at the dreamers of dreams, but you know somehow they move the imagination of people, and it is the imagination that produces results.

This new movement did not take its ideas as simply as the last literary revolution. There are more critical thinkers in this new revolution. I think the recent literary revolutionists and the group of liberals in America have certain allied intellectual ancestors, so to speak. First it was a daring thing—it threatened to change the manner of expression. The vulgate language, that is the spoken tongue, is being used today as a means of expression for deep ideas. Something heretofore unknown. Just imagine the sense of freedom, the sense of communion with great common experiences! So to speak, you have been trained from childhood to speak only in the biblical style—by a little group, a clique of your own who could use the biblical style in a fascinating way. Suddenly you are told that it is quite all right for you to use the language of the street. Just imagine how many channels this very movement throws open, channels of new experience, new words, production of new poetry, of new ways of thinking, new ways of feeling. And it is a broader movement than the literary movement of the last generation.

Two years ago there were published in the country not more than a dozen journals or magazines. Today there are over two hundred of them, and most of them are using the vulgate language. This we believe does not end in mere change of literary style alone. It has a far deeper significance. It means the willingness of the educated class to come down to find out what the masses have been knowing for generations. It is a new impetus through the production of new poetry. It means writing about the experiences of the coolie or the farmhand who earns only three or four dollars a year, going into the bright spots as well as the dark places of human living. It is the coming down, so to speak, of the "literati," trying to pull the masses up. You see expressions of it. The writing is so simple that the man on the street if he can read will be able to understand it without any interpretation. Together with it there is the movement among the students of the educated class to establish little schools for the masses. They go out and organize, even young boys and girls of the high school age. They go to the villages or to the cities where they can reach the masses of people and teach them how to read.

Together with this, however, there are two things very significant. I have commented so far on the style of writing and its consequent influences. One is the bringing in of new ideas and the other is the reviving of old ideas. They come together in our brains. The new ideas—I wonder if they were to be expressed and published in this country, whether your post office would allow them to be mailed. Some of them are quite shocking really. Some of our students coming back from France teach us strikes. They organize and teach us strikes right in Pekin under the nose of the militaristic government.

Well, that is going down very deep. Of course, it does not mean that all this will take effect now. Don't be shocked. These ideas are brought in and are urged to progress. Why? Because the militarist classes are against them. They help us to spread the ideas.

The next thing is the reviving of old interests. The most constructive leader in the group (some people do not agree with him and I think that is the sign of his leadership), a certain Dr. Hoo, a Ph.D. of Columbia, a student of John Dewey, was one of the originators in promoting the new manner of writing. He has written a book on the History of Ancient Philosophy in the most modern vulgate style of language. There are many imperfections in this book; it is a pioneer work. But we believe it will occupy a prominent place in the history of thought. We are studying our own history and our own culture anew with the assistance we can get from you.

How is it that you can give us assistance? I think one way is this: Somehow we have passed through the period of adolescence and we have gone on, and we may say have showed certain signs of degeneration in our culture, leaving out many of the things in the past that we used to read in our ancient books which we could not understand. Now, they seem very simple to us after we have studied the western things, because many of the things are the same as the western things of today. By that we do not mean that we have now advanced farther than you. We simply mean that as soon as the country was free, as soon as the social organization was not bound together by strict imperialism, people in China developed new ideas. There were in one period of, say, three or four hundred years all the systems of thought, or at least tendencies of it, that have ever appeared in all parts of the globe, all varieties of thinking. We have not yet had time to publish these results in any foreign language. I think that will be done in the next five or ten years,—the results of modern Chinese research into Chinese ancient culture.

I say this man, Dr. Hoo, began true to type. He is an acknowledged scholar of ancient things. He comes from a literary family. We haven't yet produced a literary man from the masses. We hope to do that in the next generation. The present generation still has to content itself with certain connections with the old. This man is a product of the old culture. He came to this country intending to study agriculture,—imagine it! And you know many of us came with the idea of studying practical things. In this country there are many Chinese students, out of whom I should think more than three-fourths are studying engineering. This man tried his hand in agriculture but he did not succeed. I am very glad that he didn't. Finally he came back to philosophy and literature and things of his own heart. He was very much interested in international peace—before the war.

I would like to show you many things if you come to China now. One of the hobbies I have is the theatre. There is a revival of interest in the old drama. The drama since the Huang dynasty has been developing more on the lines of flesh—that is, simply in beautiful words and beautiful sounds but not in essential dramatic structure.

Then there is the new interest in the novel—the writing of the short story, the worshiping of the old models, the studying of them

(Continued on page 6)

The BULLETIN

of

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Vol. I MAY, 1920 No. 3

HAS the United States a Carribbean policy? Is it one of economic imperialism? Is it an unwarranted aggression by the strong against the weak? Or is it merely the inevitable extension of our political influence over peoples unable to manage their own affairs?

To the first three of these questions the public opinion of Latin-America answers with an emphatic affirmation. Our own people almost without exception are blissfully unconscious that any of these questions have been raised. They either do not know about or are not interested in the rapid development of our hegemony over the states bordering on the Carribean.

Because of the intrinsic importance from all points of view that our Pan-American relations should be on a harmonious basis, the L. F. N. A. is especially glad to have been one of those to urge that Clark University select for discussion at its Annual Conference on International Relations this year the subject of Mexico and the Carribbean. The program for this three-day Conference (May 20-22) includes men representing the most diverse points of view. The speeches and discussions will be reported in the June BULLETIN.

IT is now obvious that what at first appeared to be the unsupported effort of Governor de la Huerta of Sonora to protest against what he declared to be unjust encroachments of the national government upon the prerogatives of his state, was in reality a country-wide movement against President Carranza's effort to use the administration machinery on behalf of the election in July of former Ambassador Bonillas. Representatives of de la Huerta insist that government support of the Bonillas candidacy was due to a desire to perpetuate the power of Carranza. Bonillas himself, however, maintains that he had only two objects: first, to continue the administration under civilian rather than military influence; and, second, to prevent civil strife between Generals Gonzales and Obregon, who had been rivals for several years. The revolutionists reply with the charge that when Bonillas met Carranza on the border last October and spent a week or ten days with him, a plot to continue the Carranza policies and influence was completed. The present revolutionary movement is the answer to this "plot."

We should like to feel that the recent overturn in Mexico was representative of more than the military influence, but, unfortunately, the only evidence to support this view is negative, though by no means negligible. It is the almost complete absence of any popular support of Carranza against the revolutionists. If the bulk of the Mexican people did not support the revolt, they certainly did nothing to prevent its rapid spread or its prospective culmination. One of the reasons for this is the great personal popularity of General Obregon, unquestionably the most brilliant military leader Mexico has seen in recent years. Carranza, able and patriotic as he is, is a good deal of a martinet. Strong-willed and difficult of access save to a relatively small number of his entourage, he is passionately unwilling to yield a point which might seem to militate against what he considers his legitimate power.

The most interesting immediate question which the overthrow of Carranza raises is its effect upon the relations between Mexico and the United States. Carranza, probably due in part to the influence of his brilliant and capable finance minister, Luis Cabrera, showed in his dealings with our government more of a tendency to strive for a debater's point through clever argumentation and phrase-making, than to clear up difficulties in a spirit of broad give-and-take. In the various diplomatic exchanges between the two governments, Mexico was often in the right. But Carranza never seemed to recognize that it might in some cases have been wiser statesmanship for him to yield on certain points of relative unimportance than to insist on what he believed to be the full measure of Mexico's right, irrespective of the irritating effect of such insistence.

The initial formal and informal statements of Governor de la Huerta and General Obregon promise a more conciliatory policy towards both American interests in Mexico and the United States Government. It is too early yet to know whether the new regime will in practice be less yielding in matters of real importance, such as the proposed nationalization of oil deposits in the much debated Article 27 of the Constitution of 1917. Obregon, the real power back of the revolution, is said to be keenly sensitive as to Mexico's rights and honor, but not formally committed to a literal interpretation of the more radical provisions of this Constitution. If the American interests in Mexico, particularly the oil interests, show any degree of reasonableness in their demands, there ought to be no serious difficulty in their arriving, either by direct negotiations with the Mexican Government, or through the interposition of our State Department, at a fair settlement of all the outstanding differences. The new regime cannot afford not to meet them more than half way.

IN the event that Carranza is definitely eliminated, it would go far towards removing both cause and occasion for American intervention in Mexican affairs if those in power were to give a formal promise to appoint in the very near future a commission of the ablest Mexicans avail-

able to study and to recommend solutions for all the outstanding international questions, more particularly:

1. The refunding of the national debt and some provision for renewal of interest payments.
2. The rehabilitation of the national railways.
3. The oil controversy.
4. The claims of foreign citizens or governments against Mexico.

To go farther, if such a commission were to invite an American jurist of such undisputed integrity as, say, Mr. Charles Evans Hughes to serve as general adviser, there would be in such actions indisputable proof of Mexico's determination to do everything in her power to eliminate any occasion for complaint from outside sources, either in the United States or elsewhere.

There is reason to believe that the new regime in Mexico will not be adverse to carrying out some such policy as this. In the meantime it is certainly not too much to ask of those American interests who have so persistently attacked the Carranza Government at least to refrain from attempting to discredit the new government before it has had an opportunity to solidify its power or to make clear its program.

WITH the declaration that "the right contact between the best minds and spirits in North America and South America would soon make a new civilization in the Western Hemisphere" the Bishops of the M. E. Church close a letter to the General Conference in which strong pleas are made for international co-operation and understanding.

"We firmly believe," they say, " that the best thing the United States can do for Mexico is to supply it with teachers, physicians and evangelical preachers. These seem to us far better than cannon and shells as tranquilizing agencies."

In their plea for European reconstruction they point out that—

"No new life of happiness, prosperity, and peace can arise on a foundation of hate, despair, and pessimism. What faces us now did not exist four years ago . . . Surely we must commit our church to the principle that international troubles shall be adjusted by counsel and arbitration, not by guns and slaughter of men; that the nations of the world shall be bound together by a working Covenant of Peace; that however it shall be brought about, such compromise should be made between the President of the United States on one hand and the Senate of the United States on the other, as shall secure a real and effective League of Nations in which the United States shall have a proper and honorable place among the nations of the world in preserving the peace and bearing the burdens of the world; that narrow nationalism shall not set itself against world unity and a true internationalism; that we shall unite with the churches of all countries that are even now seeking to promote international friendship and good will; that weak nations shall not be the prey and victims of stronger ones; and that all nations shall reduce armaments and armies, battleships and navies to a minimum consistent with safety, and that the vast expenditures for fighting purposes shall be used for educational, industrial and domestic welfare instead."

NOTES

LONDON dispatches reflect the demand in many quarters, voiced notably by Mr. Asquith, for the early dissolution of the Supreme Council and the delegation of its work and powers to the League of Nations.

The case of Poland is cited for immediate action. The territory claimed by Poland is as large as Germany. The population is about 5 per cent. Polish. It is suggested that because of its past policy towards Soviet Russia, the Supreme Council may be in no moral position to impose upon Poland a policy of restraint. In the meantime, the situation is increasingly a menace to the future peace of Europe, and should be promptly referred to the League of Nations.

According to the London correspondent of the New York *Times*, the following will be introduced in the House of Commons at an early date by the Non-Coalition Liberals:

> "Resolved, that this House regrets the delay in the effective establishment of the League of Nations, calls for the immediate summoning of the Assembly of the League and for instruction of British delegates, and proposes that an invitation be sent to the governments of Germany, Russia and all other great, sovereign states of the world to join that Assembly . . .and particularly regrets the Government's refusal to propose the submission of the Ruhr and Polish disputes to arbitration under article 11 of the Covenant; that in view of these and other facts this House desires that the government shall propose that the Supreme Council of the Allies be dissolved as speedily as may be and that the duties laid by the Covenant of the Treaty of Versailles, especially in connection with the economic reconstruction of Europe, shall immediately be assumed by the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations."

The Council of the League of Nations, which has been sitting in Rome, closed their public sessions there May 19. President Wilson has been asked to call together the Assembly of the League November 15, preferably in Brussels.

The Council has taken steps to create a legal section of the permanent Secretariat which will cause the publication of any treaties henceforward entered into between governments, in the official journal of the League, perhaps contemporaneously with the issuing of a copy of the text to the press. This is in accordance with Article XVIII of the League of Nations Covenant, which aims at the abolition of secret treaties through the declaration that no treaty that is not registered with the Secretary of the League, and published, shall be binding.

Alvin Johnson, one of the editors of the *New Republic*, has recently joined the Executive Committee of the L. F. N. A.

George Burnham, Jr., of Philadelphia has become a member of the National Council. Mr. Burnham has been for some years President of the Philadelphia City Club.

CORRESPONDENCE

James G. McDonald,
Chairman, Executive Comittee, L. F. N. A.

My dear Sir:

I am much honored and interested by your letter of March 17, describing the luncheon conference which you were to hold on March 27. The speakers were of very special competence in relation to the Treaty of Peace; and if, therefore, there was any report of the proceedings, I should be very grateful if you would let me see it.

In considering the relation of America to Europe and the formation of a wise and instructed opinion, we must, I am sure, having regard to the special adverse circumstances which the faults of many have contributed to create, take a long view, and speak the truth as nearly as we can without too much regard to its immediate consequences.

Faithfully yours,

Rome, 16 April, 1920. J. M. KEYNES.

High up on our list of entries for combined wariness and pungency is the following:

To the League of Free Nations Association:

For over a year I have found myself in cordial disagreement with almost every position your Association has taken on the Peace Treaty and kindred sports. However, I find your announcements interesting and am occasionally glad to attend your luncheons. This contribution is therefore intended to pay expenses incurred in carrying me on your books. May no cent be left to spread your pernicious doctrines!

New York City. JAMES GUTMANN.

(Continued from page 3)

again and studying with new light. Altogether, it is a very lively and interesting day, however hard it may be with all the things that are binding us, that we enjoy in this new age, because there are so many possibilities. It is the age of youth in China today.

However we may hate politics, we have to come to it some time, and so I come to it at the end of my speech. The younger generation of China are political dreamers. Roosevelt, the leader of a certain opinion, coined the word "Chinify" and we would like to take that out of the vocabulary. This group would laugh at China talking about international relations. So would the Japanese laugh at us. "What do you know about international relations if you don't have a strong army and strong navy?" But you know that doesn't matter; we keep on dreaming our dreams.

Now, what is the dream of the China of today? The dream is right here. We believe in democracy, not the degraded kind as written about recently by Henry Adams, but a new kind, we hope. We like to believe that the world is actually growing better. We think that gives us a certain hope and faith in living. We also see that the greatest field of struggle in the world for democratic institutions is in China today. Why? China has about one-fifth to one-fourth of the earth's population and vast quantities of national resources yet undeveloped. The people are about the same as people everywhere, if we may be so proud as to assert that. You take the people, the natural resources, the situation of the country and then suppose—let us dream this horrible nightmare—suppose that we decide to organise militarily. Suppose that the liberals of the world should keep on speaking, merely speaking and not doing, or keep on dreaming without doing something effective to stop the possible domination of the whole or a part of China by another militaristic power,—you will yet see the greatest war the world has ever seen.

Therefore, we think that in fighting for democracy, in fighting for independent culture, independent civilization, an independent nation, we hope we are contributing our little share to the upholding and development of democratic institutions all over the world. It is not an infrequent thing for young students today in China to write letters in the newspapers to the liberals in Japan. We dare to do it, advising them to get back of their government in order to effect something really human.

Those things represent the dreams, if you like to look upon them with mature complacency, of a new consciousness. China has been a very old country—has developed certain characteristics. We have today many hard problems, some of them very hard, imposed upon us simply because we were not ready from a military point of view. I say that with all the difficulties we are fighting ahead. We are doing something which seems to be interesting to the world, and we hope that the world will gradually see clearly, but as to what they will do, you liberals of America, I hope will answer in your own way.

QUESTION—How much of a factor is the Chinese militaristic class at the present time in China in the government and in politics?

MR. CHANG—Well, this is really, as you say, the "skeleton in the closet." It is a family affair and we don't like to say it very much outside, because we are quite sincerely regretful for their influence. They control the army, and one party in particular is trying to organise its influence in controlling the whole government, but there are also other elements. There are military men who are against this military party. But on the whole we may say this—that the fortune of the militarists, of this party in particular, a closely con-
fortune of the militarists, of this party in particular, is closely con-
nected indeed, and there are other military men who are not in favor of this connection.

We were in Japan last year, and I had the opportunity of speaking with a few liberal Japanese like Dr. Nitobe, Dr. Ushino, and others. One of them said: "You go back and fight your militarists because by so doing you will be helping us." His reason was this —that the militarists in Japan depend a good deal for their prestige, their conquest and extension of power in the continent, on Chinese militarists, and in stopping or suppressing our militarists we will actually be stopping the Japanese influence, and thereby we may help the Japanese liberals in fighting their cause in Japan.

What the Japanese policy has been, I think, is very clear. It is very clear, and I think it is also very shortsighted. One object is the division of the Chinese political organization. They have been working for the last twenty or twenty-five years persistently and with an expert staff of spies to bring about the split in Chinese politics. You often find our Japanese friends sympathizing with all parties in the field. If you are a reactionary they will say: "Well, of course, military rule is the only thing for China." If you are a revolutionist they will say: "Democracy is the trend of the world." They are working to keep the country split.

Another object which is also very plain is economic exploitation. They go into the details of the thing. They try to poison the small traders. They go into a village and open a drug store which is nothing but a station for morphine, and all sorts of tricky ways are employed. These are the two dominant policies used by the militaristic party in Japan to keep the country split. As Ito said some years ago: "We cannot fight one China, but we can fight two or more Chinas."

III. DR. YAMEI KIN

First Chinese Woman to Take an American University Degree

WHILE you have been hearing of China from the men, remember that out of this one-fifth or one-fourth of the world's population which is in China, one-half are women. And any one who knows anything about our Chinese life realizes and knows the tremendous power that woman wields there, for at the very foundation of our civilization, or our culture, lies the cult of the family. There is an Oriental country which claims to stand in the forefront of progress,—and I beg you to believe that I do not speak of Japan in the sense of wishing to pick a quarrel with her, for I know very many wonderful things of her, and we would gladly live in peace if the politicians would let us, we people would.

Remember that she stands to us in the Orient as an exponent of western culture. She says: "We know what western manners and what western civilization are. Did we not conquer the Russians? Did we not win the war? Are we not to be looked up to and treated with respect by all the western nations because of our advance in western methods?" But the fact remains that wherever Japanese culture has come our womanhood has suffered.

So I beg of you, friends, if you value your own reputations, if you value what you yourselves hold sacred, do come, yourselves, and make yourselves known to us. Do not depend upon other people to represent you.

There is a tremendous crusade against vice which has come with this new movement in China, but there is also something far worse than that.

Looking back at the intercourse of China wth the world, I continually try to bring before your mind how China has stood always for the humane, for the constructive, for the things that are good for human life. What would you do without the knowledge of glazing pottery which we brought you? And silk as an article of clothing was brought to you, and later we gave you tea.

And simultaneous with our giving tea to the western world came the forcing of opium upon us. That is the contribution that the west has given us.

Not but what we knew opium before, but we made it a contraband. We declared a death penalty for anyone who grew and trafficked in it. In the sacred name of commerce—which said that no one should dictate to the premier nations of the world what they should trade in—we were compelled to permit the importation of opium which was a valuable article. It is Great Britain, your ally, who is responsible for this. Great Britain has many, many great things in her favor, but I beg of you Americans, who have tried to put down the opinion traffic and have sucessfully put down in the Philippines, to realize that you people are the only people in the world that have a voice that Great Britain will listen to. She will listen to no one else.

At a very great expense, at a very great loss to ourselves, we put down the opium traffic. And that is one of the reasons why

we must have our freedom of action. We are willing to give up the profits. We have shown it before this. Only last year when I was in China I saw the burning of millions of dollars worth of opium and pipes which had been seized. But when it is continually poured in in such floods, how can we stem the tide? It needs the public opinion of the world; it needs the enlightened conscience of the whole world.

Now, what has happened? With the revolution in 1911 when we were trying to throw off the forms of the old in order that we should have a better political medium in which to express ourselves, to grow, there was naturally a period of unrest in which the opium traffic which had been so recently put down sprang up again, and yet in spit of all the difficulties China has gone on, the conscience of the nation has backed up the efforts, and it is wonderful to see how nothwithstanding all the laxity and the irregularities of official life, there has been a constant, steady pressure against the growth of opium.

But while opium is going down, what is happening now? Morphia has taken its place. We do not manufacture morphia in China. We did grow opium but we don't manufacture morphia. Once more opium is being grown in India, and the great districts which bore the opium, which had the greatest proportion of the alkaloid morphia, have once more come under the domination of the same power that found such a profit in opium in the first place.

In our beloved province of Shantung there was imported two years ago twenty-one tons of morphia. Now, what does that mean —twenty-one tons of morphia in one province? We are seeing now the effects of morphine addiction, which is far worse, anyone will tell you, than ever opium was in its earlier days. One power manufactures it and its ally distributes it. For the records show that while we have strict customs laws under which it may not come in, it does come in in those places which are controlled by the Japanese customs.

Now, there is a note of warning for you. With prohibition, and with the increasing stress and storm of modern life, not only the Chinese but you here in America are turning toward narcotics. Opium is one of the most fatal of narcotics, and you will have the experiences we had. The only way in which to stop the consumption of narcotics is simply to put them out of the world, except for medicinal purposes. Every year there is an increasing amount of morphia used in America. Where does it come from? You do not grow the poppy; you do not manufacture morphia. Do you want your people also to fall more and more under the fatal ties of this habit? Political things in China are bad enough, and economic things are still worse, yet if we retain the bodies of our people, and if our minds are free, there will be a way of working out our own salvation. But when there is a deliberate attempt to degrade the physical, moral and mental condition of a people, in order that they may be the more easily exploited, that is the question that we women of China feel is a question that is of paramount importance.

There has been published recently a small book, small in volume but serious in import. I beg of you to read it—"The Opium Monopoly," written by Miss Ellen LaMotte and published by the MacMillan Company. You will find there in most accurate detail the actual extracts from the government reports, the colonial reports made to the central government of Great Britain, concerning its culture, the growth and the distribution of morphia. That is from their own government reports.

Now, whatever you may feel politically, however helpless you may feel to swing the tide of governmental affairs, yet this is a thing which touches each one of you individually. For who knows at any time with this free flow of morphia, of narcotics throughout the country, when someone whom you love, someone of your own family may come under this fatal habit. So not only for China, but for the sake of the world, for your own sakes, I beg of you to consider this question.

THE LEAGUE AS A LIBERAL INSTRUMENT

(Continued from page 1)

complish is the fixation of the amount of the German indemnity. The undetermined character of this item is one of the great disturbing factors in Europe's industrial equilibrium. The third object of the League's Financial Conference is the creation of some machinery for the extension of credit to the impoverished countries.

In all this work the League is merely following its primary purpose, that is, to lead in the fight on the common enemies of mankind like disease and hunger. It is utilizing as a lever a force which has never before been tapped, i. e., international public opinion for the accomplishment of positive ends. Gradually as the League gets into its stride, it will be found, I believe, that its functions are more non-political than political, more creative than negative, with a greater emphasis upon the welfare of peoples than upon the rivalries of States. Certainly the accomplishments of the League's International Labor Conference at Washington give promise of this result.

In any event, we now have a League of Nations. It is not perfect, but it is a beginning. The liberal minds of Europe are behind it, and the very fact that it is being secretly opposed by the reactionary influences that are in power in several European States, is evidence that it is not a mere tool of Bourbonism. To reject it because it does not completely meet our desires is the height of folly. However imperfect, it is the first constructive attempt at international co-operation on a broad scale, and if it goes by the board, the nations of the world will not be induced in this generation to make another attempt.

OBREGON DECLARES FOR FRIENDSHIP AND INCREASED BUSINESS WITH U. S.

In reply to a request from *The Tribune* for a statement to the American people of the policy of the new régime in Mexico toward the United States, the following cablegram was received from General Alvaro Obregon, who, it is thought, will be the next President of the southern republic:

MEXICO CITY, May 21.

To The New York Tribune.

The Mexican people in justice to themselves were compelled to withdraw their support from Carranza. He had violated the law and ignored the wishes of the electorate of the republic.

To-day we have started on a democratic era. The man selected at the coming elections will be the choice of the people. If I am their choice, I intend to establish an era of friendship and harmony with the people of the United States, who in this case have received an exact account of the justice that supported our revolutionary movement, and to strengthen constantly our commercial relations with them.

Mexico finds herself in an actual state of peace, as all the rebel groups which rose in arms (against Carranza) have united in the movement initiated in Sonora. I am in communication, by telegraph and railroad, with all parts of the republic. Trains travel today without convoy—a thing which has not been seen in Mexico in the last seven years.

ALVARO OBREGON.

N. Y. Tribune, May 22, 1920.

RUSSIA

No phase of the international problem is more incisive than our treatment of Russia. Fair treatment must be based upon sound judgment. Sound judgment waits upon facts. Facts about Russia—undisputed, accepted, recognizable—have been almost negligible in quantity these past three years.

With this in mind, the Executive Committee of the L. F. N. A. last October invited a committee to undertake to collect and edit the available diplomatic exchanges between our government and the various Russian factions since the fall of the Czar, as one basis for intelligent judgment. The volume, much delayed, and including hitherto unpublished material, is now ready for publication (June 1st).*

William Allen White has said of the book: "It reads like a romance." It has been hailed in many quarters as a valuable and greatly needed source of information.

This piece of work is indicative of one phase of activity of the L. F. N. A. It is part of our program for building up an informed public opinion, without which any hope of a liberal foreign policy is futile.

Upon the basis of this and kindred activities, the L. F. N. A. appeals for renewed and increased support. If you are a $5 member and could be a $100 contributor—please don't wait for a personal call!

* RUSSIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS, March, 1917—March, 1920. DOCUMENTS AND PAPERS. Compiled and edited by C. K. Cumming and Walter W. Pettit, under the direction of John A. Ryan, D.D., J. Henry Scattergood and William Allen White at the request of The League of Free Nations Association. Harcourt, Brace and Howe, New York. Probable price $3. 400 pp.

JOHN A. RYAN, D.D., Professor of industrial ethics, Catholic University. J. HENRY SCATTERGOOD, Head of the American Friends' Service Unit in France during the war. WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE, Newspaper man and author; Editor Emporia Gazette; Sent abroad as observer by American Red Cross, 1917. Appointed delegate to projected Prinkipo Conference, 1919.

ROBERT H. GARDINER, *Treasurer*
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The BULLETIN

The League of Free Nations Association

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The United States and the Nations of the Caribbean[1]

By Jacinto Lopez

Editor, "La Reforma Social"

IN coming to this conference, I have come to speak a few plain truths in connection with a question which is of the utmost importance to the destinies of the American continent. I have come here to render, if it is in my power, a service to those ideals of right and justice and international good faith which should control as principles of action the policy of the great and small powers as absolutely essential to the peace, the welfare and the civilization of the world.

The American people are in complete ignorance of the policy of the United States in the Latin-American continent. Their interest in these matters has not as yet been aroused. They are too busy at home with domestic questions and with European questions abroad.

Interest in Central and South America scarcely exists even in the world of publicity. The Government is thus free to act without any check and without any sense of responsibility. The Government carried forward its policies in Latin-America even over the expressed disapproval of Congress. The situation thus created is one of force, pure and simple. It is the dictatorial use of overwhelming might in countries too weak and distressed even to think of resisting. In this arbitrary way, the President of the United States, whosoever he may be, disposes of the fortunes and shapes the destinies of the small countries bordering on the Caribbean Sea, without a consistent and deliberate policy, without any knowledge or any comprehension of the peoples of those countries, their problems, their needs, their woes, their aspirations; without any regard for international law; sometimes violating even the very elements of Christian civilization.

The supreme dictatorship assumed by the President of the United States in the countries of the Caribbean—a region so intimately connected with its most vital interests—is a thing that impresses and surprises us Latin-Americans the more deeply and painfully because we admire and love this country and fervently believe that it has a civilizing mission to fulfill in the world at large, but especially and particularly in Latin-America.

The century old struggle with Great Britain for the control of the Isthmian routes; the unflinching policy of the United States all throughout the nineteenth century with regard to Cuba; the war of 1898 for the expulsion of Spain from the remaining strongholds of her American Empire, testify to the long standing and paramount interest of the United States in the Caribbean waters and lands. This interest is manifold. It is commercial, political and strategical. It is important for the national security of the United States. This wide area of waters is the natural outlet for the foreign trade of the United States with the West Indies and with the South American countries. In the policy of the Government of the United States, the Panama Canal is considered as a part of the coast line of the United States. The Platt amendment, the Panama Canal and its history since the Government of the United States decided on an American Canal under American control; the events of November, 1903, which resulted in the secession of Panama from Colombia and the treaty of 1904 with the new Republic by which the United States became the sovereign of the Canal; the policy of the United States Government in Central America since 1910, taking the Republic of Nicaragua, as a starting point or an entering wedge; the purchase of the Danish Islands, made possible by the Great War and its economic consequences in the Mother Country; and finally the policy of the United States Government in Haiti and Santo Domingo in 1913, likewise favored by the Great War, are but manifestations of the supremely controlling interests of the United States in the Caribbean.

The imperialistic expansion of the United States since 1898 is altogether in this magnificent field. Look at the long line of islands stretching down from Key West to the Port of Spain. From Guantanamo, the United States can control the windward passage between Cuba and the Dominican Republics. From Porto Rico she can control the Mona Passage. Haiti and Santo Domingo have been under the direct control of the United States since 1905 and 1906 and each has a harbor of first class importance for naval stations, Mole St. Nicholas and Samana Bay, the former commanding the Mona Passage from the West. The Treaty with Nicaragua gives the United States possession of the Great Corn and Little Corn Islands on the east coast of this Republic together with the right to build a naval base on the Gulf of Fonseca. St. Thomas has a splendid harbor for a naval station too. Colon and the fortifications of the Canal, the Canal itself, which has become the center of the naval power of the United States, complete the picture of the southward progress of the United States in its march of expansion in the Mediterranean of the New World, which has thus become the *Mare Nostrum* of the United States. Add to this the United States Navy and we can get an idea of the amount of independence of the sovereign nations bordering on the Caribbean. In this way we can at the same time get an idea, in a general sense, of the actual situation in the Caribbean world. The United States is today the supreme lord of the Caribbean and the whole question is, what use does it make or is it going to make

[1] *Address delivered at Clark University Conference, May 20-22, 1920.*

of this power and how is it going to improve its opportunities?

We all know the story of Panama. We all know how the present position of the United States in that most important spot in the world was achieved. But it is not so well known that the procedure of the United States Government in Nicaragua and San Domingo is similar to that which was followed in Panama. It was by force that the United States Government prevented Colombia from maintaining its integrity. It was by force that the United States Government established in San Domingo in 1916 an American military Government. It was by force that the United States Government obtained in Nicaragua in 1914 rights and privileges that practically destroyed the political existence of that country as a sovereign nation and impaired the independence of each and all the remaining four Central American Republics. It is by force that the conditions and the situation thus created in those countries are maintained.

In San Domingo, a regularly constituted Government, headed by an unimpeachable man, was overthrown by the American Marines simply because that man, true to his duty, to his oath, to his conscience, to his country, stubbornly refused to affix his signature to a treaty handing over to the United States the sovereignty of the Republic.

In Nicaragua the United States Government gave its support to an armed uprising against the Central Government. The revolution was entirely justified and deserved the sympathy of liberty-loving men everywhere. But after the war was over it was seen that its leaders were willing to pay a prohibitive price for the help received from the United States Government and without which they would never have succeeded. Soon after the organization of the new regime, the chief of the Latin-American division of the Department of State, Mr. Dawson, made his appearance at Managua, Nicaragua, and served notice to President Estrada that his Government would not be recognized by the United States except upon the following conditions:

1. The negotiation of a fifty million dollar loan through the intervention of the United States Government.

2. The control of the Custom Houses of the Republic by the United States as security for the loan.

Everything was granted, but the American Congress denied its approval to this pact. The note in which the Revolutionary Government of Nicaragua asked the United States to render it the service of entering into a contract for the management of the custom houses and the placing of the loan was written by Mr. Dawson himself, and he opposed even the slightest alteration suggested by the Nicaraguan Minister of Foreign Affairs. Notwithstanding the refusal of Congress, the American Government persisted in its Nicaraguan policy and a new arrangement was made by which a New York banking concern advanced to the Nicaraguan Government a loan amounting to $1,500,000 and a further amount of $755,000 was made later. Since then the custom houses have been in the hands of these New York bankers.

Meanwhile, the principal leaders of the successful revolution, five in number, made an agreement with Mr. Dawson providing that the nomination for President of the Republic should fall upon one of their group of five. There was a violent reaction against this trend of events. The Minister of War, General Mena, rebelled. The provisional President lost no time in asking the intervention of the United States to put down the rebellion. He asked its protection with its forces for all the inhabitants of the Republic, including his own government, which for all practical purposes from that moment had ceased to exist. American troops were landed and for the first time in the history of the Continent the Government of the United States took sides with its military forces in the civil strife of an American country in favor of a government which had declared its impotence to rule.

Later on this same government, thus saved and backed by the United States, made a treaty with the government to which it owed its existence, establishing an American protectorate over the Republic. This treaty failed in the Senate and a new treaty was submitted in 1914, which was approved in 1916, this time without the provision of the protectorate plan. By this agreement the United States paid to the Government of Nicaragua three million dollars in return for the following concessions: The right to construct a trans-Isthmian canal by the Nicaraguan route or any other route in the territory of Nicaragua; control by lease for ninety-nine years of Great Corn and Little Corn Islands and of a naval base in the Gulf of Fonseca. The United States has the option to renew the lease for a similar further period.

Costa Rica, Honduras and Salvador protested to the United States against this treaty on the ground that it destroyed their independence as sovereign states and was contrary to their most vital interests of every kind. A canal through the Nicaraguan route cannot be built without the consent of Costa Rica, which possesses proprietary rights over part of the territory in the region of the San Juan River; and moreover Nicaragua was forbidden by treaty to enter into any agreement whatsoever for the opening of the canal without the concurrence of Costa Rica. Costa Rica and Salvador, each acting separately, brought suit against Nicaragua in the Central American Court of Justice established under the Washington Convention for the judicial settlement of all disputes between the five republics. The Government of Costa Rica in March 1916, asked the Court to declare that under the Canas-Jerez Treaty, the Cleveland-Laudo Treaty and the General Treaty of Peace and Amity of 1907, the Government of Nicaragua had no right to enter with the United States or any other power into an agreement such as the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty; and that, therefore, this treaty was void. On its part, the Government of Salvador in August, 1916, petitioned the Court to issue a writ ordering the Government of Nicaragua to abstain from executing the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty. The Government of Salvador alleged that the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty was transgressive of the rights of Salvador in the Gulf of Fonseca and imperiled its independence and national existence; that said treaty infringed, moreover, the rights of Salvador under Articles II and X of the Washington Convention of 1907. In December, 1916, the Court decided in favor of Costa Rica, supporting in every point the position taken by her as complainant against Nicaragua; and in March, 1919, the Court passed judgment equally favorable in the case of Salvador versus Nicaragua and declared that the Nicaraguan Government was under obligations to re-establish the status

quo that existed between the three Republics previous to the Bryan-Chamorro treaty.

Did Nicaragua obey the sentence of the International Judicial Court of Central America, established under the Washington Convention, to which Nicaragua was a part in common with the other Central American Republics? The practical result was that Nicaragua withdrew her representative; and the Court, the first institution of its kind in the world, the greatest achievement of civilization in our day in American as an agency of peace and justice passed away and is no longer.

The Bryan-Chamorro Treaty has no standing in International Law. It is inimical to the most vital interests of the Central American Republics. It was made with a government that has no power or authority to make a treaty of such a nature. The people of Nicaragua were never consulted, notwithstanding the fact that that treaty renounces sovereign rights that no nation can make without committing suicide. Elihu Root publicly stated that the treaty should not be made with the existing Government of Nicaragua but with a representative government. But a representative government would never make such a treaty. This treaty has disturbed the good relations of peace and friendship between the five Central American republics. The Government of Nicaragua is by them considered as playing the role of Judas. And if there has not been a coalition of the four republics to remove it and bring Nicaragua back into the Central American family of sister republics, it is only because that government is under the protection of the United States Government which supports it against the will of the Nicaraguan people as well.

The people of the Dominican Republic, the government of which was supplanted by force in November, 1916, by an American military government, has been since that fateful day under martial law. Justice is administered there, even in civil matters, by the Provost Marshal. There is a censorship of the press compared to which the methods of the Russian Czar were an ideal example of liberalism and wisdom. There is a system of repression and terror by the application of corporal punishments so cruel and so inhuman that you would I am sure think it unbelievable. They imprison the people without any process of law. They chase the people in the country as if they were savage beasts, and torments or tortures of varied forms, that of the water and that of the rope, for instance, are practiced. Now the people of that Republic are a civilized Christian people. It can be said that San Domingo is the cradle of Christian civilization in America. What is their crime? What have they done? This people has always been most friendly to the United States. The treaty of 1907 with the United States Government was made to preserve their sovereignty and independence. By this treaty the Dominican people occupy a singular position in relation to the United States who was to act as a trustee for them before the creditor nations. The reason alleged for invading them and subjugating them is that there was at the time a civil war. There is no reason so far as I know put forth for treating them as the Germans themselves have not been treated. After all that how can they believe in civilization? It is in the name of civilization that they have been crushed as a nation and oppressed and tormented and terrorized as if we were not living in the Twentieth Century but three or four centuries ago.

I was in Cuba in 1916. I witnessed the presidential elections of November of that year. There was a landslide for the candidate of the Liberal Party. The defeated candidate was the President himself who had run for re-election, a word that has a sinister significance in Latin-American politics and Latin-American history. Re-election means there usurpation and usurpation means revolution or civil war. The man in the presidential chair was most unwilling to submit to the verdict of the people and through the most scandalous practice carried out his determination to keep himself in office for another four years. There was of course a revolution. Revolution in Cuba means intervention by the United States. Washington intervened to put down the revolution and uphold the government. Revolution is an unpardonable crime in the eyes of Washington who has no eyes for usurpation.

From November, when the elections were held, to February, when the coup d'etat took place, there was plenty of time and chance for the United States Govenment to exert its moral influence and prevent a catastrophe. If it had willed it, the sad events of February 1917 in Cuba could have been easily averted. The way to avoid the revolution was to make the usurpation impossible. And with a single word whispered by the American Minister at Havana in the ear of President Menocal, the people of Cuba would have been spared the bloodshed, the destruction of property, the disorder and the discredit incidental to the coup d'état. It is our opinion that the Platt Amendment was conceived with the pupose, among others, to save Cuba from the cancer that has devoured the Latin-American republics, despotic governments. By Article Third of the Platt Amendment, the United States has the right to intervene to maintain a government which would protect liberty. Liberty was killed in Cuba in 1917, and a despotic government arose from the conspiracy to defraud the will of the people as expressed in the elections.

The revolutions in Latin-America are movements of freedom. They are consistently made against despotic governments.

The aspiration to liberty thus expressed is seldom realized but failure never kills the will to be free, and so long as despotism subsists so long the aspirations to liberty will fight for its extermination. This is the secret of the endless civil wars in those countries. It is this state of things which creates the opportunity and affords the pretexts for action by the United States of the sort we have seen in reviewing the situation in Central America, Santo Domingo and Cuba.

Notice that intervention never happens when despotism is in peaceful control. It commences to threaten the very moment there is an uprising against it. Revolutions are the explanation and the justification of the presence of an American Military Government in Santo Domingo. A revolution is the explanation of the Panama Treaty. A revolution is the explanation of the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty. The conclusion is that the struggle for liberty, for good and representative government, in short, for democracy, leads to foreign servitude and that those peoples in order to preserve their nationalities should keep quiet and get along

(Continued on page 5)

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REPORT OF THE FALL COMMITTEE

THE report signed by Senator Fall's sub-committee of the Committee on Foreign Relations to investigate Mexican affairs, which was sent to the Senate a few weeks ago, is a fitting culmination of nine months of sordid, ungenerous and unfair international muck-raking. Before this Committee no slander against our neighboring republic was too absurd not to be seriously considered, no kind or favorable word for the Carranza government was permitted to pass unchallenged. The tone and content of the findings of Senator Fall—though anticipated because of his frank hostility to the Mexican government—shocks the moral sense of the average American citizen and outrages the most elementary principles of fair play and comity between nations.

With brutal frankness Senator Fall declares, "We have the legal right, and it is our duty, to refuse to recognize any government in Mexico which will not agree, by way of a treaty," to modify those articles of the Mexican constitution which the Senate report alleges to be derogatory to American rights.

Specifically the following constitutional provisions the Senator from New Mexico insists must "not apply to Americans":

Article 3, prohibiting ministers and religious corporations from conducting schools of primary instructions.

Article 130, requiring that the minister of any religion must be a Mexican and limiting the rights of foreign religious bodies to hold property, save on the same terms as Mexicans.

Article 33, which gives the executive "the exclusive right to expel from the republic forthwith, and without judicial process, any foreigner whose presence he may deem inexpedient."

Article 27, which (1) nationalizes the ownership of oil deposits, (2) limits the right of foreigners to own or develop the natural resources, unless they agree "to be considered as Mexicans in respect to such property," and (3) prohibits the ownership by foreigners of land or waters within "100 kilometers from the frontiers or 50 kilometers from the sea coast."

Moreover, prior to recognition the Mexican government must consent to the "immediate appointment of a claim committee to pass on all claims for damages to Americans in Mexico, and upon its boundaries." Senator Fall estimates these damages at $500,000,000.

If the government is recognized on such terms the report recommends that financial as well as moral support be given Mexico in the form of a loan for the refunding of Mexican bonds and the rehabilitation and maintenance of the railroads.

On the surface it might appear that Senator Fall is actuated only by missionary zeal in his insistence on the removal of all the technical disabilities which the constitution seems to impose on foreign teachers and ministers. But what shall we think when we remember that the authorized representatives of all the Protestant missionary bodies in Mexico have repeatedly insisted that they do not object to the results of either Article 3 or 130? To one who has followed the Senate committee's proceedings from the beginning Senator Fall's sudden concern for Protestant missionaries appears mere pious mockery.

Senator Fall would modify Article 33 by giving to Americans prior to deportation the right to consult our consular aid diplomatic representatives and to avail themselves of "due judicial proceedings." This demand would come with scant grace from a government which has been none too tender of the "rights" of aliens here. The fact is that Articles 3, 33, and 130 are only incidentally objectionable to the Senator from New Mexico. His emphasis on them serves usefully to hide somewhat the crass economic imperialism of his basic demands.

The crux of the Senator's report lies in his insistence that American property interests in Mexico, both present and future, shall not be limited. "None of the provisions of Article 27 with reference to limitations upon rights of property heretofore acquired by Americans or which may hereafter be acquired, shall apply to Americans except where the limitation is written in the deed, lease or other instrument of title." No American oil company could have expected even its paid attorney to ask for more.

What is the real meaning of the demands which this report would have our government make upon that of a friendly state? Senator Fall is too intimately acquainted with Mexican affairs not to know that no Mexican government—be it that of de la Huerta, or of Obregon, or of any one else—could live a day after yielding formally and openly to the threats and intimidations contained in the committee's recommendation. But if it does not yield, it must not be recognized! The Senator from New Mexico knows better than any one else in the United States Senate that non-recognition must result in such weakness as to mean a renewal of civil strife. He also knows that such a condition would almost certainly eventuate in American intervention. Have we not here the scarcely veiled purpose of the author of what may well be considered our most blatantly harsh and frankly imperialistic state-paper? Certainly the public opinion of Latin America will so construe this effusion of the "Mexican expert" of the Republicans in the Senate.

THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

SENATOR LODGE in devoting more time to Mexico than to any other subject save the League of Nations, in his keynote speech at the Republican Convention, concluded a bitter attack upon the Wilson policy with the following imperative demand for what would amount to intervention:

"The time has come to put an end to this Mexican situation, which is a shame to the United States and a disgrace to our civilization. If we are to take part in pacifying and helping the world, let us begin here at home in Mexico. If we assert and protect the Monroe Doctrine against Europe, as we must for our own safety, we must also accept and fulfil the duties and responsibilities which that doctrine imposes."

Nevertheless, compared with the suggestions of the Senator from Massachusetts, or with the demands of the Senator from New Mexico the Mexican plank in the Chicago platform is mild and almost friendly. Of course President Wilson and his "ineffective policy . . . . of wordy futile protests" are excoriated. In contrast the party pledges itself to "a consistent, firm and effective policy towards Mexico that shall enforce respect for the American flag and that shall protect the rights of American citizens lawfully in Mexico to security of life and enjoyment of property in connection with established international law and our treaty rights. The Republican party is a sincere friend of the Mexican people."

Evidently those politically wise men who drafted this plank were at least persuaded that a frankly interventionist policy as an issue would be unpopular. The American people, despite the desperate effort of Senator Fall and his co-workers, are still willing to give the Mexican people a chance to solve their own problems.

The League of Nations plank attributed to Mr. Elihu Root is a skillfully worded evasion. Mr. Taft is certain that "The Republican platform and the assured Republican victory mean that the United States will enter the League with the Lodge reservations." His argument supporting this thesis is detailed, a trifle labored, but almost convincing. Senator Johnson's interpretation is very definite. He refuses to admit that the plank represents anything of a compromise. He insists that it is a "tremendous" victory for the irreconcilables, that it means a complete rout of the "international bankers" and their representatives. Here is a sharp difference of interpretation which can and should be immediately clarified. This can be done by one man only. He is Warren G. Harding. Until such clarification the Republican Party cannot free itself of the charge of evading the most important issue in all our international relations.

"We pledge the party to an immediate resumption of trade relations with every nation with which we are at peace." The significance of this sentence in the Republican Platform was probably appreciated by very few delegates at the Chicago Convention. If it means anything, it pledges the Republican Party to a removal, in so far as our Government can bring it about, of all the existing restrictions which prevent trade with Soviet Russia. It is a hopeful sign.

It is evident that if our unconstitutionally acquired and unlawfully exercised control in portions of the Caribbean is to be subjected to the light of public discussion, it will not be because of Republican criticism. The Chicago platform criticizing bitterly a policy of "weakness" in Mexico does not concern itself at all with our policy of military dictatorship in Haiti, Santo Domingo and Nicaragua. Are we to conclude that our foreign policy in this hemisphere is to be criticized only when it proves unprofitable to American business?

THE UNITED STATES AND THE CARIBBEAN

(Continued from page 3)

the best they can under despotism no matter how cruel and destructive it may be, as usually it is.

Nearly every Latin-American nation has passed through the dark age of despotism and revolution. Argentina is the most striking example. And the great majority have succeeded in the struggle for freedom and have established stable and strong governments. The policy observed by the United States in Nicaragua, for instance, would have made this process impossible and civilization would have been the loser.

Those countries have a right to live, deserve to live and must live. Because they have not as yet achieved stability, they should not be absorbed and submerged. Nations very much older and larger than they are still solving the problem of self-government and internal peace.

All these peoples of the Caribbean Sea have a strong national sense.

They believe in their own destiny. They hate foreign domination. In this very month of May several thousand Panamaneans, the very people of the supposed revolution of November, 1903, marched through the streets of their city in a torch light parade as a protest against the acquisition by the United States of the major portion of Taboga Island for fortification as a part of the Pacific Defense scheme of the Panama Canal. An automobile in which General Pershing was driving to a ball in his honor, was halted by the procession and forced to return to his hotel.

The power of the United States is in itself so great that all the other nations of the Caribbean are powerless under it. In this sense their independence is inevitably restricted. There is no possibility that any one of them or all of them combined would be able to act contrary to the interests of the United States. But their rights as nations should be strictly recognized and respected and their internal problems should be viewed sympathetically.

It is our belief that in the Caribbean, the United States has a noble and superior mission to fulfill. It consists in helping the small nations definitely to enter into the path of political development. The fundamental principles should be the preservation of the territorial integrity and the independence and the sovereignty of those nations.. The United States is already the overlord in the Caribbean. There is no fear of any international political rivalry there. And the American people should see to it that the hunt for naval bases should not be carried so far as to trespass upon moral and political boundaries which are inviolable if we are to live in a civilized world.

Mexico and the Caribbean

[Report of Conference at Clark University, May 20-22]

THE discussions on the Caribbean, which occupied the first day of the conference at Clark University were intensely interesting and enlightening. It is to be regretted that full texts of the talks could not have been made immediately available for a very wide reading public. Such publicity would go far towards remedying the worst phases of our administration in those regions.

Our position in Porto Rico, the Virgin Islands, the Panama Canal and our privileged position in Cuba are matters of common knowledge. Few of our people realize, however, that our political control has extended far beyond these territories. Since 1916 Haiti has been ruled by our naval dictatorship, and Santo Domingo controlled by the American marines. Panama, in addition to the Canal Zone, policed without authority by our forces; Nicaragua since 1914 controlled in the same way. The people of Guatemala were told officially a few months ago by the American minister that they dare not overthrow the regime of the tyrant Estrada Cabrera, who for twenty-two years maintained his control by ruthless and systematic terror.[1] The claims of Honduras, Salvador and Costa Rica have been openly disregarded by our administration even when supported by a decision of the Central American Court, our own creation. It is no exaggeration to say that the United States is today the supreme "lord of the Caribbean."

What warrant, either in the Constitution of the United States or in the principles of international law, is there for these extensions of our hegemony? Our legal rights in Porto Rico, the Virgin Islands and the Panama Canal Zone are unquestionable, as is our right to interfere in Cuba under certain conditions. The Platt Amendment did not, however, give us any right to assist in virtually setting aside the popular choice in the presidential elections in Cuba in 1916. Our naval dictatorship in Haiti, technically legal, is based upon the treaty forced upon the Haitians in 1916. The dictatorship of the marines in Santo Domingo has not even this technical justification. It is a result merely of executive decree. Despite the elimination of the provision for a protectorate over Nicaragua in the treaty approved 1916, the military forces of the United States are in effect controlling the destinies of that state.

Jacinto Lopez, editor "*La Reforma Social*", was therefore merely expressing the judgment of Latin-America when, describing conditions in much of the Caribbean, he said: "The situation thus created is one of force, pure and simple. It is the dictatorial use of overwhelming might in countries too weak and distressed even to think of resisting. In this arbitrary way, the President of the United States, whosoever he may be, disposes of the fortunes and shapes the destinies of the small countries bordering on the Caribbean Sea without a consistent and deliberate policy, without any knowledge or any comprehension of the peoples of those countries, their problems, their needs, their woes, their aspirations; without any regard for international law; sometimes violating even the very elements of Christian civilization."

But what of the character of our administration in these regions? On this point there was the widest divergence of opinion at the conference, particularly as to the results of our rule in Santo Domingo. Judge Otto Schoenrich, analyzing on the basis of intimate knowledge conditions in both parts of th island, concludes that "the record made in Santo Domingo must bring us deep disappointment, while the mess in Haiti must awaken feelings of resentment and shame." Colonel Thorpe, answering Judge Schoenrich's charges insisted that considering the inherent difficulties of the situation which faced the American military forces, the results of five years of occupation are highly commendable.

The handling of the Haitian internal debt, which Col. Thorpe did not feel competent to discuss and which Judge Schoenrich touched only briefly, was the subject of bitter criticism by several of the Latin-Americans at the conference. For years prior to the American occupation the lawyers, doctors, preachers and teachers of this negro republic invested their savings in the internal debt of the government, since there were no savings banks. Interest on these obligations had been regularly paid from funds set aside for this purpose. With the American occupation, however, interest payments ceased. The market value of the certificates sharply declined. Deprived of their usual source of revenue, thousands of Haitians were forced to dispose of their governmental securities at ruinous prices. It is said that most of these bonds were bought up by a local branch of an American bank which expects to redeem them from a loan now in contemplation. Without crediting the intimations that interest was defaulted by the American administrators on these bonds with the deliberate purpose of oppressing the natives with the resulting prospective profit of millions of dollars for American speculators, it cannot be denied that the administration of this phase of Haitian finance has brought sadness and want to those classes of Haitians upon whom must depend the development of her economic and social life. Is it too much to ask that an official answer be made to these charges of mal-administration?

Professor William R. Shepherd of Columbia University, whose excellent and comprehensive address we hope to review in the July Bulletin, analyzed the fundamental problems in our relations to the Caribbean from every angle. He concluded that there are four possible lines of action for us: 1. Regulation, 2. Annexation, 3. Neutralization, 4.

NOTE:

"MR. BENTON McMILLIN, Envoy extraordinary and Minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Guatemala, after the issuance of the President's proclamation issued, with the authority of his Government, the following for publication:

"The steady policy of the Government of the United States is to encourage constitutional government and free elections in Central America. Having the greatest interest therefore in the constitutional progress of Guatemala, the Government of the United States has learned with great pleasure of the proclamation of President Estrada Cabrera regarding constitutional guarantees and has confidence in view of the statements just made to this government by President Estrada Cabrera that he will faithfully carry out the reforms proclaimed.

"The Government of the United States is opposed to revolutionary measures and firmly believes in view of President Cabrera's proclamation there is no excuse for starting a revolutionary movement in Guatemala and that therefore in the eyes of the civilized world the grave responsibility would rest with any man or group of men who should start such a movement. The Government of the United States particularly desires to see peaceful constitutional progress in Guatamala and would regard with horror any actions which should cause a needless and inexcusable revolution to be commenced in that country."—"*Diario de Centro-America*," Guatamala City, April 5th, 1920.

Abstention. After carefully weighing the advantages and disadvantages of each of these possibilities, he urged that the policy of regulation, if wisely administered, would most nearly meet the necessities of the situation with the least possible infringement of the liberties and sensibilities of the people of the Caribbean.

The real tragedy of the problem lies in the complete lack of popular interest here in either the peoples whom we are gradually bringing under our political and economic control or in the methods of our administration. If the American people can be made to see that not only our economic interests but our good name and our honor demand that every phase of our Caribbean administration should square with the disinterested motives hitherto traditional with America, it would go far towards bringing about a marked improvement there—perhaps even a coherent and logical colonial policy. It is unthinkable that a democratic people should permit the extension of its economic and political control over millions of foreign people without either constitutional warrant or democratic and responsible administration.

Peculiar interest attached to the sessions devoted to Mexico.

Manuel de la Pena, representative of the new Mexican government, used this occasion to make the first formal announcement of the program of the new regime. No more friendly or conciliatory statement could have been expected. If President de la Huerta and his successors can live up to these promises and American interests are willing to play fair, we should at last be on the road towards the settlement of the most outstanding questions between the United States and Mexico.

Conditions in Mexico now and during the nine years since the overthrow of Diaz were described in detail from a great many points of view. Chief interest centered, however, in suggestions made by different speakers as to necessary measures for reconstruction. There was very general agreement that Mexico's primary needs in the order of importance are:

1. Elementary education for the mass of the people.
2. Capital for, the rehabilitation of the railways and the opening up of the estates, mines and factories.
3. The gradual extension of civilian control throughout the country.

The issue was sharply joined between those who argued that these necessary steps could be taken only through the return to power of the aristocratic elements now largely in exile, and the speakers who insisted that if givn a chance the present rulers of Mexico could solve the most urgent problems. T. Esquivel Obregon, Minister of Finance in the cabinet of Mexico, 1913, himself a member of the aristocracy and now in exile, insisted vehemently that only through the return to power of those who governed during the period of Diaz could Mexico achieve either peace or industrial progress. Professor Frederick Starr of the University of Chicago asserted that the hope of Mexico lay in the native elements.

Speaking on the subject: "How to Restore Peace in Mexico," Henry Lane Wilson, Ambassador of the United States to Mexico, 1909-1913, suggested three possible lines of action for this government: 1. The formation of an "independent" buffer state to be made up of the northern states of Mexico down to the 22nd parallel, including the present states of Sonora, Chihuahua, Sinaloa, Durango, Doahuila, Nuevo Loen and Tamaulipas and the territory of Lower California. This would be a territory three times the size of Texas. 2. Active and sympathetic support of the natural governing elements in Mexico; that is, the aristocratic Spanish population. 3. Intervention. This the ex-ambassador said "might be an excellent thing for Mexico and her people but its resultant effect upon our body politic would be evil and disastrous." As a matter of fact each of Ambassador Wilson's suggested policies would inevitably result in intervention.

The case for American oil interests in Mexico was very fully and ably presented by Mr. Frederick R. Kellogg, general counsel for the Pan-American Petroleum and Transport Company. Incidentally, Mr. Kellogg savagely denounced those Americans who had criticized the activities of the oil companies or of other American interests in defending what they believed to be their rights in Mexico. He charged that the program of nationalization of the oil resources of Mexico as provided for in Article 27 of the 1917 Constitution was merely a device to rob foreigners of the hard-earned results of their exploitation, intimating, without carrying conviction, that these measures were instigated by German influences and intended ultimately for German advantage. He neglected, however, to say that the efforts of the Carranza government to limit the control by foreigners over the enormous potential wealth of Mexico's oil resources were based on fundamental consideration of public policy —that of preventing such absolute control of the billions of dollars of Mexico's oil resources by foreigners as would make them more powerful than any public authority. Moreover, the speaker in referring to so-called confiscatory decrees of the Carranza government made no reference to the actual amount of taxes or royalties which the Carranza government demanded. These altogether amounted to 15% of the export value of the oil and could from no reasonable point of view be construed as confiscatory.

Lack of space prevents the inclusion in this number of the Bulletin of the speech of Col. G. C. Thorpe, U. S. M. C., who warmly defended the American administration in Santo Domingo, Haiti, and the Virgin Islands. This together with able papers on Mexico will be printed in the July Bulletin.

What Is Our Russian Record?

Announcement was made in our last Bulletin of the publication of "Russian-American Relations", a collection of the available diplomatic exchanges between the United States Government and the various Russian factions since the downfall of the Czar. The volume has been widely hailed as the fact-basis upon which to build up a powerful country-wide demand for the restoration of trade with Russia, and the L. F. N. A. is now actively working toward that end.

"If open diplomacy is to mean anything, it means that just such documents as these which the League of Free Nations Association has gathered shall be spread broadcast . . . that diplomacy should also be responsive to public opinion . . . that public opinion should be aroused as well as informed . . . The American people—must have a hand in the policy-making toward Russia this next year. They must make up their minds on the issues that enter into that policy—the question of the blockade which still drags along; the question of resumption of trade; the question of overseas relief and Red Cross help which stop short at Russian borders; the question of recognition of a Russian government."—WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE in *THE SURVEY* (June 5).

"We have nothing to look back upon save a humiliating bit of history. But we can do something about it; and this collection of documents points the way . . . we can demand that the government face the question of our relations with Russia . . . It need not be pro-Soviet policy; the Soviets have many sins on their souls. It ought to be a pro-Russian policy, aiming to relieve in some sense the misery which is there . . . Faced now with its own record, the government can no longer hide the failure nor shirk the responsibility."—*THE NEW REPUBLIC* (June 16).

"Whatever contributes to a better understanding among common people of what governments have done, and why they did it, is useful. To that end, this collection of documents is a powerful and valuable contribution."—*NEW YORK GLOBE.*

"By issuing this volume the League of Free Nations Association has contributed considerably towards the eradication of the stain with which history will mark our government for its policy toward the Russian revolution."—ISAAC DON LEVINE of the *CHICAGO DAILY NEWS.*

The study has cost us about three thousand ($3,000.) dollars. We appeal for special contributions to cover this expense.

To those renewing now their membership for the fiscal year, beginning July 1, we offer the $5 membership and a copy of "Russian-American Relations"* (Publisher's price, $3.50) for $7. The offer is open also to new members.

ROBERT H. GARDINER, *Treasurer,*
League of Free Nations Association.
130 West 42nd Street, New York City.

(1) For the enclosed $7.00 please enroll / renew my membership in the L. F. N. A. and send me a copy of RUSSIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS.*

(2) I enclose $_____as a contribution to the work of the Association.

The membership fee of $5. a year includes subscription to the monthly Bulletin. The work is supported entirely by voluntary contributions.

*RUSSIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS, March 1917—March, 1920. DOCUMENTS AND PAPERS. Compiled and edited by C. K. Cumming and Walter W. Pettit, under the direction of John A. Ryan, D. D., J. Henry Scattergood and William Allen White at the request of The League of Free Nations Association. Harcourt, Brace and Howe, New York. 400 pp. $3.50.

TO Mr. Perkins

FROM Dorothy McDonough

I-A-3

March 25

Attached is a copy of the exchange of telegrams between Mr. M and Mr. McCarthy on Monday of this week.

We sent him all the radio scripts from March 9 through Friday, the 19th, and SEE IT NOW of Tues. the 16th (Annie Lee Moss story). They were mailed Special Delivery on Tuesday morning without a covering letter.

Dm C Donough

COPY

March 22, 1954

EDWARD R. MURROW
CBS

WOULD APPRECIATE GETTING COPY OF ANY RADIO OR TV PROGRAM MADE BY YOU SUBSEQUENT TO MARCH 9 IN WHICH YOU DISCUSS ME OR MY WORK. FILM AND RECORDING NOT NECESSARY. TYPEWRITTEN TRANSCRIPT WOULD BE SUFFICIENT. IF THERE IS ANY COST INVOLVED WOULD BE GLAD TO TAKE CARE OF IT.

JOE MCCARTHY USS

- - - - - -

March 22, 1954

SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY
U.S.SENATE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

I AM DISPATCHING ALL RADIO AND TELEVISION SCRIPTS SINCE MARCH NINE ACCORDING TO YOUR REQUEST.

E.R.MURROW

F. 295-11/53

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.

Private Wire

PLEASE READ INSTRUCTIONS BELOW BEFORE SENDING YOUR MESSAGE.

Before sending this message please be sure a letter by **REGULAR OR AIR MAIL** would not suffice. Then be brief and indicate the account number to which the message is to be charged. A letter via **REGULAR MAIL** addressed to points in Maryland, Michigan, New Jersey, New York; the New England states, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia, West Virginia, Washington, D. C., Montreal and Toronto, via **AIR MAIL** to points in other states, will normally reach the addressee within a minimum of 12 hours and a maximum of 48 hours after it has been mailed from New York City.

Messages for **WBBM** and **KNX** are normally sent within an hour after receipt in the Communications Room on Mondays through Fridays; messages to other stations are normally transmitted so as to reach the addressee not later than **NOON LOCAL TIME** on the first business day following their receipt in the Communications Room, providing the teletype equipment at the receiving point is attended. Mark your message "Today" **ONLY** if faster service to these other stations is vital.

DATE March 13, 1954 19

STRAIGHT WIRE copy

CHARGE TO ACCOUNT NO. | | | |
Div. Dept.

SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY
SENATE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

INASMUCH AS YOU HAVE MADE PUBLIC REFERENCE TO IT, I HAD NO DOUBT THAT MY OFFER TO YOU OF TIME TO REPLY TO MY BROADCAST ON "SEE IT NOW" MARCH 9, WHICH I MADE AT THE OUTSET OF THAT PROGRAM, WAS WELL KNOWN TO YOU. IN ANSWER TO YOUR MARCH 12 TELEGRAM AND IN ACCORDANCE WITH MY OFFER AND CBS POLICIES, WE WILL MAKE TIME AVAILABLE TO YOU ON THE SAME PROGRAM AND NETWORK THIS COMING TUESDAY, MARCH 16. YOU MAY USE ALL OR ANY PART OF THE PERIOD OCCUPIED BY "SEE IT NOW," LESS THE TIME CUSTOMARILY USED BY ME IN INTRODUCING AND CLOSING THE PROGRAM AND THE TIME ALLOTTED TO COMMERCIAL MESSAGES. I WILL MAKE NO COMMENT ON YOUR STATEMENT IN THE TIME USED BY ME DURING THE BROADCAST BUT NATURALLY RESERVE THE RIGHT TO COMMENT SUBSEQUENTLY. YOU MAY MAKE YOUR APPEARANCE IN EITHER OUR WASHINGTON OR NEW YORK STUDIOS. ELMER LOWER, CBS TELEVISION, WASHINGTON, EMERSON 2-9300, IS AVAILABLE TO MEET WITH YOU OR YOUR REPRESENTATIVE AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE MOMENT FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAKING THE CUSTOMARY ARRANGEMENTS.

EDWARD R. MURROW

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

(50)

FX-1201

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=Int'l Letter Telegram

VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at points of destination

1954 MAR 12 PM 8 C5

NA337 GOVT PD=SN WASHINGTON DC 12 605PME=

EDWARD R MURROW, COLUMBIA BROADCASTING COMPANY=

485 MADISON AVE=

WHILE I DON'T WASTE TIME VIEWING YOUR SHOW I UNDERSTAND YOU STATED YOU WERE OFFERING ME EQUAL TIME TO ANSWER YOUR ATTACKS UPON ME. MY OFFICE STAFF INFORMS ME THAT NO SUCH OFFER HAS BEEN RECEIVED. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT SUCH AN OFFER WAS SENT BY YOU AND MISDIRECTED. IF SO, I WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING A DUPLICATE=

JOE MCCARTHY USS=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

C O P Y

MARCH 15, 1954

EDWARD R. MURROW
CBS

AS YOU KNOW IN ACCORDANCE WITH YOUR WIRE OF MARCH 13TH OFFERING TO MAKE AVAILABLE ONE HALF HOURS TIME TO REPLY TO YOUR ATTACKS ON ME I DESIGNATED MR. WILLIAM BUCKLEY, AUTHOR OF "GOD AND MAN AT YALE" AND CO-AUTHOR OF THE FORTHCOMING BOOK, "MCCARTHY AND HIS ENEMIES," TO PRESENT A DOCUMENTED ANSWER TO YOU. MR. BUCKLEY ACCEPTED THIS INVITATION. I TODAY RECEIVED YOUR WIRE DATED MARCH 14TH TO THE EFFECT THAT THE TIME WILL NOT BE ALLOWED IF I SELECT SOMEONE TO ANSWER BUT THAT IT WILL BE AVAILABLE IF I PERSONALLY ANSWER YOU. NORMALLY I WOULD NOT WASTE THE TIME TO MERELY PROVE THAT A RADIO AND TV COMMENTATOR WHO ATTACKS ME IS LYING. HOWEVER, (IF I AM CORRECT IN MY POSITION THAT YOU HAVE CONSCIOUSLY SERVED THE COMMUNIST CAUSE) THEN IT IS VERY IMPORTANT FOR YOUR LISTENERS TO HAVE THE CLEAR CUT DOCUMENTED FACTS SO THEY CAN DECIDE WHETHER OR NOT YOU ARE AS TRUTHFUL AS YOU ATTEMPT TO MAKE OUT OR DELIBERATELY MISREPRESENTING THE FACTS. THEREFORE, I SHALL ACCEPT YOUR OFFER OF TIME. IF POSSIBLE I WOULD PREFER THE TIME TWO WEEKS LATER THAN MARCH 23RD, NAMELY APRIL 6TH.

THE REASON FOR THE REQUESTED POSTPONEMENT IS THREE FOLD. NO 1: IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT YOUR SPONSORSHIP OF MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY WHICH WAS CO-SPONSORED BY VOKS WHICH WAS A RUSSIAN INTELLIGENCE AGENCY DATES BACK MORE THAN TWENTY YEARS, IT WILL TAKE CONSIDERABLE TIME TO PUT TOGETHER ALL THE PERTINENT FACTS IN YOUR RECORD. NO. 2: I SHALL BE OUT OF TOWN FROM WEDNESDAY OF THIS WEEK THROUGH SUNDAY, DURING WHICH TIME AMONG OTHER THINGS I SHALL ANSWER FROM MILWAUKEE WISCONSIN THE ATTACKS MADE UPON ME BY ADLAI STEVENSON. NO. 3: I HAVE BEEN SPENDING EVERY AVAILABLE MINUTE OF PREPARING A MAJOR SPEECH ON THE AGRICULTURE PROGRAM WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON

THE ADVERSE CONDITIONS BEING CREATED FOR OUR DAIRY FARMERS. I DO NOT ANTICIPATE THIS WILL BE READY FOR DELIVERY BEFORE MARCH 23RD AND DISLIKE TAKING TIME OFF FROM THAT IMPORTANT TASK TO ANSWER YOUR ATTACKS. HOWEVER, IF MARCH 23RD IS THE ONLY DATE BEING OFFERED THAT DATE WILL BE ACCEPTED. IN VIEW OF THE FACT I DID NOT HEAR YOUR BROADCAST I WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING A TRANSCRIPT THEREOF AS WELL AS A TRANSCRIPT OF ANY OTHER ATTACKS WHICH YOU HAVE MADE UPON ME OR UPON THE INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE OF WHICH I AM CHAIRMAN.

JOE MCCARTHY USS

COPY

CBS TELEVISION
(letterhead)

Sig Mickelson
Director of News
and Public Affairs

March 29, 1954

Dear Miss Mannes:

Listed below are Senator Joseph R. McCarthy's appearances on CBS Television since 1951:

November 16, 1951	CHRONOSCOPE	15 min.
June 25, 1952	CHRONOSCOPE	15 min.
September 29, 1952	CHRONOSCOPE	15 min.
November 24, 1953		30 min.

Senator McCarthy's appearances on CHRONOSCOPE were by invitation. His November 24th appearance was the result of his request for equal time to answer Mr. Truman.

Sincerely,

Miss Marya Mannes
Reporter Magazine
220 East 42nd Street
New York, N Y

H-BOMB HELD BACK, M'CARTHY ASSERTS

Asks Inquiry Into '18-Month Deliberate Delay'—He Replies to Murrow

By PETER KIHSS

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy charged last night that there had been an "eighteen-month deliberate delay" in American development of the hydrogen bomb. He demanded to know whether this was caused by "loyal Americans or traitors."

"If there were no Communists in our Government," the Wisconsin Republican exclaimed, in a nation-wide telecast, "why did we delay for eighteen months—delay our research on the hydrogen bomb, even though our intelligence agencies were reporting, day after day, that the Russians were feverishly pushing their development of the hydrogen bomb?

"Our nation may well die because of that eighteen-month deliberate delay. And I ask who caused it? Was it loyal Americans—or was it traitors in our Government?"

[In Washington, The United Press quoted Representative W. Sterling Cole, Republican of Up-state New York and chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, as saying that the United States had taken "a long time" deciding to build the hydrogen bomb, "but that does not mean there was anything sinister necessarily."]

Senator McCarthy opened up his new proposed line of inquiry over the forty-two-station Columbia Broadcasting System network television program "See It Now." His twenty-five-minute time had been made available to him by commentator Edward R. Murrow for a reply to a March 9 program criticizing the Senator and his record.

Murrow Is Attacked

In last night's reply, Senator McCarthy charged that Mr. Murrow "as far back as twenty years ago was engaged in propaganda for Communist causes." Asserting the Communist newspaper The Daily Worker had praised Mr. Murrow while attacking himself, Senator McCarthy asserted that if the commentator was giving comfort to the nation's enemies, "he ought not to be brought into the homes of millions of Americans by the Columbia Broadcasting System."

The network issued an immediate statement in which it said that "C. B. S. subscribes fully to the integrity and responsibility of Mr. Murrow as a broadcaster and as a loyal American."

Mr. Murrow said he could not take responsibility for what any Communist publication could say about him, and charged in turn that Senator McCarthy had knowingly accepted Communist support as a 1946 candidate for Senator. He insisted he was opposed to the danger of Communist infiltration, but said it was his devotion to "justice, freedom and fairness" that set him apart from Senator McCarthy.

Senator McCarthy's main attack on Mr. Murrow was once again linked to the broadcaster's connection with the Institute of International Education, of which Mr. Murrow was assistant director from 1932 to 1935 and a trustee since 1937.

The Senator charged that the institute was "chosen to act as representative by a Soviet agency to do a job which would normally be done by the Russian secret police." He said the agency was "the Russian espionage and propaganda organization known as VOKS."

The institute, Senator McCarthy said, selected American students and teachers to attend a Moscow school. Many of those selected, he charged, were later exposed as Communists.

He named Isidor Begun, former Communist lobbyist in Albany, who was acquitted in 1952 of charges under the Smith Act against subversion, and David Zablodowsky, a former United Nations official who resigned after admitting he had worked with the Communist underground in 1936 although denying he was ever a Communist.

Mr. Murrow noted the institute had sponsored a 1934 summer session for American students at Moscow University, as it did for other schools in such countries as England, France and Germany. The only contact VOKS had with the group, he said, was in procuring living and travel facilities, since it was the Soviet bureau in charge of such matters for foreigners, he said.

After that session, he said, the Russians refused to have anything more to do with the institute. When the institute, at the request of the United States Government, tried to arrange for American students to visit Russia after World War II, Mr. Murrow related, it was attacked in European Communist publications as "the center of international propaganda for American reaction." He and John Foster Dulles, as trustees, Mr. Murrow said, were singled out for special attack.

Mr. Murrow observed that the institute is now the United States Government's contracting agency for various student programs abroad, and recalled its program had been endorsed by President Eisenhower in 1948.

Book Dedication Explained

On other charges by Senator McCarthy, Mr. Murrow denied he had ever been a member of the Industrial Workers of the World. He conceded the late Harold J. Laski, who he stressed was a British Socialist, as against Senator McCarthy's label of "Communist," had dedicated a book to him, but noted the dedication was explained as a tribute to his World War II broadcasts rather than an agreement with his ideas.

Senator McCarthy said Mr. Murrow had been favorably mentioned in a book by Owen Lattimore, who the Senator said was under indictment for perjury and had been attacked as a Communist sympathizer. Mr. Murrow noted the book said he had never met Mr. Lattimore, and was based on his reporting, in line with the concept of innocence unless proved guilty.

Senator McCarthy depicted the work of his Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations as equivalent to that of "watchdogs upon the activities of potential burglars." He said that in slightly more than a year, it had turned up eighty-four witnesses refusing to testify to Communist activity, with twenty-four witnesses of Communist backgrounds being discharged from jobs in which they handled confidential material.

His disclosure of Communists in the military forces, he said, had resulted in abolition of an appeals board which had cleared and ordered "Communists" reinstated, and brought orders to prevent recurrence of "the Major Peress scandal." This referred to the honorable discharge of an Army dentist who had refused to say if he was a Communist.

Newspaper files show that before President Truman on Jan. 31, 1950, ordered the Atomic Energy Commission to continue work on the hydrogen bomb, there had been reports that various officials urged one more attempt first to reach an atomic agreement with the Soviet Union.

Efforts by Strauss

Rear Admiral Lewis L. Strauss, then a commissioner and now chairman of the atomic agency, was reported pressing for the hydrogen development. The then chairman, David E. Lilienthal, was described in newspaper reports as favoring further control efforts first, while Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, chief consultant, was also reported in opposition to the development move.

Reactions by listeners were reported by C. B. S. to favor Mr. Murrow as against the Senator. The tallies were given as 2,012 to 977 telephone calls in New York in two hours while telegrams ran 686 to 274. The Chicago figures for one hour and a half were 454 to 147 telephone calls. Los Angeles reported 949 to 144. In Washington the report was 233 to 29 calls.

In its statement, C. B. S. said that in nineteen years in which Mr. Murrow had been associated with it, its management had become "fully aware of Mr. Murrow's passionate devotion to his country and to the fundamental principles upon which it is built."

The network added it also knew of "his equally passionate opposition to those who, either within or outside our boundaries, would subvert those principles." The statement noted Mr. Murrow had been acclaimed by high Government officials, and won more than fifty awards attesting to his integrity and accuracy.

At a press conference after the telecast Mr. Murrow said that he had not given "any thought" to the possibility of initiating legal action against the Wisconsin Senator for charges made against him last night. Speaking away from the Senate floor, Senator McCarthy does not enjoy Congressional immunity and could be conceivably open to a libel suit.

In reply to a question, Mr. Murrow said that he would have to read "with care" the transcript of the Senator's address before deciding on any legal steps.

Senator McCarthy's film had been in preparation since last Friday, with Roy M. Cohn, chief counsel to his subcommittee, as chief aide, and with others present during various stages, including Carl Byoir, public relations expert; Louis B. Mayer, Hollywood producer, and George E. Sokolsky, newspaper columnist.

The Fox Movietone News, retained by the Senator to make the film, said it would bill him for the cost, but it was not known whether he would seek to recover payment from C. B. S.

N.Y. Times
4/7/54

N.Y World-Telegram & Sun
4/7/54

Plot to Delay H-Bomb Hinted By McCarthy

Charges Stalling Cost U.S. 18 Mo.

Thousands of phone calls and telegrams flooded Columbia Broadcasting System stations today, CBS said, as the nation responded to Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy's reply to commentator Edward R. Murrow.

CBS said the public response to last night's filmed telecast by the Wisconsin Republican was "overwhelmingly in favor of Mr. Murrow."

The McCarthy address was delivered on Mr. Murrow's regular show.

Charges Bomb Delay.

In calm, deadly tones, Sen. McCarthy declared that "our nation may well die because of a deliberate 18-month delay" in America's hydrogen bomb research.

"If there were no Communists in our government, why did we delay our research, even though our intelligence agencies reported that the Russians were feverishly pushing their development of the bomb?" Sen. McCarthy asked.

"Who caused it? Was it loyal Americans or was it traitors in our government?"

Assails Murrow.

Sen. McCarthy then turned on Mr. Murrow and described the CBS commentator as "the leader and the cleverest of the jackal pack which is always found at the throat of anyone who dares expose Communists and traitors."

He added that Mr. Murrow "as far back as 20 years ago was engaged in propaganda for Communist causes" and "followed implicitly the Communist line laid down in the last six months."

Referring to Mr. Murrow he added: "One of us is on the side of the Communists; the other is against Communists."

Response to the McCarthy

Continued on Page Two

McCarthy Hints Plot Stalled H-Bomb 18 Mo.

(Continued From Page One.)

address, filmed in advance and not delivered to CBS until 15 minutes before broadcast time, was immediate.

CBS Backs Commentator.

CBS announced it had complete confidence in Mr. Murrow "as a broadcaster and as a loyal American."

Mr. Murrow, refraining from comment on his program, issued a statement to newsmen in reply to all of the Senator's charges against him.

Sen. McCarthy's hydrogen bomb remarks brought spirited reaction in Washington.

"He doesn't know what he's talking about," said Rep. Melvin Price (D., Ill.), member of the joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy. "His charge was absolutely ridiculous. He showed complete ignorance."

Cole Denys 'Plot.'

Rep. W. Sterling Cole (R., N. Y.), committee chairman, said there was some delay in deciding to go ahead with the H-bomb "but that does not necessarily mean there was anything sinister."

Two other committee members, Sen. John O. Pastore (D., R. I.) and Rep. Chet Holifield (D., Calif.) said they didn't know what Sen. McCarthy was talking about when he referred to a "deliberate delay."

Sen. McCarthy's attack on Mr. Murrow was in response to a March 9 telecast in which the commentator blasted Sen. McCarthy.

The Senator's charges last night and Mr. Murrow's replies follow.

1. McCarthy charge: Mr. Murrow has consistently followed the Communist party line and has been associated with Communist causes.

Answer: False. "McCarthy's reckless and unfounded attempt to impugn my loyalty is just one more example of his typical tactic of attempting to tie up to communism anyone who disagrees with him."

Moscow Institute.

2. Charge: As acting director of the Institute of International Education in the 1930s, Mr. Murrow "sponsored a Communist school in Moscow" and selected American students and teachers who were to attend — "a job which would normally be done by Russian secret police." He "acted for the Russian espionage and propagandist organization known as VOKS."

Answer: False. The Institute sponsored a 1934 summer session for American students at Moscow University, as it did for schools in other countries. The Russians refused to have anything more to do with the incident after that one session. The only contact VOKS had with the group was in procuring living and travel facilities.

3. Charge: Mr. Murrow, "by his admission, was once a member of the Industrial Workers of the World, a terrorist organization."

Answer: False.

4. Charge: The late Harold Laski, "admittedly the greatest Communist propagandist of our time in England," dedicated a book to Mr. Murrow.

Answer: True. Mr. Murrow said that "Laski was a friend of mine.
He was a Socialist. I am not." The dedication was in tribute to Mr. Murrow's broadcasts from England in World War II.

5. Charge: Owen Lattimore, under indictment on perjury charges brought by the Senate internal security subcommittee, mentioned Mr. Murrow favorably in his book, "Ordeal by Slander."

Answer: True. The Lattimore reference was in tribute to newspaper and radio reporters whose stories were "based upon the ancient principle that I (Lattimore) was innocent until proved guilty."

6. Charge: The Communist Daily Worker has repeatedly attacked Sen. McCarthy while praising Mr. Murrow.

Answer: "I cannot take responsibility for what the Daily Worker or any other publication has to say about my program or about me personally. I can say that I had no knowledge that I was to be the subject of notice by the Daily Worker. This is more than Sen. McCarthy can say about the Communist support he accepted in aid of his 1946 campaign for the Senate."

Brooklyn Eagle - 4/7/54

'Deliberate' 18-Mo. Delay On H-Bomb Claimed by Mac

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy had an H-bomb issue before the nation today.

Answering an earlier attack on him by television commentator Edward R. Murrow, on Murrow's own "See It Now" C. B. S. program, the Wisconsin Senator charged last night that Communists in the Government caused a "deliberate" 18-month delay in U. S. research on the hydrogen bomb while "the Russians were feverishly pushing" their hell-bomb program.

He said "our nation may well die" because of that delay, and he called Murrow "the cleverest of the jackal pack of Communist-lying propagandists" who delivered 400,000,000 Chinese to the Red slave masters.

McCarthy asserted that the commentator "by his own admission" was a member of the I. W. W.—Industrial Workers of the World.

At a news conference immediately following the McCarthy telecast, which had been filmed in advance, Murrow said of the I. W. W. charge that it was "false," that "I was never a member of the I. W. W., never applied for membership."

'Reckless, Unfounded'

And he called McCarthy's "reckless and unfounded attempt to impugn my loyalty" just "one more example of his typical tactic of attempting to tie up to Communism anyone who disagrees with him."

The Columbia Broadcasting System announced in a statement that it "subscribes fully to the integrity and responsibility of Mr. Murrow as a broadcaster and as a loyal American." He is a vice president of C. B. S.

The McCarthy H-bomb charge brought quick reaction in Washington. Representative W. Sterling Cole, chairman of the House-Senate Atomic Energy Committee, conceded that the country took a long time deciding to build the H-bomb, but said "that does not mean there was anything sinister necessarily."

Representative Chet Holifield and Senator John O. Pastore, Democrats of California and Rhode Island, respectively, asserted in almost identical words they "don't know what he's talking about."

A-bombs were considered sufficient to deal with the Russian Communist menace, it was said, until it was learned that Russia had broken U. S. monopoly of the A-bomb.

McCarthy said near the outset of his broadcast:

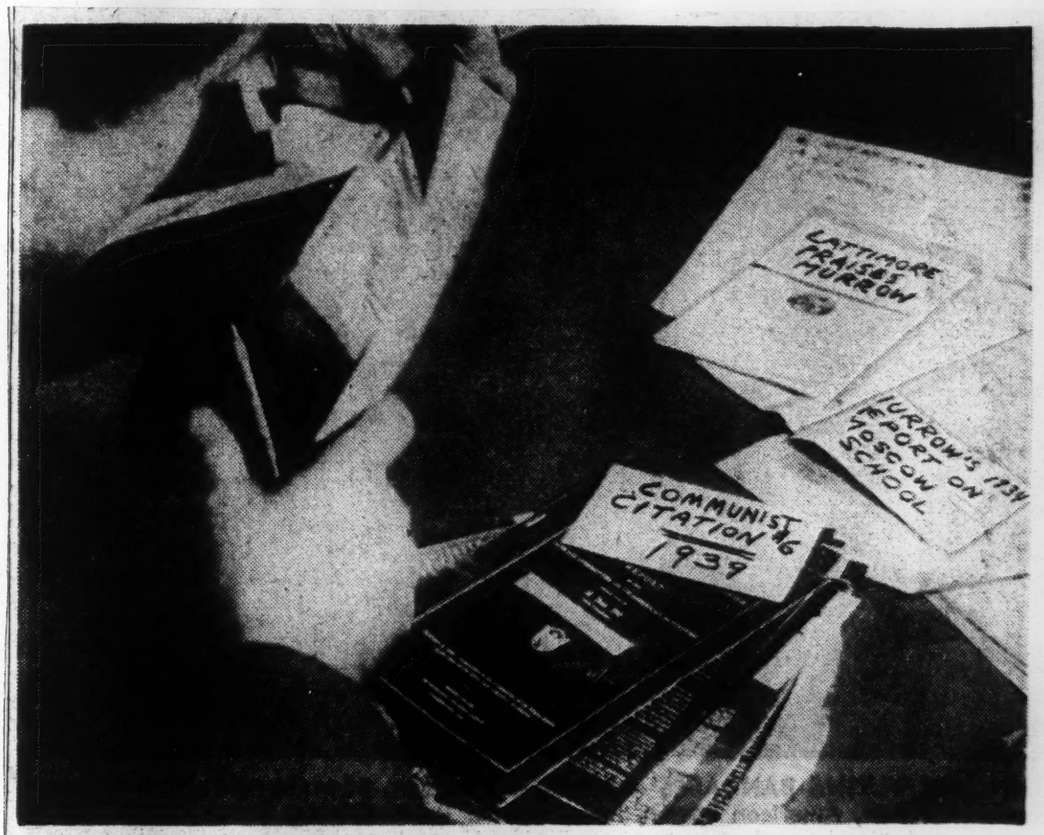
"Ordinarily I would not take time out from the important work at hand to answer Murrow. However, in this case, I feel justified in doing so because Murrow is a symbol, a

Continued on Page 15

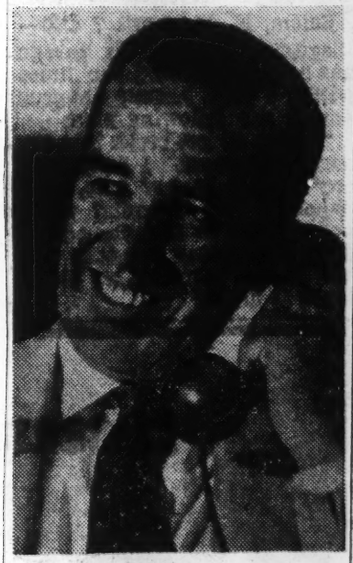
PHONES FAVOR MURROW

C. B. S. reported that it received a flood of telephone calls, at its Manhattan and out-of-town offices, immediately after last night's broadcast by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. It listed the calls as follows: New York, for Murrow, 2,012, for McCarthy, 977; Washington, Murow, 233, McCarthy, 29; San Francisco, Murrow, 119, McCarthy, 6; Chicago, Murrow, 454, McCarthy, 147; Los Angeles, Murrow, 949, McCarthy, 144, and Denver, Murrow, 33, McCarthy, 7.

(OVER)



ANSWERING MURROW—Senator Joseph R. McCarthy holds copies of papers he used in rapping Edward R. Murrow CBS commentator, as "cleverest of the jackal pack" which he said always attacks those who expose Communists. McCarthy made filmed appeaance on Murrow's "See It Now" TV program.



ANSWERING McCARTHY — Edward R. Murrow denies charges hurled at him by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. Murrow called them "typical of McCarthy."

'Deliberate' 18-Month Delay On H-Bomb Claimed by Mac

Continued from Page 1

leader and the cleverest of the jackal pack which is always found at the throat of anyone who dares to expose Communists and traitors."

Murrow, he charged, sponsored "invitations to students and teachers to attend indoctrination schools in Moscow —" that being an assignment usually given to "trained propagandists and spies" in foreign countries.

That was reference to the Institute of International Education, of which Murrow had been assistant director and trustee.

Arthur A. Houghton Jr., the institute's chairman of the board, said the charges were "irresponsible" and "undeserving of a reply."

Murrow, in his conference, said the institute had been attacked in Communist publications abroad as "the center of international propaganda for American reaction," and that he and John Foster Dulles, another trustee, had been singled out for special attack.

Murrow Helps Reds, M'Carthy's TV Reply

N.Y. Daily News 4/7/54

By FLOYD BARGER

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy charged, by implication, last night that Communists in Government delayed for 18 critical months the U. S. development of the H-bomb, and said that "our nation may well die because of that deliberate delay." The Wisconsin Senator made the charge during a 25-minute prepared speech filmed for showing on Edward R. Murrow's CBS-TV program "See It Now." The speech was McCarthy's reply to Murrow's charge on the same show March 9 that the Senator's method of fighting Communism gave "aid and comfort" to the enemy.

McCarthy said that giving aid and comfort to the enemy was a treasonable charge. "If I am giving comfort to our enemies, I ought not be in the Senate," he said. "If on the other hand, Mr. Murrow is giving comfort to our enemies, he ought not be brought into the homes of millions of Americans by the Columbia

(Associated Press Wirefoto)
Senator McCarthy as he appeared on TV answering Edward R. Murrow last night.

Broadcasting System. This is the question, which can be resolved with very little difficulty."

McCarthy then undertook to show that the Communists detested him and in their writings preferred Murrow.

McCarthy charged that "Murrow is a symbol, a leader and the cleverest of the jackal pack which is always found at the throats of anyone who dares expose individual Communists and traitors."

By use of maps and other props, McCarthy traced the rise of Communism and how it has swallowed up one third of the world.

Lying Propagandists."

"How much of this was achieved by traitors and Communist lying propagandists in our own government and other free governments?" he asked.

He charged that China was delivered into the hands of the Reds "by the jackal pack of lying propagandists—including the friends of Edward R. Murrow."

"If there had been no Communists in government," he went on, "why did we delay for 18 months—delay our research on the hydrogen bomb? Our intelligence agencies were reporting day after day that the Russians were feverishly rushing their development of the H-bomb.

"May I say that our nation may well die because of that 18 month deliberate delay—and ask you who caused it? Was it loyal Americans or was it traitors in our government?

"If there had been no Communists in government, would we have rewarded them with all of Manchuria, and one half of Korea?"

The Senator said his investigating subcommittee, in a little more than a year, had questioned 238 witnesses in open hearings and 367 in executive session. Of these, 84 invoked the Fifth Amendment, he said, and 24 with "Communist backgrounds" were discharged from jobs in which they handled secret material after "exposure" by his committee.

He claimed his exposure of one Fifth Amendment Communist in the Government Printing Office resulted in an undisclosed number of suspensions, in the removal of the "loyalty board and the revamping of all of the loyalty rules" affecting that office.

Says Board Was Abolished.

His disclosure of "Communists in the military and radar laboratories," he went on, "resulted in the abolition of the Pentagon board which had cleared and ordered reinstated Communists who had for years been handling government secrets."

"Also," he said, "as a result, Army orders have been issued to prevent the recurrence of the Maj. (Irving) Peress scandal, which was exposed by the committee."

In his direct attack on Murrow, McCarthy repeated that the commentator was at one time in the past acting director of the Institute of International Education, and charged that he "was chosen to act as a representative by a Soviet agency to do a job which would normally be done by the Russian secret police."

"Mr. Murrow sponsored a Com-

Edward R. Murrow, CBS telecaster, as he read statement after Senator McCarthy's filmed speech on TV last night.

munist school in Moscow," he said. "In the selection of American students and teachers who were to attend, Mr. Murrow's organization acted for the Russian espionage and propagandists known as VOKS."

Among those Murrow's outfit selected, McCarthy related, were John Bovington, who he claimed was fired later by the U. S. government; Oakley Johnson, Isidore Begun, and David Zablodowsky, "who was forced out of the UN when his case was presented to the grand jury."

McCarthy said also that Murrow was a member of the IWW, which, he claimed, was a "terrorist" organization that is on the Attorney General's subversive list.

McCarthy said the issue between him and Murrow boils down to this: "One of us is on the side of the Communists, the other is against the Communist slavery."

He then cited three publications, a "main report" given at the Communist Party conference in 1943; the magazine Political Affairs and the Daily Worker. All three, he said, are the official transmission belt through which Reds get their instructions in this country.

These publications, McCarthy said, give party instructions on the "struggles against witch-hunting, the struggles against investigation of the McCarthy-McCarran type and defense of the victims of McCarthyism, such as Owen Lattimore. In addition, there is a direct attack on McCarthy.

"Does that sound somewhat like the policy of Edward R. Murrow on March 9 over this station?"

Cites 7 Articles.

McCarthy also charged that the Daily Worker on March 9 had seven articles attacking him, and in the same issue listed Murrow as "one of tonight's best bets on TV."

The March 17 Daily Worker, McCarthy said, had three articles attacking him and one by William Z. Foster, indited head of the Communist Party in the U. S., "praising" Murrow.

He said that Owen Lattimore, in his book "Ordeal by Slander" had "praised" Murrow, and that Harold Laski dedicated his book, "Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time," to the commentator.

"I'm perfectly willing to let the American people decide who is giving comfort to the enemy," McCarthy declared.

(OVER)

Murrow in Quick Reply

By DAVID QUIRK

Answering Senator McCarthy's attack on him last night on the TV show, "See It Now," Edward R. Murrow labeled it a "typical tactic of attempting to tie up to Communism anyone who disagrees with him."

"I now join the distinguished list upon which already appear the Washington Post, the Milwaukee Journal, Time magazine, Commonweal, the Christian Science Monitor and Gen. Marshall, among others," Murrow said in a statement issued as McCarthy's telecast started.

The TV commentator and CBS official said he took "no back seat" to the Senator or "anybody else" in "my dedication to this country and its aims and ideals." He added that he was as concerned as the Wisconsin Senator about Communist infiltration into the affairs of this country.

"Sets Me Apart."

"It is my devotion to the principles upon which this nation rests—justice, freedom and fairness—which sets me apart from Senator McCarthy," Murrow said.

Murrow listed the following specific points raised by McCarthy:

1.—The charge that Murrow, by his own admission, was a member of the IWW. Murrow said that charge was false, that he never was a member or sought membership.

2.—The charge that Prof. Harold Laski dedicated a book to the commentator. Murrow said that was true but pointed out that it did not mean, as McCarthy assertedly implied, that Murrow subscribed to Laski's views. Laski, now dead, was described by Murrow as a British Socialist and politician.

Murrow also pointed out that the dedication to him was for his broadcasts from England during the war years, for which Laski said "an immense debt" was owed to Murrow. The CBS telecaster concluded his answer to the second charge with "Laski was a friend of mine."

3. To McCarthy's charge that Owen Lattimore paid tribute to Murrow in his book, "Ordeal by Slander," Murrow said he never

(Continued on page 6, col. 4)

Murrow Finds Reply Typical of McCarthy

(Continued from page 2)

met Lattimore and that other reporters received the same tribute from Lattimore as he did for "reporting and editorial work."

Murrow quoted Lattimore as praising him and others with these words: "for their work, clearly based on the ancient principle that I was innocent unless proved guilty."

4. The Senator's attack on Murrow for his connection with the Institute of International Education was called by Murrow "the principal attack on me".

Murrow said the charge was false that the institute was chosen by the Soviet agency, VOKS, to do a job which would normally be done by the Russian secret police in connection with the selection of American students and teachers to attend a Communist school in Moscow in 1934.

Mentions Dulles.

Murrow said he was proud of his service with the institute as assistant director and now a trustee and was also proud of such "distinguished associates" as John Foster Dulles, Milton Eisenhower, Ralph Bunche and others in the institute.

Murrow added that the institute, far from being a propaganda outlet for the Reds, was blacklisted by the Communists after the 1934 Summer session. It was blasted by the Soviets, as were he and Dulles, as "violently reactionary," Murrow said.

5. On the charge that the Daily Worker praised his program and listed it as a "good bet," Murrow said he could not take the responsibility for what "any publication said about me or my program."

6. Murrow wound up with a dig at the Senator, saying he "could not even get my present relationship with CBS straight." He said that McCarthy constantly referred to him as the educational director of the network, a position which he said he has not held for 17 years. Murrow is a member of the board of directors of CBS.

Cole Explains H-Delay

Washington, D. C., April 6 (U.P.).—Representative W. Sterling Cole (R-N. Y.), chairman of the House-Senate Atomic Energy Committee said tonight the United States took "a long time" deciding to build the hydrogen bomb "but that does not mean there was anything sinister necessarily."

He made the statement when questioned about the charge by Senator McCarthy that this country delayed research on the H-bomb 18 months.

McC Charges Murrow Hews To Reds' Line

By SEYMOUR STERN

Sen. McCarthy struck back Tuesday night at CBS commentator Edward R. Murrow and in a filmed rebuttal accused him of following the Communist Party line for the last six months.

Replying to Murrow's charges that McCarthy's method for weeding out Communists was "giving aid and comfort to the enemy," the Senator pointed to Murrow's alleged pro-Communist propaganda record dating back 20 years and called on the American people to decide who was actually giving comfort to this country's enemies.

* * *

MURROW HAD invited the Wisconsin Senator to appear on his TV program "See It Now" to answer the charges made on his March 9 show. McCarthy, now on a holiday at a Phoenix, Ariz. ranch, prepared this filmed reply last Friday at a cost of $7,500. An across-the-table debate had been planned originally.

For 25 minutes, following the opening commercial, McCarthy talked of Murrow's connection with pro-Communist causes over the years and his support by Communist publications.

Labelling Murrow as the leader of the "jackal pack" which is always found at the throat of anyone who dares to expose Communists and traitors, McCarthy said the viciousness of Murrow's attack is in direct ratio to "our success in digging out Communists."

* * *

HE REPEATED an earlier charge that Murrow sponsored a Communist school in Moscow, but this time came up with names of some of those selected for that school, many later exposed as Communists.

"Murrow's organization selected such notorious Communists as Isidore Begun and David Zablodosky," McCarthy said.

Zablodosky, he said, was forced out of the United Nations after Roy Cohn, chief counsel for his investigating committee, presented the case to the New York Grand Jury.

* * *

HE ALSO POINTED to what he said was Murrow's admitted membership in the IWW—the Industrial Workers of the World, a terrorist group cited as subversive by the Attorney General.

Passing off some witnesses as being pro-Communist dupes or too young to know what they were doing, McCarthy turned on Murrow as being a trained reporter who had travelled all over the world.

Murrow, he said, as "Educational Director of CBS followed implicitly the Communist line as laid down in the last six months not only by the Daily Worker, but by the Communist magazine

Market Up

Industrial rails off. Details on Page 56.

Murrow Follows Red Line—McC

Continued from Page 2

Political affairs and the national conference of the Communist Party."

* * *

BEFORE TAKING off with his wife for Phoenix, the Wisconsin Senator said:

"If I have libeled Murrow, I have instructed my associates to accept service of papers."

CBS management immediately came to Murrow's support, subscribing fully to his integrity and responsibility as a "broadcaster and a loyal American." It said in 19 years the commentator had brought honors to the network and that it was fully aware of Murrow's "passionate devotion to his country and to the fundamental principles upon which it is built."

Murrow, however, had no immediate comment, but said he would reply in full to McCarthy later.

* * *

IN HIS defense, the Senator said the subcommittee he heads questioned 238 persons in open hearings and 367 in executive sessions. He said 84 witnesses refused to testify under the Fifth Amendment and that 24 with Communist backgrounds were fired from jobs handling secret material.

No committee's success, he said, could be measured by a box score, but he stated that his investigations in the Government Printing Office resulted in removal of the Loyalty Board and a revamping of all of the loyalty rules. He said:

"Also a disclosure of Communists in the Military and Radar laboratories resulted in the abolition of the Pentagon Board which had cleared and ordered reinstated Communists who had for years been handling government secrets.

* * *

"ALSO, AS A RESULT, Army orders have been issued to prevent the re-occurrence of the Major Peress scandal."

To bolster his attack McCarthy displayed Daily Worker editions of March, 9, 17 and 26 praising the commentator.

N.Y. Daily Mirror 4/7/54

N.Y. Herald-Tribune 4/7/54

Replies on Murrow's Program

McCarthy Attacks Murrow As 'Leader of Jackal Pack'

By John G. Rogers

Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy, in a coast-to-coast television reply to CBS commentator Edward R. Murrow, said last night that Mr. Murrow "as far back as twenty years ago, was engaged in propaganda for Communist causes."

Appearing on Mr. Murrow's own weekly program, "See It Now," on CBS-TV, not in person but by way of a twenty-five-minute film which he made in New York over last week end, the Wisconsin Republican asserted that in the last four years Mr. Murrow "has made repeated attacks upon me and those fighting Communists."

Sen. McCarthy, head of the Senate investigations subcommittee, who was replying to Mr. Murrow's anti-McCarthy program of March 9, added that the "viciousness of Murrow's attack is in direct ratio to our success in digging out Communists."

Mr. Murrow, he said, "is a symbol—the leader and the cleverest of the jackal pack which is always found at the throat of any one who dares to expose Communists and traitors."

Sen. McCarthy posed the question: "What do the Communists think of me and Edward R. Murrow?" He then quoted from "The Daily Worker" of March 9. He said it contained a number of articles attacking him (Mr. McCarthy) and that it listed Mr. Murrow's show of that night as one of television's "best bets."

Mr. Murrow refrained on last night's program from commenting on the McCarthy film. He merely opened and closed the program with brief remarks. However, he apparently had seen the film or read a McCarthy text before the program came on at 10:30 p. m. because by 10:15 p. m. CBS was releasing a Murrow statement commenting upon Mr. McCarthy's remarks.

CBS also issued a statement before the program went on. It noted that Mr. Murrow has been with the network for more than nineteen years. It said: "The management of CBS has had ample opportunity during this time to become fully aware of Mr. Murrow's passionate devotion to his country and to the fundamental principles upon which it is built . . . CBS subscribes fully to the integrity and responsibility of Mr. Murrow as a broadcaster and as a loyal American."

In his statement last night, Mr. Murrow said that Sen. McCarthy's "reckless and unfounded attempt to impugn my loyalty is just one more example of his typical tactic of attempting to tie up to communism any one who disagrees with him."

Replies to Charges

Then he took up specific McCarthy charges made last night, and gave his own reply. Among these were the following:

1. McCarthy charge: Murrow "by his own admission" was once a member of the Industrial Workers of the World—"a terrorist organization."

Murrow reply: False.

2. Charge: Murrow, as assistant director of the Institute of International Education, was chosen in the early 1930s by the Soviet government to select teachers and students to attend a Communist school in Moscow in 1934—a selection job that normally would be done by the Russian secret police.

Reply by Murrow: False. The I. I. E., founded in 1919 largely through efforts of the late Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, then Columbia University president, was engaged in arranging student and teacher exchange with many countries, including Russia. Murrow, as one of twenty-four national advisers to this project, was closely associated with it.

Attacked by Russians

As for the charge that in this work he was engaged in Soviet propaganda, the Russians refused after the 1934 school session to have anything more to do with it. Soviet publication denounced the I. I. E. and its work as "the center of international propaganda for American reaction." Mr. Murrow was labeled a "reactionary radio commentator."

3. Charge: The late Harold Laski, British Socialist, dedicated a book to Murrow.

Reply: True. Laski was Murrow's friend but Murrow did not agree with many of his contentions.

4. Charge: Owen Lattimore spoke favorably of Murrow in his book, "Ordeal by Slander."

Reply: Murrow has always tried to present both sides of controversies. Lattimore mentioned him as a reporter whose work was "clearly based upon the ancient principale that I was innocent unless proved guilty."

Mistaken on Job

Another point raised by Mr. Murrow in his statement was that Sen. McCarthy several times last night referred to him as CBS "educational director." Mr. Murrow said he hasn't held that job for seventeen years.

Sen. McCarthy charged in his speech that many of those selected by the I. I. E. for the Moscow school with which Mr. Murrow was associated had later turned out to be Communists. He said that in his March 9 program attacking McCarthyism, Mr. Murrow "followed implicitinly" the Communist line.

He said that in their plans to infiltrate other countries, the Communists always looked for "glib, clever men" like Mr. Murrow. He said friends of Mr. Murrow had described the Chinese Reds as mere "agrarian reformers."

He said his investigating committee was doing immeasurable good and "that is, of course, why the Murrows bleed."

Arthur A. Houghton jr., chairman of the board of trustees of the Institute of International Education, last night issued the following statement:

"Sen. McCarthy's remarks concerning the Institute of International Education in his Murrow broadcast are so irresponsible and so far from the actuality as to be undeserving of a reply.

"The history of the institute in the field of international education — dealing with students in eighty-one foreign countries — is a distinguished record available to any seriously interested person."

N.Y. Journal

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FILM - VIEW . . . Sen. McCarthy (R.-Wis.) as he appeared during his filmed appearance on Murrow show.

International News Photo

Hits Delay On H-Bomb

Intimating that America's hydrogen bomb research was stalled by Communists in Government, Sen. McCarthy (R.-Wis.) last night asserted "our nation may well die because of that 18-month deliberate delay."

He made the charge on Edward R. Murrow's CBS-TV program "See It Now" in a 25-minute speech filmed as a reply to Murrow's accusation on the show March 9 that McCarthy's method of fighting Reds gave "aid and comfort" to the enemy.

Giving aid and comfort to the enemy, McCarthy said, was a treasonable charge.

"If I am giving comfort to our enemies," McCarthy said, "I ought not to be in the Senate.

"If on the other hand, Mr. Murrow is giving comfort to our enemies, he ought not be brought into the homes of millions of Americans by the Columbia Broadcasting System.

"This is the question that can be resolved with very little difficulty."

HURLS CHARGE.

The Senator then charged that Murrow "as far back as 20 years was engaged in propaganda for Communist causes."

Referring to the alleged delay in H-bomb development, McCarthy said:

"If there were no Communists in our Government, why did we delay for 18 months our research on the hydrogen bomb?

"I have it our intelligence agencies were reporting, day

Continued on Page 8, Column 3.

McCarthy Hits Back:

Charges Reds Stalled H-Bomb

Links Murrow To Subversives

Continued from First Page

after day, that the Russians were feverishly pushing their development of the hydrogen bomb.

"And may I say to America tonight that our nation may well die because of that 18 months deliberate delay—and ask who caused it?

"Was it loyal Americans or was it traitors to our Government?"

BRANDED AS 'SYMBOL'.

McCarthy branded Murrow as "a symbol, a leader and the cleverest of the jackal pack which is always found at the throats of anyone who dares expose individual Communists and traitors."

Murrow in a statement and in a talk with reporters emphatically denied all of McCarthy's charges.

His CBS employer announced it subscribes fully to Murrow's "integrity and responsibility" as a broadcaster and "as a loyal American."

TALK ON FILM.

McCarthy, now vacationing in Arizona with his wife, Jean, put his talk on TV film last Saturday and apparently will get a $6,000 bill for the recording.

The Senator told his audience that much of the documentary information he had on the table before him would be made available to the American people "within the next two weeks."

He asserted that the Institute of International Education of which Murrow was an acting director "was chosen to act as a representative by a Soviet agency to do a job which would normally be done by the Russian secret police."

CITES SCHOOL.

"Mr. Murrow sponsored a Communist school in Moscow," he said.

"In the selection of American students and teachers who were to attend, Mr. Murrow's organization acted for the Russian espionage and propagandists known as VOKS."

The Senator charged that among those selected by the institute were John Bovington, later assertedly fired by the U. S. Government; Oakley Johnson, David Zablodowsky and Isidore Begun.

FORMER RED.

Begun is a former Communist lobbyist at Albany and Zablodowsky resigned as an UN official after admitting he had worked with the Red underground in 1936.

McCarthy charged that Murrow was a member of the International Workers of the World, a "terrorist" organization on the Attorney General's subversive list.

The issue between him and Murrow, the Senator said, boils down to this:

"One of us is on the side of the Communists, the other is against the Communist slavery."

PUBLICATIONS NAMED.

Citing three publications including the magazine Political Affairs and the Daily Worker which gave instructions for battling probes of the McCarthy-McCarran type, the Senator asked:

"Does this sound somewhat like the policy of Edward R. Murrow on March 9 over this station?"

In the Daily Worker of March 9, McCarthy said, there were seven articles attacking him while the same issue listed Murrow as "one of tonight's best bets on TV."

'PRAISED' MURROW.

The Senator said three articles in the March 17 Daily Worker attacked him while William Z. Foster, indicted head of the Communist Party, wrote another "praising" Murrow.

McCarthy also said that Political Affairs on March 21 attacked him and told how "members can serve the cause by getting rid of McCarthy."

Owen Lattimore in his book "Ordeal by Slander" had "praised" Murrow, the Senator said, and British Socialist Harold Laski dedicated his book "Reflections on the Revolution" to the commentator.

LET PEOPLE DECIDE.

"I'm perfectly willing," McCarthy asserted, "to let the American people decide who is giving comfort to the enemy."

Tracing the growth of world communism, McCarthy charged that China had been delivered into the hands of the Reds "by the jackal pack of lying propagandists—including the friends of Edward R. Murrow."

Touching on the work of his investigating subcommittee, he said that in little more than a year 238 witnesses had been questioned at open hearings and 367 in executive session.

He said 84 had invoked the Fifth Amendment and 24 with Communist backgrounds were discharged from jobs in which they handled secret material.

McCarthy Telec

Here are the highlights of Sen. McCarthy's TV speech last night:

"If there were no Communists in our Government, why did we delay for 18 months our research on the hydrogen bomb? And may I say to America that our nation may well die because of that 18-month deliberate delay—and ask who caused it?

"If I am giving comfort to our enemies, I ought not to be in the Senate. If on the other hand, Mr. Murrow is giving comfort to our enemies, he ought not to be brought into the homes of millions of Americans by the Columbia Broadcasting System.

"Murrow is the leader and the cleverest of the jackal pack which is always found at the throat of anyone who dares to expose Communi tors.

"China has bee to the hands of nists by the jacka propagandists — friends of Edwar

"Murrow, by hi sion, was a memb dustrial Workers a terrorist organi Attorney Genera list.

"As acting direc

Senator's TV Reply Doesn't Click:

Viewers for Murrow In McCarthy Row

Public reaction to Sen. McCarthy's televised reply to news commentator Edward R. Murrow was running overwhelmingly against the Wisconsin Republican, the Columbia Broadcasting System reported early today.

An overnight tabulation of phone calls to WCBS here showed 2,112 in favor of Murrow against 977 supporting McCarthy's stand, a CBS spokesman said.

An accumulation of telegrams received during the night was running about four-to-one against the Senator as they were opened.

Other stations on the CBS network were reporting "substantially the same proportion," except in San Francisco where 50 favored Murrow and no one called in to support the Senator, the spokesman said.

Sample reactions tabulated from other station reports according to CBS were:

Los Angeles, 949 for Murrow against 144 for McCarthy; Chicago, 454 Murrow, 147 McCarthy; Washington, 233 Murrow, 29 McCarthy; and Denver, 33 for Murrow against seven for McCarthy.

lecast Highlights

Communists and trai-

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hands of the Commu-
the jackal pack of lying
andists — including the
of Edward R. Murrow.

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stitute of International Education in the early 1930s, Murrow sponsored a Communist school in Moscow. In the selection of students and teachers who were to attend, Murrows organization acted for the Russian espionage and propagandists known as VOKS."

"Many of those selected were later exposed as Communists

"What do the Communists think of me and what do the Communists think of Mr. Murrow? One of us is on the side of the Communists—the other is against the Communists, against Communist slavery.

"Harold Laski, admittedly the greatest Communist propagandist of our time in England, dedicated a book to Murrow."

"Owen Lattimore, now under indictment for alleged perjury before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, said in his book 'Ordeal by Slander' 'I owe a very special debt to men I have never met—I must mention at least Edward R. Murrow'."

'Typical Tactic' Charged:

Murrow Blasts McCarthy Reply

Commentator Defends Loyalty

Edward R. Murrow, replying to charges by Sen. McCarthy (R.-Wis.), said last night the charges were a "typical tactic of attempting to tie up to communism anyone who disagrees with him."

The CBS-TV broadcaster called the attack a "reckless and unfounded attempt to impugn my loyalty."

McCarthy made his charges on Murrow's "See It Now" program last night in reply to a program attacking him.

ADDED TO LIST.

"I now oin the distinguished list upon which already appear the Washington Post, the Milwaukee Journal, Time magazine, Commonweal, the Christian Science Monitor, and Gen. Marshall, among others," Murrow said.

Murrow added:

"I take no back seat to Sen. McCarthy or anybody else in my dedication to this country and to its aims and ideals. Nor are my views about the danger of communism and Communist infiltration into the afafirs of this country less uncompromising than those presumably held by the junior Senator from Wisconsin."

Murrow took up several points of McCarthy's charges.

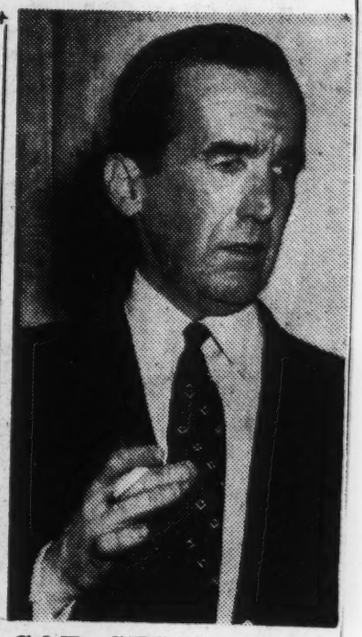
He denied he ever held or applied for membership in the International Workers of the World.

LASKI MENTIONED.

He said it was true that British Socialist Harold Laski had dedicated a book to him. Murrow said:

"He was a friend of mine. He is dead. He was a Socialist. I am not. There are many contentions in his book with which I do not agree."

Regarding a tribute to Murrow in a book by Owen Lattimore, Murrow said he was only one of a number of reporters whose reporting Lattimore wrote was "based on the ancient principle that I was innocent unless proved guilty."



GAB SESSION . . . Commentator Edward R. Murrow waves a cigaret as he talks with newsmen after the filmed appearance of Sen. McCarthy (R.-Wis.).

International News Photo.

from:

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
485 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.
Plaza 1-2345

April 6, 1954

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

STATEMENT BY CBS ON SENATOR McCARTHY'S ATTACK
ON EDWARD R. MURROW

Edward R. Murrow has been associated with the Columbia Broadcasting System for over 19 years. The management of CBS has had ample opportunity during this time to become fully aware of Mr. Murrow's passionate devotion to his country and to the fundamental principles upon which it is built. It also knows of his equally passionate opposition to those who, either within or outside our boundaries, would subvert those principles.

Mr. Murrow's achievements during the past 19 years have brought honors and distinction to CBS. They have won for him acclaim in tangible form from high officials in the United States Government and from the leaders in the fields of industry, law, science, education, and the arts. And, of special significance, acclaim has come to him from those well equipped to judge him; from leading members of the free American press, radio and television.

Mr. Murrow has won over 50 awards which attest to his integrity and accuracy as a broadcaster. Among them are the Peabody Award, which he has won four times, the Alfred I. DuPont Award, which he has won twice, and the Overseas Press Club Award, which he has won six

(More)

times. There is no major broadcasting award covering the presentation of the news or news subjects which has not been won by Mr. Murrow at least once.

CBS subscribes fully to the integrity and responsibility of Mr. Murrow as a broadcaster and as a loyal American.

* * *

from:

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
485 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.
Plaza 1-2345

April 6, 1954

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

STATEMENT BY EDWARD R. MURROW ON
SENATOR McCARTHY'S BROADCAST ON "SEE IT NOW," APRIL 6, 1954

Senator McCarthy's reckless and unfounded attempt to impugn my loyalty is just one more example of his typical tactic of attempting to tie up to Communism anyone who disagrees with him. I now join the distinguished list upon which already appear the Washington Post, the Milwaukee Journal, Time Magazine, Commonweal, the Christian Science Monitor and General Marshall, among others. The Washington Post is characterized by Senator McCarthy as "the Washington edition of the Daily Worker"; the Milwaukee Journal as "the Milwaukee edition of the Daily Worker"; Time Magazine as having a purpose to "obstruct the fight against Communists"; Commonweal, a leading Catholic weekly, as having done "a great service to the Communist party"; the Christian Science Monitor as paralleling the Daily Worker in "venomous, distorted" stories; and General Marshall as "always and invariably serving the world policy of the Kremlin."

Senator McCarthy plays upon this nation's determination to protect itself against Communism as a means of creating distrust of anyone who criticizes him no matter how devoted to our American institutions the critic may be. I take no back seat to Senator McCarthy or anybody else in my dedication to this country and to its aims and ideals, nor are my views about the danger of Communism or Communist

(More)

infiltration into the affairs of this country less uncompromising than those presumably held by the Junior Senator from Wisconsin. It is my devotion to the principles upon which this nation rests -- justice, freedom and fairness -- which sets me apart from Senator McCarthy. I would like to repeat the thought I expressed in answer to an earlier attack on me by Senator McCarthy: When the record is finally written, as it will be one day, it will answer the question who has helped the Communist cause and who has served his country better, Senator McCarthy or I. I would like to be remembered by the answer to that question.

Here are comments on the specific points raised by Senator McCarthy tonight:

1. One charge is that by my own admission I was a member of the IWW. That is false. I was never a member of the IWW. I never applied for membership. I assume that this false charge was manufactured by Senator McCarthy from the fact that in summers during college and during one year before college in the mid-twenties, I worked in lumber camps in the Pacific Northwest, where remnants of the old World War I IWW movement were still found among the lumber workers. But never was I a member or supporter of the IWW, nor did I ever work with that organization.

2. Another charge is that Professor Harold Laski dedicated a book to me. That is true. The book was published in this country in 1943. Professor Laski was a British scholar and Socialist politician. He was a friend of mine.

(More)

He is dead. He was a Socialist. I am not. There are many contentions in his book with which I do not agree. He was one of those civilized individuals who did not insist upon agreement with his political ideas as a pre-condition for friendship or conversation. Senator McCarthy's implication that Laski's book was dedicated to me as a supporter of his views is refuted by Laski's introduction to his book, written in the third year of Britain's war against the Nazis, in which he said:

> ". . .our country owes an immense debt to Mr. E. R. Murrow. Day and night since before the war began he has done everything that courage and integrity can do to make events in this country a living reality to his fellow citizens of the United States. I am only one of the many Englishmen who have found in his faith and trust in our people a new power to endure and hope."

This was a reference to broadcasts to the United States which I made from London in my capacity as European Director of CBS News throughout the war years.

3. Another accusation against me is that Owen Lattimore mentions me in his book, Ordeal by Slander, published in 1950. At page 211 occurs the reference to me. After paying tribute to a number of newspaper and radio reporters who knew him personally and whose reporting and editorial work were, to quote Lattimore, "clearly based upon the ancient principle that I was innocent unless proved guilty," Lattimore goes on to express appreciation to reporters whom he had never met before the hearings and to reporters whom, like me, he has

(More)

never met. There were no complaints about my treatment of the Lattimore case by those who were interrogating him. Everything that I said on that case is a matter of record and can be examined by anyone interested. Within the limits of human fallibility I have attempted when reporting controversies of substance involving an individual to present both sides of the case and not to presume guilt until it has been proven. I shall continue to do that in subsequent controversies and that specifically includes the case of Senator McCarthy.

4. Senator McCarthy's principal attack on me is an attack on the Institute of International Education, of which I was assistant director and am now a trustee. He says that it was chosen by the Soviet agency, VOKS, to act as its representative, to do a job which would normally be done by the Russian Secret Police in connection with the selection of American students and teachers to attend a Communist school in Moscow in 1934. That is false.

The facts are these: The Institute of International Education is an institution which was founded in 1919 largely through the efforts of Nicholas Murray Butler, then President of Columbia University. Its purpose was to improve American relations with foreign countries through exchanges of students and educational facilities. I served as Assistant Director from 1932 to 1935 and have been one of its trustees since 1931. It is an association I am proud of and one in which I have had many distinguished associates -- John Foster Dulles, Milton Eisenhower, Ralph J. Bunche, Virginia Gildersleeve, Philip Reed, to name just a few.

In 1934, the Moscow University had organized an Anglo-American Institute which proposed holding summer sessions in Moscow for English

(More)

and American students. The Institute of International Education acted as American sponsor for the summer session in 1934, as it did for summer schools in other countries, including England, France and Germany. I, as a representative of the Institute of International Education was one of the 24-member National Advisory Council which was set up to advise the director of the American group. All of the members of the Advisory Council were selected by the Institute. None was selected by VOKS, or any other Soviet agency. The American group was open to all academically qualified students who applied for registration and included students from 60 American universities and colleges. The only contact which VOKS had with the American group was in connection with procuring living and travel facilities for the group while it was in Russia. Inasmuch as VOKS was the Soviet bureau in charge of such matters for foreign visitors, contact with it was necessary if the students were to sleep and eat.

As for the Senator's charges that I or the Institute was engaged in propaganda for Communist causes, the measure of the truth of this is that the Soviets refused, after the 1934 summer session, to have anything more to do with the Institute of International Education. It refused to permit students to attend the 1935 session under the Institute's auspices. When the Institute tried -- at the request of the United States Government -- to arrange for American students to go to Russia after World War II, it was met with a Soviet blast, appearing in several Communist publications in Europe, calling it and its program "the centre of international propaganda for American reaction," and charging, among its trustees, John Foster Dulles as ". . .one of the most violent of the war mongers, publicly branded by

(More)

A. Y. Vyshinski." I was favored in that same attack with the tag "reactionary radio commentator."

The Institute of International Education is today the contracting agency for the government of this country in administering various student programs abroad. It also administers student programs under the Fulbright Act and the Smith-Mundt Act. Over the course of the years, it has arranged, in all, some 30,000 exchanges of students and professors between the United States and over 50 foreign countries.

In 1948, President Eisenhower said of its work:

> "In these troubled days, the far-sighted policy of international education has become a firm foundation on which will ultimately rest the peace for which all the world is so earnestly yearning. I can assure you of my very best wishes and my full cooperation in the great achievements that lie ahead for the Institute of International Education."

I believed twenty years ago, and I believe today that mature American students and professors can engage in conversation and controversy, in the clash of ideas with Communists <u>anywhere</u>, without becoming contaminated or converted. To deny this would be to admit that in the realm of ideas, faith and conviction the Communist cause, dogma and doctrine are stronger than our own.

5. Senator McCarthy attacked me because the Daily Worker on March 9th listed my television program as a "good bet" -- also, that in two subsequent issues this paper praised me. I cannot take responsibility for what the Daily Worker or any other publication has to say about my program or about me personally. I can say that I had no

(More)

knowledge that I was to be the subject of notice by the Daily Worker or any other Communist publication. This is more than Senator McCarthy can say about the Communist support he accepted in aid of his 1946 campaign for the United States Senate.

Here is an example of what Senator McCarthy calls "praise" by William Z. Foster in the March 17th issue of the Daily Worker: "During the past 10 days Senator McCarthy has received a number of resounding belts in the jaw. These came from Adlai Stevenson, E. R. Murrow, Senator Flanders, the Army leadership, broadcasting companies. Even Eisenhower himself had to give McCarthy a slap on the wrist." This is the sole reference to me in the Foster article.

6. With his massive research on me the Senator could not even get my present relationship with CBS straight. He repeatedly referred to me as the Educational Director of the Columbia Broadcasting System, a position I have not held for seventeen years.

* * *

F 51-2/52

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.

Private Wire

PLEASE READ INSTRUCTIONS BELOW BEFORE SENDING YOUR MESSAGE.

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Messages for **WBBM** and **KNX** are normally sent within an hour after receipt in the Communications Room on Mondays through Fridays; messages to other stations are normally transmitted so as to reach the addressee not later than **NOON LOCAL TIME** on the first business day following their receipt in the Communications Room, providing the teletype equipment at the receiving point is attended. Mark your message "Today" **ONLY** if faster service to these other stations is vital.

DATE MARCH 9 19 54

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Div. Dept.

TO: MR. WILLIAM PALEY
CBS
485 MADISON AVE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

YOU ARE 100% RIGHT ON MC CARTHY. STAND BY YOUR GUNS.

PERSONAL REGARDS

EUGENE PULLIAM

PUBLISHER....INDIANAPOLIS STAR NEWS

New York World-Telegram and The Sun

IN TWO SECTIONS
SECTION ONE

Local Forecast: Considerable cloudiness today becoming fair tonight. Cloudy tomorrow. Weather Fotocast on Page 20.

SCRIPPS-HOWARD

VOL. 121—NO. 149— Entered as second class matter, Post Office, New York, N. Y. NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 10, 1954 Copyright, 1954, by New York World-Telegram Corporation FIVE CENTS

Night

LATEST NEWS

Civil Service, Page 32
School News, Page 33

Probe CCNY of Buying Of Athletic Equipment

Favored Firm Got Top Price Without Bids

By WILLIAM MICHELFELDER,
Staff Writer.

The Board of Higher Education is studying a report of possible irregularities involving the purchase of thousands of dollars in athletic equipment by certain City College executives, the World-Telegram and Sun learned today.

Acting on a tip from the District Attorney's office, former Investigations Commissioner James H. Sheils began a probe of CCNY athletic policies in 1952-53 to find out why it cost the taxpayers more money to buy athletic equipment for CCNY than any other New York college.

This disturbing report was turned over by Mr. Sheils last November to former Mayor Vincent R. Impellitteri who subsequently referred it to former Corporation Counsel Denis M. Hurley and the Board of Higher Education where it lay dormant until today.

Buys From One Firm.

The report showed that CCNY paid more than other local colleges—even other city colleges—for the same uniforms and basketballs and other equipment bought from the same athletic equipment dealer.

The report showed that while many athletic equipment companies could bid competitively for contracts with other colleges, CCNY was buying—at higher prices—all of its equipment from one firm.

The current investigation commissioner, Peter Campbell Brown, confirmed the existence of the report.

"Our files show that the report was sent out in November, 1953 to Mayor Impellitteri and that we received acknowledgement from the assistant corporation counsel's office," said Commissioner Brown.

The investigation as conducted by his predecessor, said Mr. Brown, was to "ascertain whether there were any gratuities or kickbacks" involved in the buying of such equipment at high prices from one firm.

No Kickbacks Revealed.

Records of Mr. Sheil's probe in Commissioner Brown's files indicate that the paying of kickbacks by the firm to CCNY officials "was not ascertained." But the report underlined the fact that CCNY dealt with one firm and no other and paid a higher price for the same basketball that was sold to Queens, Hunter or Brooklyn College for a lower price.

The report also emphasized that the firm getting all of CCNY's athletic equipment business was run by a CCNY graduate.

This graduate, a professional basketball referee, was also a personal friend of a top CCNY official, this newspaper learned.

Further investigation by Mr. Sheils' staff also showed that CCNY paid more for athletic equipment than did the privately run colleges like Fordham, Manhattan and NYU.

In several instances, it was learned, CCNY paid a list price for basketballs and baseball equipment to this one firm and the same firm then sold the identical equipment at below list price to Brooklyn College officials. Brooklyn College is a city institution.

Proposed Junket Probed.

From a top source, this newspaper learned that the Board of Higher Education is also continuing a separate investigation into the behavior of two other CCNY officials who were allegedly tied up with a "play-for-pay" proposed basketball junket to South America last year.

This situation led to the firing of CCNY basketball coach Nat Holman last week by the Board of Higher Education for "neglect of duty" in failing to discipline those involved.

It was stressed that Mr. Holman is in no way involved with the investigation of equipment-buying.

This Is No Gag!

United Press Telephoto.

Joan eBnny, adopted daughter of comedian Jack Benny, smiles happily with her new husband, Seth Baker, after last night's wedding. (Story on Page 3.)

Altar Boy to Vandal: Mom Wonders Why

How does it happen that a youngster who is an altar boy and has a nice comfortable home and a bright future suddenly finds himself locked up and charged with wrecking a lower East Side school?

Mrs. Ellen Davis, a graying, tired woman, raised her hands today and let them drop limply in her lap as she tried to answer the question in her home, 636 Water St.

Parents Confused.

Her son, Edward, 17, a senior at the Seward Park High School, is one of seven teen-age boys who will be arraigned in court today for their part in wrecking the Carlears Junior High School, also known as PS 12, at Madison and Jackson Sts., Monday night.

Mrs. Davis and her husband, Edward, an elevator operator employed by the Department of Hospitals, were confused. They kept asking themselves: "Why?"

"Eddie has been active in PAL (the Police Athletic League) and he served on the altar at St. Mary's and he was on the baseball team at the Henry Street Settlement," said Mrs. Davis.

"But lately he had seemed to lose interest in his studies. The school said he stayed away. His father talked to him, impressing on him the value of an education. Eddie promised to be good, and now this thing happens."

'Not a Good Boy.'

There was less puzzlement in the mind of Mrs. Bessie Genna, the mother of Vincent Maffrici, 19, of 342 Madison Ave., another of the boys under arrest.

"He's not a good boy," said Mrs. Genna. "Five children I have. Two married daughters, and the three boys. Dominic is 34 and drives a cab; Salvatore is 21 and is in Japan in the army. Vincent, he's just no good. At 12 he quit school and they never get him back. At 17 he go into the Navy. The Navy no want him and he comes out in one month, justa one month."

Mrs. Genna said Vincent would not work. He loafed around the house and the neighborhood and took his walks at night. Her husband, Tony, put it more simply:

"It's no use to talk to him. It's just like talking to a wall."

The other boys facing arraignment in Youth Term of Felony Court are Marty Ippolito, 17, of 676 Water St.; Robert Keenan, 16, of 265 Madison St., and Joseph Epilitto, 16, of 16 Jackson St. Two boys under 16, whose names are withheld because of their age, will go to Children's Court.

Five other youths are free in $100 bail each after leading a

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Full Page of School News appears Monday through Friday in the Night Edition.

Code of Ethics Set Up for Lawmakers

3 'Watchdog' Groups Urged in Albany

By WALTER MacDONALD,
Staff Writer.

ALBANY, March 10.—The "purity" Committee on Integrity and Ethical Standards in Government today recommended a compromise code of ethics for lawmakers and public officials and the creation of three watchdog bodies to police their actions.

Legislation to carry out the proposals was promptly introduced in both houses.

The committee avoided recommendation of a conduct code for officers of political parties, but did suggest legislation barring them from serving as judges of courts of record, attorney general, district attorneys or assistant district attorneys.

Code a Compromise.

The code apparently represents a compromise between the eight legislators on the committee and the four so-called public members appointed by Gov. Thomas E. Dewey. They have repeatedly been reported at odds over just how tough a code should be written.

Former Supreme Court Justice Charles C. Lockwood, of Brooklyn denied that the code and the proposed laws had been watered down to obtain agreement. He did admit that the measures were less severe than he desired.

Gov. Dewey had called for forceful handling of the problem and there were some observers who consider the bans against party and public officials are tougher than anticipated.

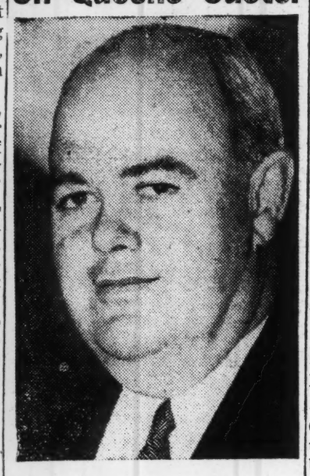
Proposal Listed.

Following are the committee's proposals:

1. Forbid any officer or employee of a state agency or legislative member to enter any or appear in any matter before a

Continued on Page Two

Roe Defies Mayor On Queens Ouster



JAMES A. ROE.

Won't Quit—New Pressure Expected

By RAY GHENT,
Staff Writer.

James A. Roe in effect today defied City Hall efforts to replace him as Queens Democratic leader.

Mr. Roe, at the close of a 15-minute meeting of his executive committee late yesterday, told the district leaders that he had been questioned by newspapermen about when he was going to resign, and said he wanted to tell them he had no intention of resigning now.

This attitude was taken despite the fact that Mayor Robert F. Wagner in recent weeks has shown in obvious fashion that he wants Mr. Roe out of the leadership. Mr. Wagner has gone out of his way to attend and speak at gatherings of Mr. Roe's opponents.

Primary Throwback.

Mr. Roe is out of favor at City Hall because of the virulence of his attacks on Wagner supporters in the primary campaign last year.

About 10 leaders were absent

Continued on Page Two

Viaduct Plunge Fatal

An unidentified man was killed early today when he plunged 100 feet from the Riverside Dr. viaduct into 12th Ave. at 134th St. In his pockets, police found a napkin on which he had scrawled: "I'm tired of living." Officers estimated he was 65 to 70 years old.

Curran to Review $10,000 Trot Fee

The star witness at the Moreland Act Commission's ninth and last scheduled public hearing on harness racing today was to be Thomas J. Curran, New York secretary of state.

At his own request, Mr. Curran was to take the stand again to re-explain the circumstances surrounding his acceptance of a $10,000 receway legal fee and the ownership of track stock by his wife.

Mr. Curran insisted misinterpretations were being made of his testimony last week before the commission.

At its hearing yesterday in the Criminal Court Building, 100 Centre St., the commission urged the breakup of the "empire" controlling Roosevelt and Yonkers raceways.

It called for the elimination of joint control, reduction of executives' salaries and the removal of "undesirables" from stock ownership.

Manhattan Port Still Idled by Defiant ILA

Dockers Ignore U.S. Writ, Bradley Plea

By EDWARD ELLIS,
Staff Writer.

The waterfront was shut down in Manhattan today but piers were being worked in Brooklyn as the wildcat dock strike went into its sixth day despite a federal no-strike injunction.

The hit-or-miss work stoppage revealed wide disagreement among members of the old ILA over the question of going back to work.

Top ILA officials were trying to get their dockwallopers back on the job. They have insisted since the strike began last Friday that they had not authorized the work stoppage.

Standing apart from the dispute are members of the AFL-ILA union. They were reported ready and willing to work the ships, given the chance.

Legal Jungle.

The old ILA appeared to be heading deep into a legal jungle.

Yesterday Federal Judge David N. Edelstein signed an order requiring the ILA to show cause next Tuesday why the union, eight of its locals and three of its officials should not be held in contempt of court.

In a petition submitted to the judge, Charles T. Douds, regional director of the National Labor Relations Board, accused the ILA of wilfully disobeying the no-strike injunction signed last Thursday by Federal Judge Edward J. Dimock.

Mr. Douds suggested that a $100,000 fine be imposed if the defiance did not end within two days after a contempt finding were made, with the fine increasing $25,000 a day for each additional day of noncompliance.

Injunction Extended.

In another legal action yesterday, Judge Dimock extended the temporary injunction to March 18 and adjourned to that date a hearing at which the ILA will be required to show why the order should not be made a long-lasting injunction.

The possibility of still more legal action arose as the result of picketing of the federal courthouse on Foley Square yesterday by about 500 sign-carrying members of the old ILA.

U.S. Attorney J. Edward Lumbard said he was making a close check of the federal law to see whether this picketing came under a federal statute which carries a $5000 fine and a year's jail term for anyone seeking to intimidate or influence federal court action through picketing.

CBS Says Murrow Leads In McCarthy Row Response

Wires, Phones Busy Nationwide

By PAUL MESKIL,
Staff Writer.

Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy's difference with two major radio-TV networks became something of a public issue last night when Columbia Broadcasting System's top commentator, Edward R. Murrow, blasted the Wisconsin Senator on his televison program, See It Now.

Mr. Murrow ended his show with a call to McCarthy opponents and supporters to speak up. They did, by the thousands.

This morning, CBS announced at its New York headquarters it had received more than 5000 telegrams and phone calls, overwhelming backing Mr. Murrow.

Call 96 Percent Pro-Murrow.

Of more than 2500 phone calls, a CBS spokesman said 96 percent were favorable to their commentator. The spokesman added that 1060 of the first 1075 telegrams were pro-Murrow, with 15 pro-McCarthy. The rest of the telegrams are still being processed.

CBS switchboards throughout the nation lighted up with calls as soon as Mr. Murrow went off the air.

Those telephoning congratulations included Margaret Truman and Sen. Mike Monroney (D., Okla.). The network said it was the greatest audience response it has ever received.

The CBS outlet in Washington, WTOP-TV, said it took 230 phone calls in 45 minutes and all but eight were anti-McCarthy. Philadelphia's WCAU-TV got 88 calls before its switchboard closed for the night, including 84 praising Mr. Murrow. In Chicago, station WBBM-TV said the first 300 calls it received were split about 2 to 1 in favor of the commentator. In Los Angeles, callers were divided about 50-50.

McCarthy Misses Show.

Sen. McCarthy, who yesterday blasted CBS and NBC for refusing him free air time to answer Adlai Stevenson's speech of last Saturday, did not see the Murrow program. He was asleep in his Washington home.

Before he returned to the capital from New York, he told reporters the two networks were "dishonest, arrogant and unmoral" and that he will carry his fight for free time to the courts or the Federal Communications Commission.

While turning down the Senator's demands, the networks granted a half hour to the Republican National Committee from 10:30 to 11 p.m. this Saturday. Vice President Richard M. Nixon was hand-picked by President Eisenhower to answer

Continued on Page Two

Divorces 5th Wife at 24

By the United Press.

MEMPHIS, March 10.—Sidney Jones has received a divorce from his fifth wife after he accused her of inhuman and cruel treatment. He is 24.

United Press Telephoto.

Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R., Wis.) arriving in Washington last night with his wife Jean. Mrs. McCarthy is on crutches because of injuries suffered in an automobile crash.

'No Contest' Finding Due On Chavez Senate Seat

By CHARLES LUCEY,
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer.

WASHINGTON, March 10.—A Senate subcommittee which investigated 1952 New Mexico voting irregularities will recommend that the seat now held by Sen. Dennis Chavez (D.) be vacated and the election called no-contest.

The finding has been made by Sens. Frank Barrett (R., Wyo.) and Charles Potter (R., Mich.) after a year's inquiry into charges of election fraud brought by Sen. Chavez' Republican opponent, Maj. Gen. Patrick J. Hurley (ret.). Sen. Thomas Hennings (D., Mo.), a third subcommittee member, is expected to oppose this view in a minority report.

Fight Predicted.

A Senate floor fight on the issue, probably next week, seems sure.

The main subcommittee findings will follow a line that:

Because of lack of secrecy of the ballot more than 50,000 New Mexico citizens were deprived of voting rights.

There was widespread disregard of laws governing aid to illiterate and otherwise handicapped voters.

Fraudulently changed ballots were shown in some three dozen precincts where 15,000 to 20,000 votes were cast.

The subcommittee will say that lax administration of the election laws resulted in what amounted to a breakdown of the electoral system.

Unseating Doubtful.

Republican Senators believe the report prepared by the committee staff under chief counsel Wellford Ware to be a strong one. Yet the odds are regarded generally as being against unseating Sen. Chavez. This is due mainly to the fact that the Senate is divided into 48 Democrats, 37 Republicans and one independent.

The subcommittee's report will be considered in final form probably tomorrow, and is expected to go the full Senate Rules Committee and to the Senate floor next week.

Sen. Chavez was declared the winner after the 1952 election by about 5000 votes.

Queens Rape Suspect Seized in Parking Lot

A man identified as the parking lot terrorist who has kidnaped, raped and robbed a number of women was being held by Queens police today. He is Miguel Garcia, 24, of 99-21 39th Ave. Corona.

Assigned to catch the rapist-mugger, Detectives Bernard McKenna and Edward Leinbach planted themselves yesterday at a third-floor window overlooking a large parking lot at 188th St. and Horace Harding Blvd., Hollis. They watched the lot through binoculars from 8 a.m. to 4:35 p.m.

Then they saw Garcia following Audrey Denzel, 23, of 47-25 48th St., Woodside. As she got into her car, Garcia jumped in beside her. He flourished a toy pistol and ordered her to keep quiet. Miss Denzel screamed. Garcia slugged her. The two detectives ran up and grabbed him.

Four other women identified Garcia as their attacker last night.

Wildcat Walkout Costing Dockers And Shippers $1,000,000 a Day

By JAMES EDMUND DUFFY,
Staff Writer.

New York's six-day-old wildcat dock strike has cost labor and shippers at least $6,000,000 with many ships lying idle at their docks and inbound vessels being diverted to other ports.

The whole labor picture in the port, with its recurrent work stoppages and delays to shipping, has affected some big shippers so deeply, it is reported, that they are planning to take their business elsewhere.

The current tieup, a symptom of the bitter struggle between the old International Longshoremen's Assn., now an independent union, and the new AFL-sponsored ILA, began last Friday.

Freighters Idle.

Yesterday between 40 and 50 freighters lay idle in port, costing their owners $5000 a day per ship, and dealing a terrific blow to the port's prestige and to the morale of most persons involved in the fight.

The New York Shipping Assn., whose members are the steamship companies, made no secret of the concern it feels. The situation today, a spokesman said, is indeed grave.

"We're losing millions and the port is losing business to other cities. This business may never be regained," he said. "Since last October, labor difficulties in the port have cost more than 2,000,000 man-hours, exclusive of the wages of seamen idled because their ships were tied up and exclusive of the tremendous losses of the last five days.

"These are actual figures given us by steamship companies. Longshoremen receive $2.27 hourly and nearly a third of the lost-hour tabulation represents overtime. Naturally, we wouldn't be hiring these men unless we needed them."

Losses Mount Hourly.

At $5000 a ship, the average daily loss for the tied up vessels would run to $225,000 a day for 45 ships, and in six days the figure would come to roughly $1,500,000. Add to that sum, the $4,540,000 represented by 2,000,000 man-hours at $2.27 an hour and you have an amount in excess of $6,000,000.

The losses mount hourly, the spokesman pointed out, but over and above this fact is the loss of future business. Many New York-bound ships are being sent to Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore and even Gulf ports. Each diversion means thousands of dollars in additional losses.

One major effect of the wildcat strike is that a huge lot of loaded freight cars is now tied up at New Jersey piers. These cargoes are destined for ships either tied up by the strike in Hoboken or Jersey City or are to be lightered eventually across the Hudson to New York and Brooklyn piers.

Report Harvester Quitting.

Rumors that the big shippers will definitely abandon this port because of the labor snafu are spreading over the waterfront and causing consternation among top port officials.

One shipper, the International Harvester Co., reportedly has diverted 65 percent of its business from New York since Jan. 1, and is planning a definite withdrawal of its port operations from New York.

Asked for verification of the report, a company spokesman refused comment.

The Weather

(Official United States Forecast)

New York and Metropolitan Area: Considerable cloudiness today becoming fair tonight. Increasing cloudiness tomorrow. Highest temperature today and tomorrow near 50. Lowest tonight about 35 in the city and 25 to 30 in the suburbs.

Connecticut: Today fair and little change in temperature. Fair and cold tonight.

TODAY'S READINGS.

	Temp.	Hum.		Temp.	Hum.
Midnight	49	—	5 a.m.	49	—
1 a.m.	49	—	6 a.m.	50	52
2 a.m.	49	—	7 a.m.	46	63
3 a.m.	49	—	8 a.m.	45	62
4 a.m.	49	—	9 a.m.	46	58

Year ago: High, 40. Low, 26.

SANDY HOOK TIDES.

A.M.	P.M.	A.M.	P.M.
High—11:58	—	Low—5:57	6:04

Sunrise, 6:17 a.m. Sunset, 5:37 p.m.

GI Killer's Trial Set

By the United Press.

TOKYO, March 10.—M/Sgt. Maurice L. Schick, 29, confessed slayer of the 9-year-old daughter of an American colonel, will go on trial next Tuesday, the Army announced today. Schick is charged with the premeditated murder of Susan Rothschild last Nov. 21 and faces the death penalty if convicted.

The World Over

Edited by C. E. (Gene) Fisher.

(From Dispatches of United Press and Associated Press)

Indo-China Reds Again Agree To Discuss Peace at Geneva

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 10, 1954.

Indo-China Reds moved quickly to take advantage of French Assembly's vote giving Premier Laniel's government authority to negotiate as it sees fit for peace in the seven-year war. Through Foreign Minister Hoang Minh Giam of the so-called Viet Minh government they repeated Red leader Ho Chi Minh's Nov. 26 offer of a "peace." Then Ho said the "Vietnamese people are determined to fight their patriotic war to a victorious end," but if France wants "to have an armistice and settle the question of Viet Nam through negotiations" his "government" is ready to meet the proposal. In his broadcast Hoang also seized the opportunity to condemn the "perfidious" cooperation of U.S. and France in Indo-China, but said his government "fully supports" the French decision to discuss Indo-China peace at Geneva. The Assembly, while urging peace, bluntly told the Indo-Chinese states of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos they must not cut loose from the French Union.

Ho Chi Minh

Europe, Asia.

As Egyptian President Naguib opened a huge East German industrial exposition in Cairo his government and Russia signed a trade pact expected to boost by 50 percent the present $28,000,000 annual trade between the two countries. Meanwhile, Commerce Minister Hassan Boghdadi stated a cabinet pledge that Egypt will do business with all nations despite their politics.

Italy's extended political crisis which has frightened her allies, crippled her foreign policy and paralyzed her fight against communism for nine months promised to end today. Barring an upset, Premier Scelba is expected to win a vote of confidence confirming his government in the Chamber of Deputies.

Informed sources say Secretary Dulles plans to make a personal effort at next month's NATO meeting to get France to OK a U.S. training program for native Indo-Chinese troops. The French have been resisting the proposal because (1) they fear such a program might incite the Red Chinese into entering the war and (2) they fear a well-trained Vietnamese army might eventually turn on the French and drive them from Indo-China.

Pravda sounded the official Communist party line on Sen. McCarthy, calling him the "troubador of U.S. fascism" who speaks for the Republican party: "He is presently rallying his forces for a fierce struggle against American workers who are arising for the defense of their social rights and material interests."

Austrian Chancellor Raab told his cabinet his government is willing to pay $1,160,000 to the Jewish community in the country as an interim settlement on compensation for properties seized by the Nazis. Jewish leaders are asking for $11,500,000.

A new retirement date for Churchill was predicted by the tabloid Daily Sketch—"the autumn of this year." Churchill will be 80 Nov. 30.

Pacific, Orient.

Nationalist China's Assembly fired Vice President Li Tsung-jen by a 1403-40 vote after a day-long debate renewing the charges of treachery against him including the accusation he deserted his duties at a time of crisis. (Li has been in U.S. since 1949, fleeing the mainland before the Reds drove the Nationalists to Formosa. He refuses to return and says the Chiang regime is not representative.)

President Rhee indicated South Korea will attend the Geneva parley but insists "we must have ironclad guarantees there will be no sellout of Korea." He declares the April meeting "will achieve nothing."

In Indo-China French air attacks hit Red positions around Communist-encircled Dien Bien Phu and ground sorties probed out to make light contact with the enemy. The Reds meanwhile captured a Vietnamese militia post 35 miles northwest of the rice capital, Hanoi.

Thailand Premier P. Pibul Songgram called the Philippines' "Asia for the Asians" (a slogan President Magsaysay repudiated today) ancient and outmoded. He said there should not be ideas like "Africa for the Africans" or "America for the Americans," but instead international co-operation through the U.N.

The Japan-U.S. mutual defense agreement is scheduled to go before parliament tomorrow, where hot Socialist opposition is expected to stir the warmest debate of the season.

The Americas.

Puerto Rican Senate by a 24-4 vote set up a seven-man committee to investigate subversive organizations. It said it would look into the Nationalist party.

Captured U-Boat Given to Museum

By the Associated Press.

WASHINGTON, March 10.—The Navy has handed over title to the captured Nazi submarine U505 to the Chicago Museum of Science and Industry.

The vessel will be towed from her present berth at the Portsmouth, N. H., Navy Yard and located at Chicago as a permanent exhibit and memorial for the U.S. Navy men who died in the Battle of the Atlantic against the Nazi submarine menace in World War II.

Network Says Senator Lags In Murrow Poll

Public Responds In McCarthy Row

(Continued From Page One.)

Mr. Stevenson's charges that the Republican party has sold out to McCarthyism.

In his broadcast last night, Mr. Murrow offered Sen. McCarthy the use of his program if he "believes we have done violence to his words or pictures and desires to speak, to answer himself."

Senator's Films Used.

The newscaster used the Senator's own filmed and tape-recorded voice.

Stating that the use of Congressional committees such as the one headed by Sen. McCarthy cannot be denied, Mr. Murrow added: "But the line between investigating and persecuting is a very fine one and the junior Senator from Wisconsin has stepped over it repeatedly.

"His primary achievement has been in confusing the public mind as between the internal andthe external threats of communism."

Mr. Murrow also said Sen. McCarthy's actions "have caused alarm and dismay amongst our allies abroad and given considerable comfort to our enemies."

The newscaster scoffed at Sen. McCarthy's claim thta "only the left-wing press" criticized him for his recent attack on Brig. Gen. Ralph W. Zwicker, commander of Camp Kilmer.

Papers Critical.

Mr. Murrow displayed several outstanding newspapers which had criticized this incident, including the World-Telegram and Sun, New York Times, New York Herald Tribune, Washington Times Herald, Chicago Tribune and St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

Congressional immunity and the half-truth, Mr. Murrow said, are "two of the staples of his (McCarthy's diet."

Although Mr. Murrow is on the CBS board of directors, a CBS spokesman said the program had been in preparation for several weeks and had no connection with Mr. McCarthy's attack on the two networks.

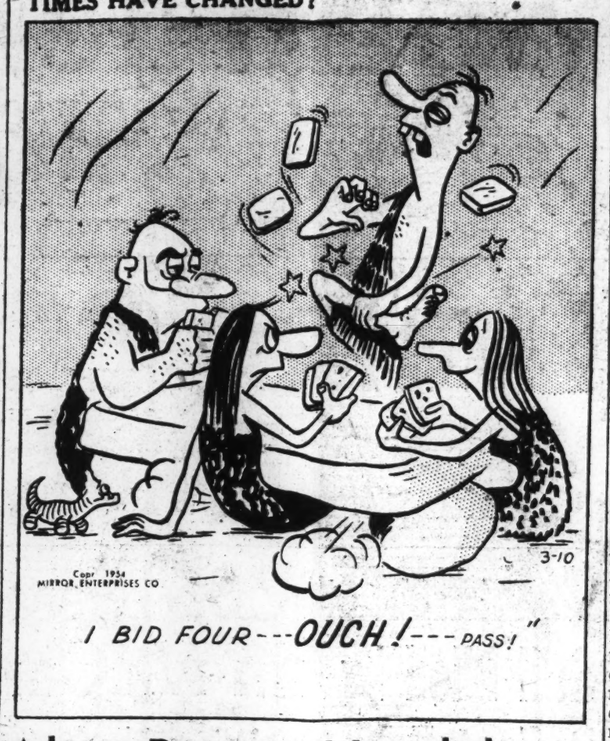
Meanwhile in Washington, President Eisenhower faced questioning at his ne ws confernce today about a statement by Sen. Ralph E. Flanders (R., Vt.) that Sen. McCarthy is "doing his best to shatter" the GOP.

Se nators Wary.

Republican leaders in the Senate shied away from comment on Sen. Flanders' assertion on the Senate floor yesterday that Sen. McCarthy, "by intention or through ignorance," was doing his best to wreck the Republican party.

Sen. Flanders, the first Republican Senator to strike out publictly at Sen. McCarthy by name, said the Wisconsin Seantor's wide-ranging hunts for subsersives were diverting the nation from serious problems to an extent "dangerous to our future as a nation."

TIMES HAVE CHANGED?



Altar Boy to Vandal: Mom Wonders Why

Continued From Page One

student strike for longer lunch periods and shorter class hours at Metropolitan Vocational High School, on Catherine St. between Madison and Monroe Sts., also on the lower East Side.

Trapped by Ink.

Police saw three of them loitering near the school yesterday and noticed one had ink stains on his trousers. Under questioning, they admitted the vandalism and implicated the others.

They said they had read newspaper stories of vandalism in other schools and decided to get some publicity for Corlears by wrecking it.

Three of the boys hid in the school Monday until the custodians left. Then they admitted the other four. Breaking into the principal's office and 15 classrooms, they overturned desks, destroyed records, sprayed fire extinguishers on walls and floors, scribbled obscene words on blackboards, smashed a typewriter and spilled ink bottles. Damage amounted to several thousand dollars.

Parents Warned.

Police and school officials took quick action to break up yesterday's strike at Metropolitan Vocational. Letters were sent to parents of 55 boys, asking them to report to the principal.

Rebellious students threw rocks at newspaper photographers, hitting a woman passerby on the head. Mrs. Rose Krawczwk, 41, of 388 Pearl St., was treated at Beekman-Downtown Hospital. The five youths who were arrested will be arraigned in Youth Term of Felony Court today.

Rising vandalism and delinquency prompted 14 school board chairmen in Manhattan yesterday to call community meetings with school and police officials as well as parents and community leaders.

Councilman Philip J. Schupler (D.-Lib., Bklyn.), meanwhile, asked the City Council to call on the Board of Education for prompt action to smash a "growing crime wave" among teenagers.

Mr. Schupler proposed segregated classes for juvenile delinquents and at least one special school in each borough for the exclusive purpose of rehabilitating young offenders.

Excise Tax Slash Set for House OK

By the Associated Press.

WASHINGTON, March 10.—House leaders of both parties predicted close to unanimous approval today for a bill to slice about $912,000,000 a year off many excise taxes and to postpone for one year cuts scheduled in others.

The bill would level off at 10 percent all excise or sales tax rates now above that figure, except for liquor and tobacco, effective April 1.

Sponsors said this would bring a wide range of price as well as tax cuts, save shoppers substantial sums, and give a boost to business.

The bill would slash the present 25 percent rate on long distance telephone calls; cut in half the 20 percent tax on movies, sports and other admission tickets, and on furs, jewelry, luggage, cosmetics, women's pocketbooks, wallets, cameras, film and light bulbs; and cut on one-third the present 15 percent rate on sporting goods, pens, mechanical pencils, lighters, local telephone bills and rail, bus or air passenger fares.

On the other side, it would cancel about $1,070,000,000 in excise tax reductions scheduled April 1 under present law.

Roe Resisting Mayor's Drive For Ouster

Won't Quit—New Pressure Expected

(Continued From Page One.)

yesterday from the routine executive committee meeting because it was called on the day of the annual Queens legislative dinner in Albany. Several leaders were attending the dinner.

Mr. Roe's opponents say they have been assured by City Hall sources that pressure will be intensified for his removal after the Brooklyn organization makes a change in leadership—expected at its meeting tomorrow morning.

Kenneth F. Sutherland has said he will propose his resignation at this meeting. However, word has come from friends of Mayor Wagner that the two leading contenders for the Sutherland berth are not likely to meet with hearty City Hall approval. Both are said to have been active in the primary campaign for Justice Vincent R. Impellitteri, who was Mayor then.

They are James F. Power, president of the Board of Elections and leader of the 13th Assembly District, who is regarded as the leading candidate, and former Sheriff James V. Mangano, leader of the 8th AD.

The Borough Works Commissioner, John J. Lynch, has insisted that he does not want the post.

Judge Protects News Tip Source

By Scripps-Howard Newspapers.

COVINGTON, Ky., March 10.—A federal district judge has refused to make a reporter reveal the source of his information.

Judge Mac Swinford's ruling came during the trial of George Gugel, Newport (Ky.) police chief accused of violating a new photographer's civil rights.

The chief was indicted after a raid on the "Schmidt Playtorium" in Newport last July. The camera and plates of George Bailey, Louisville Courier-Journal photographer, were seized and Mr. Bailey was jailed.

Gordon Engelhart, night city editor of the Courier-Journal, accompanied Mr. Bailey on the raid. Yesterday, Mr. Engelhart was testifying before Judge Swinford.

A defense attorney asked Mr. Engelhart how he had known, 24 hours in advance, that the raid was going to be staged.

"I would rather not answer that," the editor replied.

"Judge Swinford will decide whether you'll answer or not," said the defense attorney.

Judge Swinford broke in—

"It's not necessary, it's not pertinent. He can tell what he knows but I will not ask him to reveal the source of his information."

Code of Ethics Set Up For Albany Lawmakers

Compromise Urges 3 'Watchdog' Groups to Police Officials' Actions

Continued From Page One

state agency wherein his compensation would be based on a contingent fee.

2. Forbid any such person to sell goods to any state agency unless it is pursuant to an award or a contract let after public notice and competitive bidding.

3. Bar for two years after severing his connection from a state agency any former officer or employee making appearances before that agency in matters in which he was directly concerned or in which he personally participated during his public employment.

Teeth in Proposal.

Violation of any condition would constitute a misdemeanor.

Any such state official who has a direct or indirect financial interest of $10,000 or more in "any activity subject to jurisdiction of a regulatory agency" should file a statement to this effect with the secretary of state, the committee suggested.

This record would be open to public inspection.

The regulatory agencies covered by this registration provision are the Banking, Insurance, Agriculture and Markets, State and Labor departments; Public Service Commission and State Liquor Authority.

Additionally, the committee admonished officers and employees against engaging in any transaction as a state agent with any business organization in which his financial interest is either direct or indirect.

Avoid Investments.

These persons were also told to avoid investing in enterprises which might be directly involved in decisions to be made by them.

The committee asked the legislature to adopt resolutions which would put the policing of the ethics code in the hands of a four-man Senate unit and a four-man Assembly committee.

Another committee, designated the Advisory Committee on Ethical Standards, would be set up by the attorney general to check conduct of officers and employees of state agencies.

The three groups would receive complaints on code violations, investigate them and report to the respective body that has the power to fire or discipline violators.

McCarthy Calls 5 More In Radar Lab Probe

By the United Press.

WASHINGTON, March 10.—Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R., Wis.) called five more witnesses today in his search for Communist infiltration of a New Jersey laboratory doing secret work for the Army.

He said the witnesses would discuss activities at the Federal Telecommunications Laboratory, Nutley, N. J., a private electronics plant that has done radar research under contract with the Army Signal Corps.

Sen. McCarthy identified one witness as Peter A. Gragis, self-confessed former Communist who appeared before the subcommittee last Friday and identified one of his former co-workers as educational director of the plant's Communist cell.

Mr. Gragis was expected to be asked to identify others as members of the same cell during the middle and late 1940s.

Sen. McCarthy's assistants announced that we would resume his investigation of reported Communist penetration of the Army tomorrow by recalling Mrs. Annie Lee Moss. An FBI undercover agent has testified that she knew the name of a Mrs. Annie Lee Moss to be on Communist party rolls as a member.

Sen. McCarthy has stated that Mrs. Moss worked in an Army code room that handled secret material.

65 More in Korea Now Listed as Dead

By the Associated Press.

WASHINGTON, March 10.—The Army made public today the names of 65 more men, listed previously as missing in action in Korea, whom it has determined to be dead. Next of kin have been notified.

The new list included: Cpl. William F. Callahan, son of John B. Callahan, 38 Park Ave., Yonkers; Sgt. Carl R. McVoy, brother of Sgt. 1/C William McVoy, 537th Ordnance Direct Support Co., APO 46, c/o PM, New York, and Cpl. Ronald C. Sparks, son of Mrs. Nellie G. Nager, 45-34 47th St., Woodside, Queens.

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3 Picture Pages

Lavish Benny Wedding

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Suicide Plunge Of Girl Foiled

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Most Complete TV Programs
Today on Page 36

NEW YORK Journal-American
AN AMERICAN PAPER FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE
DAILY 5 CENTS, SATURDAY 10 CENTS
No. 24,098—DAILY WEDNESDAY, MARCH 10, 1954
In Two Sections—Section One

LATEST NEWS

CURRAN FACES TROT QUIZ

Even the Bride and Groom Stayed:

Benny's the Tightwad Again After Joan's $60,000 Party

All Filmdom Turns Out

HOLLYWOOD, March 10.—Jack Benny resumed his TV-radio role of tightwad today after kicking in $60,000 for the fabulous wedding of his daughter Joan to stockbroker Seth Baker.

The 19-year-old bride and her husband, 26, son of industrialist Harry Baker, planned to fly from San Francisco to Hawaii today for their honeymoon.

They will return to New York to set up residence in a Park ave. apartment.

Benny gave away his adopted daughter last night in one of Hollywood's most opulent weddings.

HOTEL TRANSFORMED.

eWairng white tie, tails and glasses, Benny smiled weakly and made some attempts at humor, but seemed obviously nervous in his role as doting father.

"I'd rather not look so good and wear glasses, than fall on my face," Benny explained.

The crystal room of the princely Beverly Hills Hotel was turned into a flower-bedecked wedding chapel for the occasion under the direction of arch-designer Dan Dan Loper.

The couple exchanged vows be-

Continued on Page 7, Column 5.

TENDER MOMENT . . . N. Y. stock broker Seth Baker whispers fervently to his bride, the former Joan Benny, after their lavish wedding in Hollywood. The couple will live in New York following a Honolulu honeymoon.

Happy Mr. and Mrs.!

Telecast Rap At McCarthy Stirs Storm

Jack O'Brian reveals that CBS officials tried to get Edward R. Murrow to moderate what they knew would be a one-sided anti-McCarthy program. The battle continued until TV time. Story on Page 36.

Edward R. Murrow's television broadcast last night criticizing Sen. McCarthy (R.-Wis.) stirred up a storm of controversy today.

The CBS program, "See It Now," was highly critical of the Senator's investigative methods.

Murrow offered McCarthy free time to reply.

A spokesman for CBS said today that an "unprecedented" number of telephone calls had been received after the broadcast.

According to CBS, 2,500 calls were received here after the show with 96 per cent congratulatory. Also 660 telegrams, of which all but six expressed approval of the program.

MOST DISAPPROVE.

However, calls to the N. Y. Journal-American after the broadcast were unanimous in disapproval. Other papers reported the same reaction from callers

CBS said Murrow gave his personal views on McCarthy and that it was not the opinion of the network.

"His primary achievement," Murrow said of McCarthy, "has been in confusing the public mind between the internal and external threats of Communism."

The boradcast climaxed a day in which McCarthy charged CBS and NBC with being "dishonest and unmoral" for refusing him time to reply to Adlai Stevenson's speech in Miami last Saturday night.

Trio in Police Toils:

Theft Financing Of Nuptials Fails

ARRESTED . . . Rose Cibelli, 21, of 314 Graham ave., Brooklyn, is consoled by her fiance, Joseph Roses, 19, of 104 Hopkinson ave. Brooklyn, after both were booked on charges of attempted burglary to finance their wedding.

Journal-American Photo by James McCulla

An unemployed Brooklyn welder and his fiancee today were accused of attempting a burglary to finance their coming marriage.

Also jailed was the bridegroom-to-be's sister, a prospective bridesmaid, who allegedly went along on the prenuptial foray for money.

Held were Joseph Roses, 19, of 104 Hopkinson ave., Rose Cibelli, of 21, of 314 Graham ave., both Brooklyn, who are to wed April 25, and Roses' sister, Jennie, 17, an office clerk.

ADMITTED ATTEMPT.

They were booked at the Astoria, Queens, station on charges of attempted burglary and possession of burglary tools.

Dets. Calvin Hudson and Leonard Scacalossi said the three admitted using a 12-inch file in an attempt to enter the apartment of Mrs. Ada Radivoy, at 12-16 30th ave., Astoria.

Police said the couple hoped to get enough money on the one job to launch their marriage.

His Big Fee Main Issue

Secretary of State Curran appears before the Moreland Act Commission today to clarify his testimony about a $10,000 fee he received from a harness track lawyer.

He already has admitted receiving the money. He said the payment was for introducing the lawyer to former Supreme Court Justice Bleakley in negotiations for the sale of the old Empire City race track.

The track is now the Yonkers Raceway.

Curran has insisted his testimony has been misconstrued.

SPECIAL SESSION.

On the stand Curran admitted his wife held 500 shares of the raceway stock until 10 days after Gov. Dewey appointed the Commission to probe the scandal-ridden tracks.

He asked to appear again and a special session was called for today to hear him. Curran probably will be the last witness in the investigation.

The Commission ruled yesterday for dissolution of the trotting track empire of lawyer George Morton Levy, who controls both Yonkers and Roosevelt Raceway in Nassau County.

Old Country Trotting Association, which Levy dreamed up and fostered, must divest itself of all interest in Algam Corp., racket-dominated landlord of Yonkers Raceway.

It also much reach an agreement with Nassau County Trotting Association to end the tenancy of the latter group of Roosevelt Raceway.

STUDYING LETTER.

Old Country must purchase all stock of Nicholas Retteni, Yonkers garbage king and friend of gambler Frank Costello, Mrs. William De Koning, wife of the Nassau County AFL labor czar, and James Watson, son-in-law of gambler Frank Erickson.

Under these conditions racing permits will be granted this year to both Yonkers and Roosevelt Raceways.

The Commission is studying a letter submitted by former Rep. Hamilton Fish, who said it contained charges of "influence peddling in the harness situation."

Fish said the letter, sent to him, named "a high Republican official—higher than any named in these hearings."

Former Judge Bruce Bromley, chairman of the Commission, after a 20-minute executive session, said the letter was "obviously, totally and maliciously false," but would be checked.

Viaduct Leap Kills Man, 65

An unidentified man about 65 plunged to his death early today from the 100-foot high Riverside dr. viaduct at 134th st.

At the W. 152d st. station where the body was taken, police said they found a three word message, "I'm tired of living," scrawled on a paper napkin in the victim's pocket. There were no other papers.

'Cocktail' Suicide In East Side Hotel

Police said today that William Peck, of Fairfield, Conn., apparently killed himself by swallowing a deadly "cocktail" brewed with several chemicals. His body was found in his room in the Beaux Arts Hotel, 310 E. 44th st., yesterday. A note asked there be no "fancy funeral."

Raids Threatened On Brooklyn Piers

Flying squads of strong-arm men from West Side locals of the International Longshoremen's Association today threatened to invade Brooklyn piers to force a work stoppage.

Police were alerted to possible raids by "Pistol" Local 824 of the racket-ridden union.

Although fearful of violence, pier boss Anthony "Tough Tony" Anastasio said longshoremen would stay on the job.

Defiant members in the rest of the harbor ignored pleas from ILA president William V. Bradley to return to work.

Angry strikers tied up the piers in the face of contempt of court citations obtained by the National Labor Relations Board.

Federal Judge Edelstein signed a show cause order requiring the ILA, eight locals and three union officials to appear Tuesday on the charges.

Charles T. Douds, regional NLRB director, asked that the union be fined $125,000 and $25,000 for each day the strike continues in defiance of a court injunction against an ILA boycott of cargo movements.

Members of Local 824 reportedly were taking votes to strike until they got a new contract.

House to Pass Tax Bill Today

By THOMAS J. FOLEY

WASHINGTON, March 10 (INS).—The House prepared today to pass its first major tax bill of the year—cutting excise levies on a score of items and extending rates on a few others for one year.

Both Republican and Democratic leaders predicted overwhelming approval despite President Eisenhower's opposition to the $912,000,000-tax reductions provided in the legislation.

The GOP decision on the limitation issue overrode the strong objections of Chairman Daniel A. Reed (R.-N.Y.), of the tax-writing Ways and Means Committee.

The one-year extension is on tax rates for liquor, wine, beer, cigarets, automobiles and trucks, gasoline and diesel fuel. These levies are scheduled to drop to pre-Korean levels on April 1, under present law.

Pope Pius Reported Improving Steadily

VATICAN CITY, March 10 (INS).—A Vatican source said today that Pope Pius XII was convalescing steadily after his recent illness. The Pontiff was spending several hours a day in a deck-chair and was being given increasing amounts of solid food.

Macfadden Advised Against 'Chute Jump

SALT LAKE CITY, March 10 (AP).—There'll be no parachute jump into the Great Salt Lake for 85-year-old Bernarr Macfadden—if he listens to the State Aeronautics Commission. It decided yesterday the dangers of such a jump would be contrary to its policy of promoting aerial safety. The magazine publisher wanted to jump on his 86th birthday.

To the Rescue!

Phila. Police Band to Lead N. Y. Cops' 5th Av. Parade

When the Police Department's "Holy Name" Society holds its annual communion breakfast and Mass on Passion Sunday, April 4, the group's 2,000 members will be led up 5th ave. to St. Patrick's Cathedral by the Philadelphia Police Band!

This was learned today exclusively by the N. Y. Journal-American from a source close to the office of Police Commissioner Adams, who last Feb. 5 ordered the Police Band and Glee Club here disbanded.

Traditionally, for many, many years, members of New York's famous Police Band led the procession of the "Finest" as the latter marched to the Cathedral for that annual Mass—and similarly led it to the Astor Hotel, Broadway and 44th st., for the Communion breakfast.

Commissioner Adams, in abolishing the 51-year-old departmental band and glee club, stated his purpose was to provide more men for patrol duty, and to save the department around $40,000-a-month in musicians' salaries.

From another police source, it was learned the Police Athletic League, according to present plans, will "provide a band" to head the Police Department's contingent in the annual St. Patrick's Day Parade on March 17.

This organization is composed of neighborhood youngsters throughout the city.

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See "Careers for Men-Women" Today's Classified Section Turn now to Pages 33 and 34

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THE WEATHER

Cloudy today and tomorrow, high near 50; tonight fair, low about 35. Sun rises, 6:17 a. m.; sun sets, 5:57 p. m. High tide at Governors Island, 12:08 a. m. and 12:39 p. m.

HOURLY TEMPERATURES

Midnight	51	4 a. m.	49
1 a. m.	49	5 a. m.	49
2 a. m.	49	6 a. m.	50
3 a. m.	49	7 a. m.	50

(Complete Weather Report on Page 15)

N. Y. JOURNAL-AMERICAN, 220 South St., New York (15), N. Y.
Full report of the Associated Press, International News Service, the Chicago Daily News Foreign Service, and AP Wirephotos and INP Soundphotos.
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230

M'Carthy Calls 5 in Quiz

By ALVIN SPIVAK

WASHINGTON, March 10.—Sen. McCarthy (R.-Wis.) today resumed subcommittee hearings on alleged subversion in the Army Signal Corps and defense plants working for it.

At the same time, he planned to hire attorneys in his fight for a Saturday night half-hour rebuttal to Adlai E. Stevenson over the National Broadcasting Co., and the Columbia Broadcasting System networks.

He declared last night that if Federal Communications Commission regulations permit the networks to deny him equal facilities to reply to Stevenson's talk last Saturday, "then the rule has got to be changed."

Both networks have granted free tife to the Republican National Committee, which named Vice President Nixon as their spokesman.

Meanwhile, the Senate Investigations group headed by McCarthy planned to call five witnesses in its probe.

The first, Peter A. Gragis of Levittown, L. I., was scheduled to resume testimony he began last Friday on former fellow-workers he identified as one time members of a Communist cell at the Federal Telecommunications Laboratory in Nutley, N. J.

The subcommittee also announced that Mrs. Annie Lee Moss, suspended Pentagon employe named two weeks ago by a former FBI undercover agent as a Communist, is scheduled to testify at a hearing tomorrow.

In his argument with CBS and NBC over his demand for time to answer Stevenson in addition to that granted Nixon, McCarthy said:

"I don't think that two networks with a semi-monopoly, and a complete monopoly in some areas, have any right to do that. I intend to test it out."

NEW SENATE PROBE.

Hinting that he might look outside the Communications laws and into anti-monopoly legislation, McCarthy asserted:

"The law, I think, governing the handling of monopolies is pretty much guided by the sense of right and wrong."

Meanwhile, the Senate Armed Services Committee announced it would make its own inquiry into subversives in the military forces.

Chairman Saltonsall (R-Mass.) said hearings will open March 18 and that Defense Secretary Wilson and subordinates including Army Secretary Stevens, recently involved in a dispute with McCarthy, will be called.

Earlier, Sen. Flanders (R-Vt.) declared in a Senate speech that McCarthy is a "one-man party" who is "doing his best to shatter" the GOP while diverting national attention from important issues.

OLD FRIENDS . . . Joan Crawford and Franchot Tone, reported romancing again, smile warmly in the Persian Room of the Hotel Plaza. Joan was his first wife, while he was her second husband. Both have been married three times, and are at present unmarried.

AP Photo

Very Warm For March

HQ Opened For Armed Forces Day

Headquarters opened at 346 Broadway today to arrange the flyovers, parades and ground displays for the observance of Armed Forces Day here and in seven other States May 15. Maj. Gen. Howard M. Turner, 1st Air Force commander, has primary responsibility fo the celebration in the Northeast.

His co-commanders are Lt. Gen. Withers A. Burress, 1st Army commander; Rear Admiral Charles B. Momsen, commandant of 1st Naval District, Boston, and Rear Admiral Roscoe H. Hillenkoetter, comamndant, 3d Naval District, here. Army, Navy and Air Force rotate yearly in running the nationwide observance and this is the Air Force's turn locally.

Navy Secretary:

Act to Fill Post Anderson Left

(Photo In Picture Section)

WASHINGTON, March 10 (AP).—The Administration was moving today to fill quickly the vacancy in the Navy Secretary's post created by the selection of Robert B. Anderson to be Deputy Defense Secretary.

The White House announced yesterday that President Eisenhower had sent Anderson's nomination to the Senate, to succeed Roger M. Kyes, who is leaving as No. 2 man in the Defense Department on May 1. Anderson is a "Democrat for Eisenhower" from Texas.

Secretary of Defense Wilson, at a Pentagon news conference shortly after the White House announcement, was asked if Gov. John Lodge of Connecticut, a Republican, was being considered to succeed Anderson for the Navy post.

Wilson said "I would rather not talk about" any of the possible choices, but added:

"It will be settled before the week is over."

Kyes, who attended the news conference, was asked why he was leaving the defense job.

"The best reason was that I agreed to come down (to Washington) for only one year," Kyes replied.

Ike Due to Address NAACP Conference

WASHINGTON, March 10 (AP).—President Eisenhower had a date today to address a "Freedom Fulfillment Conference" which opens a campaign to end racial discrimination by Jan. 1, 1963—the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. The conference is sponsored by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

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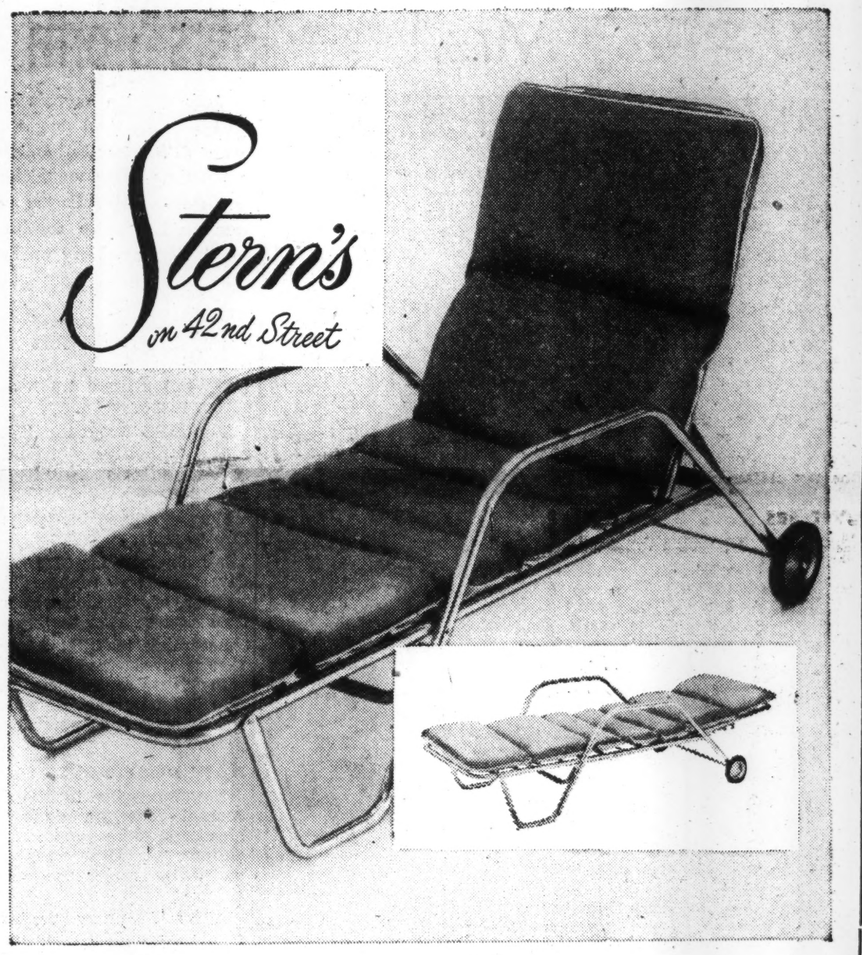

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ANNOUNCEMENTS

Public Notices—Commercial Notices—Lost and Found

Commercial Notices

AMATEUR Photographer wanted for pictures that tell a story; take 8x10 glossy prints, spare time. Send sample, Lee, Apt 7-F, 340 Frost st., Brooklyn.

LADIES—Electrolysis treatments $1.00 under expert supervision. Mornings, afternoons, evenings. Hoffman Institute, 100 W. 42nd st. WI. 7-0191

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Lost

BANKBOOK No. 189,966, Hamburg Savings Bank, 1451-3 Myrtle ave., Brooklyn. Payment stopped. Please return to bank.

BANKBOOK No. 18,794, Hamburg Savings Bank, Cypress Hills Branch, 3345 Fulton st., B'klyn. Payment stopped. Return to bank.

BROOCH, D.A.R. No. 303694 on back, Sat. in Man. sentiment. REWARD. BO. 3-0744.

CAT, large orange, male, altered, no stripes, no spots, New Hyde Pk.-Queens. PR. 5-7035.

DOG, (Collie and Chow); male, 1-yr., blond and white, long body, short legs. "RUSTY" Mar. 3d, 15th st-8th av. REWARD. AL.5-4183

ENGAGEMENT RING, diamond, in taxi or vic. Bay Ridge-Red Hook, Bklyn., Thurs., Mar. 4; sent; REWARD. TRiangle 5-2275.

EVENING BAG, black satin, initials in gold, "M.H."; lorgnette, money clip with watch, other small articles; lost Sunday night, March 7th in taxi from Stork Club to 66th st & 5th ave. Liberal Reward; Z-4728 Journal Dntwn.

Lost

GERMAN Shepherd, reddish brown, white feet, chest, tip of tail, young female; leather & chain collar, Manhattanville. REWARD. MO. 3-1080.

PARAKEET, blue, Tab, No. 14, owner heartbroken, vic. Auburndale and Bayside, Flushing; REWARD. 43-32 196th st. FL. 7-9502.

PARAKEET, BLUE, name "Jo-Jo," vicinity College Point; child heartbroken; reward. PLEASE call IN. 3-8360.

PLATINUM diamond charm bracelet including initials J.B. and initial E.; lost vicinity Stork Club, March 6. Reward. Harold S. Daynard, HA. 2-0465

WRISTWATCH, lady's, white gold and diamonds, vicinity 49th, Madison, 52d and 5th ave. sentimental value; REWARD. Call days, PL. 9-3221 or eves. SC. 4-9061.

GENEROUS Reward for return man's diamond solitaire ring, platinum mounting containing stone weighing 2.90 kts.; lost vicinity E. 34th st., Kings Highway, Ave. M, B'klyn, Feb. 26th. Phone J. L. Racionzer & Co., WH. 3-0748

REWARD—Safe return ring, square cut Siberian Amethist, 2 baguette amethists, 14 diamonds in square, gold mounting; lost Feb. 27th, vicinity 8805 5th ave., Penn. Sta., or taxi, N. Y. C. J. J. Ward, 26 Cliff st.; DI. 4-0370 Ext. 10.

REWARD—Safe return lady's ring, emerald cut solitaire diamond approx. 2½ kts., platinum setting; lost Feb. 12th, vicinity Lindenhurst shopping district, Wellwood ave. J. J. Ward, 26 Cliff st., N. Y.; DI. 3-0370 Ext. 16.

REWARD—Lady's diamond wristwatch; lost March 8th, vicinity Federal bldg., 271 Washington st., B'klyn, or Joe's Restaurant, B'kn.; H. C. Ott, BE. 3-4411

REWARD—Gold cigarette case; lost vic. Schrafft's 58th st. & Madison ave., or vic. Best's; or in taxi; or vic. E. 73rd st.; H. C. Ott, BE. 3-4411

$200 REWARD—Man's platinum GYPSY RING, containing 1 large round diamond; lost Feb. 23rd, vic. 160 E. 89th st. 36 W. 47th st., Madison or Lexington ave. bus, or Midtown N. Y. If returned to Wm M. Mortimer Co., 111 John st.; DI. 9-2900. (This offer expires May 9, 1954.)

REWARD $150.
DIAMOND PLATINUM BRACELET-WATCH 102 round diamonds, 6 baguettes, small diamond in stem. Lost March 4th. vic. Mark Hellinger Theatre or taxi uptown Manhattan. H. S. Daynard Co. 16 Liberty st. HA. 2-0465.

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Ed Murrow

November 5, 1952

Mr. Edward Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

In the forefront of the struggle for freedom of expression has been the American Civil Liberties Union and its affiliated committee, the National Council on Freedom from Censorship. For some years the Council has performed only perfunctorily in having been handicapped by lack of funds and personnel. This year, through the aid of the ACLU, it is proposed to revitalize the Council and make it more active.

Newer and different types of threats to freedom than the old-fashioned censor have arisen by the development of pressure groups. In line with this, we are planning to change the name of the Council to the National Coucil for Freedom of Expression, and engage in not only defensive, but educational activities too.

Your cooperation in the work, either through active participation or consultation is both wanted and needed. We are, therefore, inviting you to join with us and trust we may have the pleasure of your acceptance. Membership on the Council is contingent on your subscribing to the enclosed resolution adopted by the ACLU, governing membership on its Board and staff.

A return postcard is enclosed for your convenience. May we hear from you promptly.

rec'd 11/19/52

Very sincerely yours,

Elmer Rice m.t.

Elmer Rice, Chairman
National Council on Freedom
from Censorship

enclosures

from the desk of—
JACK BECK

John Aaron, Jesse Zousmer

Suggest you add this to the McCarthy file as it relates to the ACLU. Some of the information might be useful.

JB

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March 13, 1954

Mr. Barnard Miller
Columbia Broadcasting System
Hollywood, Calif.

Dear Mr. Miller:

I trust that our office provided you with sufficient information concerning our bouts with the Tenney Committee. My correspondence with Sen. Tenney in 1943 is carried quite fully in a book called "The Tenney Committee," by Edward L. Barrett, Jr., Professor of Law at the Univ. of California in Berkeley. The book was published by the Cornell University Press in 1951. The book should be available in your public library.

Chapter X discusses our difficulties with the Tenney Committee under the heading, "The Ineradicable Stain." (Page 257-268) The book also carries the statement of the Committee's counsel, Richard Combs, made at a hearing in Fairfax, Calif., on October 23, 1947: "I told Mr. Besig this morning that I would state for the record--and I am now fulfilling what I told him--that as far as our reports are concerned, we have never characterized the A.C.L.U. as a Communist front organization, which we have not." (Transcript, vol. 31, p. 135)

I am delighted to know that Mr. Combs has very generously made a similar statement at this time. I've always found Mr. Combs to be a square shooter. It does not surprise me to learn that Sen. Burns was reluctant in giving us the same kind of clearance although he's much better than Sen. Tenney, his predecessor, and has more savvy. If Mr. Murrow quotes either of these gentlemen in the course of his broadcasts, I would appreciate receiving a copy of his statement.

If we can be of further service to you, please call upon us.

Sincerely yours,

Ernest Besig

Ernest Besig, Director

SHOW #10 SEE IT NOW Nocwmvwe 24, 1953

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Good evening. Five weeks ago tonight, this program devoted considerable time to the case of Lt. Milo Radulovich, an Air Force Reserve Officer, whom a Security Review Board felt was a security risk . There were no charges against Radulovich, only against his sister and father. The case had been under the consideration of the Air Force ever since. At the conclusion of our report five weeks ago, we took the opportunity to offer criticism, comment or correction. Today, the decision was reached on Lt. Milo Radulovich, and here is the Secretary of the Air Force, Harold E. Talbott.

SECRETARY OF AIR FORCE, HAROLD E. TALBOTT:

Mr. Murrow, as Secretary of the Air Force, it is mysworn duty to uphold and protect the security of the United States. I am also keenly aware of my responsibility to protect the individual rights and privileges of each man and woman in the United States Air Force. The preservation of our American way of life requires that we must be alert to safeguard our individual liberties. I have given the case of 1st Lieutenant Milo J. Radulovich the most serious consideration. I have decided that it is consistent with the interests of the national security to retain Lieut. Radulovich in the United States Air Force. He is not, in my opinion, a security risk. Routine investigation had produced certain information which raised a real question as to whether Lieut. Radulovich was a security risk as an Air Force officer.

SECRETARY OF AIR FORCE, HAROLD E. TALBOTT:

This information related not to Lieut. Radulovich's own activities and views but to those of other individuals with whom Lieut. Radulovich appeared to be closely associated. It led an Air Force Board to question whether Lieut. Radulovich should be retained in the Air Force Reserve. The policy of the Department of the Air Force is not to discharge any officer or airman as a security risk without giving him notice of the derogatory information in the Air Force's possession, and a full opportunity to present his own case in justification of his retention in the Air Force. In the course of the hearings, Lieut. Radulovich testified at length concerning his relationship with his sister. He did not attempt to explain or justify her reported activities, but he maintained that he would not be influenced by them. Lieut. Radulovich is a mature officer with a family of his own. He served honorably and well for 14 months as an Airman, and 6 years as an officer on active duty with the Air Force. After reviewing the entire record in this case, I am convinced, that under all the circumstances, the nature of Lieut. Radulovich's association with his sister is not such as to make her activities and beliefs the determining factor in this case. I am also convinced that the record does not support the conclusion that Lieut. Radulovich's father has engaged in activities of such a type as to bear upon the decision in this case. The question raised as to security has thus been resolved in Lieut. Radulovich's favor, and I have, therefore, directed that Radulovich be retained in his

SECRETARY OF AIR FORCE, HAROLD E. TALBOTT:

present status in the United States Air Force.

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EDWARD R. MURROW:

That was Secretary of the Air Force, Harold E. Talbott, announcing his decision in the case of Milo J. Radulovich. Time now for ALCOA.

COMMERCIAL

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This next report we call "The Argument in Indianapolis." There was considerable argument there last week between the American Legion and a group of people who wanted to start a local Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union. This report was all filmed in a period of five days, and all the arguments will be presented by the people who actually participated. Our reporters: Joe Wershba and Ed Scott; our cameramen: Charlie Mack and Marty Barnett.

That shaft is an Indiana landmark - a Memorial to those who died in the war between the States. Located at almost the exact center of the State of Indiana - 3 blocks North of here is a Memorial to the dead of World War I. This is the Indiana World War Memorial. In the last part of October, a group of Indiana citizens booked the auditorium for the night of November 20th, for a meeting to form

EDWARD R. MURROW:

an Indianapolis Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union. On November 16th, four days before the meeting, the reservation was cancelled by the auditorium management. W. Roland Allen, a department store executive, begins the story for us.

W. ROLAND ALLEN:

On the 16th of October, a group of 60 or 70 fine men and women -- professors from Indiana University and Perdue University, physicians, lawyers, housewives, and other good folk got together in a local hotel here to decide whether or not it would be wise to form an American Civil Liberties unit here in Indiana. Some very simple committees were set up, one of which was to find a place to speak in. A few weeks later, we all got a notice that a room had been secured at the Indiana War Memorial, a vast and huge building, erected in memory of the men who died in World War I - incidentally, fighting we think, for civil liberties. We had the East Room of that building and felt secure in immediately sending out notices to several hundred people of the time and place of the meeting. A few days before that meeting was scheduled, we heard to our surprise, that the Hall had been disallowed our group as a result of a protest from the American Legion and the Minute Women, a group by the way, that I personally had never heard of before.

And so, the old problem of controversy came up, and many people mistook controversy for conspiracy.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Next, Wershba went to F.J. "Star" Brown, manager of the War Memorial, and asked why permission to use the auditorium had been withdrawn.

F.J. "STAR" BROWN:

When the American Civil Liberties Union applied to me to have a meeting, their local representatives in Indianapolis, as far as I know, were very reputable people, representing business and learning in Indiana. So I granted them the privilege of setting the date for this meeting. After two weeks had gone, I began to get letters from various groups, including the American Legion, the Minute Women of Indiana, and others ... realizing that this meeting must be of a controversial nature, and not agreeable to the rules and regulations that govern the use of this Indiana World War Memorial, I thereupon cancelled the meeting of the American Civil Liberties Union.

WERSHBA: Tell me, did you ever find out who these Minute Women of Indiana are?

A. I do not know anything about the Minute Women of Indiana. There is an organization of Minute Women but I don't know anything about them.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

This is 3650 Washington Boulevard, the home of one of Indianapolis' Minute Women. This is Miss Marguerite Dice, a past officer of the organization who stated that she does not speak officially for the Minute Women but does not feel her statement contravenes their policy.

MISS MARGUERITE DICE:

It has been said in the course of this dispute that the War Memorial Building was erected for the men who died in the last World War. That is not the whole truth. It was erected in memory of those men who gave their lives for the protection and preservation of the principles on which this country was founded. The inscriptions, in and outside of it, bear witness to this. What a travesty it would be to open its doors for a meeting to which Communists are welcome when we know the open and avowed purpose of such is to overthrow our government by force and violence as well as by infiltration.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

The heaviest objections came from the American Legion. This is Indiana State Commander, Roy M. Amos.

AMERICAN LEGION COMMANDER ROY M. AMOS:

The American Legion can never agree that the Indiana War Memorial is a fitting place for a meeting of the American Civil Liberties Union. The Memorial is hallowed ground. It is a shrine sacred to the memory of thousands of Hoosier patriots, many of whom died in Korea fighting Communism. As such, it must never be used as a sounding board for the advocacy of any policy of pampering Communists to the virtual exclusion of all others.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

The decision that the War Memorial could not be used was announced on Monday. On Tuesday, the Civil Liberties people called the Claypool Hotel. A clerk told them the Chateau Room was available. Shortly after that, it was discovered that it had been previously booked. Then, the American Civil Liberties Union called the Continental Hotel on North Meridian Street. After that, the Riddick Piano Company which has a large studio that is generally for rent. Next, the Civil Liberties Union went to the Public Library and asked for their auditorium. After that, the Indianapolis YMCA. All of those places reported that they were either previously booked or for other various reasons unavailable for the Friday night meeting.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Wednesday, the American Civil Liberties Union, went to the Knights of Columbus on North Delaware Street and were offered their large Hall. A price of $50 was agreed upon - but that night, the Knights of Columbus auditorium was withdrawn. We asked Grand Knight Donald Latendresse why.

GRAND KNIGHT DONALD LATENDRESSE:

We seem to have gotten involved in the midst of a situation we had no desire to become involved in. We had been approached as to renting our Hall to the American Civil Liberties Union, and at first thought, could see no reason why it wouldn't be all right. However, upon further investigation, we find that it was a controversial issue, and since our membership is comprised of some 15-hundred who have various views on different things, we felt that we didn't want to become involved in a controversial affair which might lead to internal strife in our organization. We felt that since the issue was controversial that we should remain in the middle. However, it seems that you can't remain in the middle in a situation such as this. The very fact that we were approached by the organization to rent the Hall put us in the middle, because if we refused we were taking sides, and if we accepted, we were taking sides.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Of the 33 newspapers, 2 ran editorials. The Indianapolis Times, a Scripps-Howard publication, opposed the Legion's ban and stated that liberty belongs to everyone or to no one. The Indianapolis Star, also Republican, said the Legion had a right to oppose the views of the American Civil Liberties Union, but had no right to prevent their meeting.

Four churches were approached. None were available for the Friday night meeting. Then, less than two days before the meeting, an auditorium was finally offered. This is the corner of Vermont and New Jersey Streets, just a few blocks east of the War Memorial Building. Victor L. Goosens, Pastor of St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church offered them his church's Social Center. It was accepted. We asked Father Goosens why he had interested himself in this controversy.

FATHER VICTOR L. GOOSENS:

Well, I suppose you could say that it was in rather a casual way that I became involved. The request was simply brought to my attention that the American Civil Liberties Union was rather anxious to find a place to meet, and the idea was put forward that perhaps they might be interested in using our auditorium, and of course, I was perfectly willing to let them have it, even though they had been denied the use of several other auditorium, for the simple reason

FATHER VICTOR L. GOOSENS:

that I had no reason to believe them unfit or unworthy for the use of our premises. And so, as the controversy developed, I found that it was not only a situation in which we ought to actually let them use it, but that we really should insist that they be given a place to meet for the simple reason that it seems to me that there is something much more basic involved here than merely the idea of a meeting place. We have to be very careful, of course, to recognize the rights of minorities. You know, we all of us at some time or other are going to find ourselves in a minority group. Perhaps it might be politically or it might be religiously or it might just be a minority group on some other question, but we are going to find that we are at some time or other in a minority, and it is possible for any group outside of the legally constituted branches of government to restrain another from peaceful assembly and from the right to express themselves freely --- then all our liberties are in danger, and I feel that way about it, that if an organization no matter how well intentioned it might be in its purposes -- if one organization can prevent another group of people who are not traitors, who are not subversive, from gathering together in peaceful assembly to discuss and to speak freely, then what guarantee would there be that later on another group might not decide that when I or my people might gather together for purposes of worship or the exercise of freedom of religion, that we should be stopped?

EDWARD R. MURROW:

The meeting was held on Friday night, but that same night the Indiana Department of the American Legion held an executive session. Part of their business was to protest the Civil Liberties Union meeting. Commander Amos presided.

At virtually the same moment in the meeting hall of St. Mary's (3 blocks from the church), Professor Ralph F. Fuchs, of the Indiana University Law School was calling to order the first meeting of the Indianapolis Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union. Because these two meetings, running simultaneously, so paralleled each other in subject and debate, we have chosen to present them as we have political debates, with each side answering the other. The Legion spokesmen can be distinguished by the traditional Legion overseas caps.

LEGIONNAIRE:

You are assembled here tonight to receive information on a new development on the "red firing line" in Indiana.

PAUL CLAY (ACLU):

I don't like to be told that anybody can't have a meeting. It gets my Irish up.

LEGIONNAIRE:

Mr. Commander, members of the Executive Committee, the fact that the meeting of the American Civil Liberties Union is being held in the Social Center of a Catholic Church does not constitute an endorsement of the American Civil Liberties Union by the Catholic Church. The use of the Hall for the meeting was granted on the grounds that the organization had not yet been declared subversive by the Attorney General, and I hold with the American Legion that every effort should be made to expose any and all who are attempting to spread subversive propaganda.

W. ROLAND ALLEN:

This week's adventures in our community remind me of the old American habit of answering a man who says he wants to talk ... we say: "Well, why don't you go hire a hall?" This week we found ourselves having great difficulty in carrying out that old American habit. But those who understand the spiritual purpose and the constitutional purpose of the American Civil Liberties Union are not going to be afraid. This is no time to be afraid.

LEGIONNAIRE

The issue is the alerting of the people of Indiana to the fact that there is being established in Indiana a Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union. This is an organization that is parading its

LEGIONNAIRE:

avowed purposes of protecting the Civil Rights of individuals. With such a purpose the American Legion can never quarrel. The American Legion itself is a Civil Liberties organization because it has repeatedly gone to the defense whenever veterans' constitutional rights were threatened or invaded.

MERLE MILLER (ATTORNEY): (ACLU):

I first heard of the American Civil Liberties Union about 20 years ago, but I heard of it from a Supreme Court Judge of this State -- a conservative old Republican, and I have come to realize that a true Conservative and a true Liberal will find themselves side by side protecting the civil rights of their fellowmen. For the true meaning of the word "conservative" means that you wish to conserve the best of the past and pass it on the way you got it. A true Liberal means a tolerance for the convictions of others and a willingness to hear them out. And so, in Civil Liberties, we find strange folks side by side who disagree on anything with everybody else excepting on the right of those who disagree with them to be heard.

LEGIONNAIRE:

The Indiana Department of the American Legion, with documentary evidence at hand of the facts that the speaker for the meeting of the American Civil Liberties Union has subscribed to and been a

LEGIONNAIRE:

member of an organization listed as subversive, took the stand that the Indiana War Memorial dedicated to the memory of our war dead should not be used as a sounding board for his philosophy or policy.

PROFESSOR RALPH FUCHS (ACLU):

I take great pleasure in presenting Mr. Arthur Garfield Hays of New York, General Counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union.

ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS:

There is only one thing that I know of on which President Eisenhower and ex-President Truman seem to agree. And that is on the good work done by the American Civil Liberties Union. President Eisenhower made the following statement in connection with a dinner honoring 10 Civil Liberties organizations:"I am sure the people of the United States join in honoring the work of the distinguished, private agencies which are doing so much to guard civil rights and to advance human rights in our nation." Since I understand the American Legion doesn't fully agree, I want to quote on what Douglas MacArthur said on December 30, 1949. Roger Baldwin is the man attacked today by the head of the Legion here. MacArthur said: "Roger Baldwin's crusade for Civil Liberties has had a profound and beneficial influence upon the course of American progress with countless individuals finding protection in the nobility of the

ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS:

cause he has long espoused. He stands out as one of the architects of our cherished American way of life.

LEGIONNAIRE:

Mr. Commander, in my hand I have a clipping taken from the Nation magazine of June 28, 1932. This clipping is an advertisement of the American Civil Liberties Union which asks the reader to join with them in fighting the Smith and MacCarran Act. I believe that any organization that would advertise such a fact cannot have the interest of the United States at heart. And I think Commander Amos is right in exposing them in Indiana.

ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS:

Ten percent of our time has had to do with communists. As I said during my talk, what worries us chiefly is that the non-communists are the people who suffer. And what is the matter with a controversial subject? Controversy is as American as the Rocky Mountains or the Fourth of July.

LEGIONNAIRE:

I understand that the American Civil Liberties Union has gone to the defense of Harry Bridges - according to all the information I have had on the matter Harry Bridges is the head of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, which was

LEGIONNAIRE:

expelled from the National C.I.O. in 1949 for following the Communist party line. The United States Government has sought the deportation of Bridges on the ground that he is a subversive alien and obtained his citizenship under fraudulent conditions. An organization which gives aid and comfort to anyone such as Bridges does not belong in Indiana.

LEWIS GREENBERG (ATTORNEY):

I think that they are pretty sacred to our concept of civilization -- is that we say to one another "Let us agree to disagree agreeably." So far as I am concerned, the views of the extremists, whether from the right or the left, are rather obnoxious, but I feel that when they are met in the court of public opinion, with trial and error, with freedom to express and to nail the lies, that freedom and truth will become victors.

DR. NORMAN BOHER (AMERICAN LEGION):

Mr. Commander, fellow members of this Executive Committee, having full faith in and of the facts we each possess, as working Legionnaires of the Department of Indiana, I move that this Executive Committee approve the action taken by our Commander and this Department in this matter involving the American Civil Liberties Union, and I move and propose that we make this action unanimous.

LEGIONNAIRE:

Mr. Commander, I, Orin Nailan, of the 9th District, school supply salesman, take great pleasure in seconding this motion.

ROY M. AMOS:

Gentlemen, you have all heard the motion as it has been made and duly seconded. Is there any question on the motion? Any discussion? All those in favor of the motion as made, vote by the usual sign of AYE.

CHORUS: "AYE"

Those contrary - no. Its been duly carried. Thank you so much.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

The Legion had its say and its Resolution, and the Civil Liberties Union had their meeting. Indianapolis is still there and controversy is everywhere.

FATHER VICTOR L. GOOSENS:

Well, the fact that there was more excitement made me that much more concerned, because it proved to me in a way, that the time had come when we had to take a stand on that -- when the climate is such that so many people are so quick to take the law into their own hands or rather I should say perhaps, to ignore the law and to deny to others the right of peaceful assembly and free speech - - then

FATHER VICTOR L. GOOSENS:

somebody has to take a stand on the subject and prove to them that they are in their activities actually un-American in their way of procedure. And its up to us, I think, to lead the way because we know that the freedoms - the American freedoms are all based upon the rights which God has given us and if the church and religion do not uphold those basic principles which come from God, then who will?

EDWARD R. MURROW:

That was the argument in Indianapolis last week. Good night and good luck.

H-6-16

Staff Working Paper
Confidential

February 19, 1954

BRIEF HISTORICAL REVIEW OF IIE'S ORIGINS, AIMS, AND ACTIVITIES

ORIGINS

In a pamphlet dated April, 1919 (only two months after the founding of the Institute) sent out to announce the program of the Institute of International Education, Dr. Stephen Duggan, the Director, describes the reason for its establishment as follows:

"Need of a central clearing house of information in the field of education became more and more manifest during the war when inquiries of all kinds came from the Allied countries concerning the organization and administration of our schools and colleges, the nature of our degrees, our provision for scholarships and fellowships, the possibility of placing foreign students in our institutions and so forth. On the other hand, representatives of those countries were equally anxious to have various aspects of their educational systems and institutions known in the United States, with a view to securing a larger attendance of American students and teachers at these institutions. No existing organization was equipped to answer the numerous personal inquiries sent from near and far, to harmonize conflicting projects of international exchange, and to bring institutions, societies and individuals of various types throughout the country into fruitful cooperation for a common cause."

The announcement then reports that the American Council on Education, which had been founded during the war to consider means through which educational institutions could cooperate with the government, had established a Committee on International Educational Relations to meet the needs outlined in the preceding paragraph; Dr. Duggan was a member of this Committee. "The Committee soon came to the conclusion that its objects could best be realized by a central bureau of information which would be a clearing house in this country for international relations in education. The result was the establishment of the Institute of International Education.

Dr. Duggan drew up a plan for such a clearing house organization early in 1918 and submitted it to Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, Director of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, presumably following the recommendation of the ACE Committee, though the point is not entirely clear. However, the Endowment decided to take no action until after the war. The grant permitting the establishment of the Institute was made in 1919, and the Institute went into operation in February, 1919 with Dr. Duggan as its director.

ORGANIZATION

There have been many changes in the formal organization of the Institute in its thirty-five year history. These are of interest as reflecting IIE's relations with other organizations and its "constituency" as well as the development of the Institute as an independent, unique agency in the field of international education.

In 1919, the Institute was organized with an Administrative Board of sixteen members to "control the policy of the Institute of International Education". Three of these members were nominated by the American Council on Education and the American University Union (which was under the sponsorship of the American Council on Education) "in order to make the Institute as truly representative as possible of the organizations of higher education and scholarship in the United States". The other members of the Board were named by the director and Dr. Butler, who was the first chairman of the Board. The Institute also had an Advisory Council "of eminent scholars in the various fields of knowledge, and men and women distinguished in international relations to advise the director in the administration of his duties". The Advisory Council had fifty members.

It may be pertinent to note here that in the years between 1919 and 1923 the Institute had an extremely close relationship with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and one report of a Board meeting mentions IIE as one of the "Carnegie interests". It played a role for the Carnegie Endowment strongly reminiscent of that which the Institute held with the Ford Foundation in 1951 and 1952 in regard to requests for support of exchange of persons programs. IIE frequently received proposals directly from those seeking support of projects, for consideration and recommendation to the Carnegie Endowment. The Endowment also asked IIE to give recommendations on proposals in its field sent to it direct. IIE often participated, too, in the administration of grants having to do with exchange of persons, books, etc., made independently by the Endowment. It has already been noted that Dr. Butler, director of the Carnegie Endowment was chairman of the Institute's Administrative Board.

In 1923 the Carnegie Endowment withdrew its support, but the Carnegie Corporation agreed to support the Institute for one more year, during which "conferences should be held with all organizations having international educational activities to determine the solution of the whole problem in the future". (The "Rockefeller interests" offered to take over the activities of the Institute at this time, but with the understanding that the Institute under that name should disappear.) The shift in support of the Institute brought about the resignation of Dr. Butler as chairman of the Board and the substitution of Dr. Pritchett of the Carnegie Corporation in this responsibility. Though no guarantee of future support was made by the Corporation, the probability was expressed that if conflicting relationships in the field of international educational activities could be ironed out the Corporation would continue its support. IIE moved to the Carnegie Corporation offices at 522 Fifth Avenue in this year.

In 1924 a new relationship was established with the American Council on Education and the University Union, presumably as a partial solution of the problem mentioned above. IIE became a member of the Council and appointed three members of its Board to the ACE Board. It also agreed to a plan whereby two of the independently appointed members of IIE's Board were to be retired each year and their places filled by nominations through the ACE of members selected by the presidents of the colleges and universities by means of an indirect method of election.

In the next year (1925) the ACE and IIE also agreed to the uniting of

the New York office of the American University Union with IIE,with the director of IIE to serve as secretary of the home office and with IIE being paid the costs of this administration. In 1926, the ACE asked IIE to take over administration of the Franco-American scholarships which had been under its aegis since the war. These changes were the result of an agreement, finalized in 1927, between IIE, the Council and the Union "that the Institute should represent American education vis a vis the rest of the world, administering fellowships and visiting professorships, welcoming foreign scholars, arranging itineraries of foreign educational missions, holding conferences on problems of international education, and conducting activities of a similar nature... In this way the major activities of international education have been concentrated in the Institute." The ACE would confine itself to domestic educational concerns and transfer the duties and responsibilities of its Committee on the American University Union to the Institute and discontinue that Committee as well as other activities in the field of international education.

This agreement was approved not only by IIE, ACE, and the AUU, but by the Carnegie Corporation and the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Fund, which joined the Corporation in the support of the Institute with a gift of $84,340 for the two year period beginning January 1, 1927, and ending December 31, 1928, "for the development of the Institute".

At this time Dr. Duggan became full-time director of IIE - he had previously also held a position as a professor at the City College of New York - and the Institute was strengthened by the addition of an assistant director.

The Administrative Board was reorganized again in 1927, not only because the method of indirect election of members by the educational institutions had proved unwieldy, but also "to increase the representative character of the Institute and bring it into closer contact with the scholarly and educational organizations of the country". Membership was set at twenty-one, and it was provided that fourteen of the members of the Board should be nominated by the following organizations: two by the American Council on Education, and one each by the Association of American universities, the American Association of State Universities, the Association of American Colleges, the American Association of University Professors, the National Education Association, the American Association of University Women, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the National Research Council, the Social Science Research Council, the American Council of Learned Societies, the American Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, and the American Library Association. These members were appointed for seven year terms, with the other seven, which were named by the Board itself, having indefinite tenure.

In addition to cooperation with all of the major institutions and organizations concerned with higher education in the United States, the Institute established relations abroad with appropriate agencies in France, Great Britain, Italy, Austria, Germany and Spain for which IIE acted as official representative in the United States, and which acted as agents of IIE in the respective countries. In other countries, the Institute worked directly with and through appropriate government departments.

The Institute was incorporated and empowered to hold property, receive bequests and secure endowment in 1928; and though it did not receive the endowment it was seeking, obtained support for a ten year period under grants from the Carnegie Corporation ($60,000 a year) and the Rockefeller Foundation ($24,000 per year).

In 1930 the Board was increased by five coopted members, and in 1932 the provision for the nomination of Board members by the organizations named above was dropped from the by-laws, and the "method of coopting of members previously followed by the Board was revived". Members served for indeterminate terms. Meetings were held annually, except in the case of special meetings called, and the Board appears not be have been very active in directing the affairs of the Institute.

No major changes took place in the Board until 1946, following the report of a Committee on Organization and Program, composed of several members of the Board. This Committee concerned itself not only with recommendations on the formal organization of the Institute, but was also charged with making "an inventory of IIE vis a vis the changing situation in the nation and the world" particularly of IIE's relations to (a) the field as a whole; (b) its position in the field; and (c) the Carnegie Corporation. This look at the Institute was prompted in large part by the incipient retirement of Dr. Duggan from the directorship and the necessity of appointing a new director.

It was recommended by the Committee, and approved by the Board, that IIE should establish rotating membership for its Board, that the frequency of meetings be increased, that the membership of persons from business, industry and finance be increased, and that inactive or ill members of the Board be asked if they wished to resign at this period of reorganization; various changes were made in the by-laws relating to the Board. In 1948 the by-laws were further amended and the Board was changed from a Board of Directors to a Board of Trustees, to have not less than five nor more than fifty members, who would serve for stated terms. A retirement age for Board members was established. Geographical representation was stressed in the appointment of new members as well as representation of labor, the press, and public service. Only minor changes in the by-laws governing the appointment and functions of the Board have been made since that time.

AIMS AND PHILOSOPHY

In the early statements of the Institute there is great restraint in the description of its purposes and aims. The 1919 announcement says merely: "It is impossible to understand other peoples and to appreciate

properly their worth without correct information concerning their life, institutions and culture. In order to develop mutually helpful relations between the United States and foreign countries through educational agencies, the Institute of International Education was recently founded in New York with sufficient funds to guarantee its permanency and ability to carry out its purposes."

The 1928 Bulletin on the origins and activities of the Institute is equally brief in describing its purpose: "During the War, Professor Stephen P. Duggan drew the attention of Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler....to the wisdom of establishing some organization in the United States for the development of a better understanding on the part of our people of the problems and difficulties of other peoples. He (Dr. Duggan) suggested that this might best be accomplished in the beginning at least by basing it upon international educational cooperation. Dr. Butler requested him to draw up a plan to accomplish this aim."

A review made in 1938 of the Institute's activities since its founding gives a slightly expanded account of its basic premise: "The philosophy underlying the Institute of International Education is that the prerequisite to understanding between peoples is a mutual appreciation. This can be established as well by means of literature, music, arts, science and philosophy as by political relations. In the endeavor to overcome the great ignorance of the civilization and problems of foreign countries that the war disclosed as existing in the United States and a similar oginorance of American civilization that existed in foreign countries" the Institute was established "to use educational means to attain this end. Nothing of its kind had formerly existed and the Endowment left it to the Director of the new Institute to determine the ways and means of realizing the end."

It is only in the report on the Institute's first twenty-five years - The Institute of International Education 1919-1944 - Its Aims and Achievements during Twenty-Five Years - that one finds in a major published report a detailed statement of the Institute's philosophy:

> "The War of 1914-1918 made it clear that the United States had stayed isolated from the currents of international events because its citizens, concentrating in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries on the development of their new country, had remained unfamiliar with the life, institutions, culture and problems of other peoples. In 1917 Professor Stephen Duggan perceived that in the long run the cause of world peace might best be served through the stimulation of mutually helpful relations among educational agencies in the United States and foreign countries... (The Institute was organized and) rapidly became one of the world's leading

centers of information and services in the field of international cultural relations, particularly in student and professorial exchanges. During the past quarter of a century, the Institute has labored effectively as a pioneer, preparing the way toward world peace by promoting genuine international good will through mutual cultural appreciation among all peoples...how different the course of recent world history might have been if the present generation of government leaders had been accorded the same opportunities for foreign study in their youth that the Institute offered to more than 5,000 outstanding college students from dozens of countries between 1919 and 1939! And how much more promising the coming generations might be if, instead of five thousand fellowships, the financial resources had been available to offer five hundred thousand!"

Other brief statements of IIE's objective: "The Institute of International Education exists to encourage cultural relations among different nations regardless of their forms of government and ways of life." (Annual Report, 1939)

Although these general statements are on the whole clear, the aims of the Institute might be paraphrased and listed somewhat as follows:

Through the stimulation, promotion and facilitation of international educational activities, with special emphasis on exchange of persons, to:

1. Counteract the isolationism of the American people by development of a better understanding of the civilization and problems of other peoples.

2. Overcome the ignorance about American civilization in foreign countries.

3. Establish a mutual appreciation among the people of the United States and those of other countries of each other's literature, music, art, science and philosophy.

4. Serve the cause of world peace through the stimulation of mutually helpful relations among educational agencies in the United States and foreign countries.

5. Encourage cultural relations among different nations regardless of their forms of government and ways of life.

6. Develop understanding and goodwill among nations.

7. Facilitate international scholarly projects.

ACTIVITIES OF THE INSTITUTE

In the announcement of 1919, the Institute listed the following as the activities and services which it planned to undertake:

1. The preparation and dissemination of information concerning institutions, types of training, graduate instruction, and individual course in the United States. (For foreign students)

2. The tabulation of fellowships, scholarships, and other financial aids to students. (Open to U.S. students abroad, foreign students here.)

3. Assist in the interchange of professors and other intellectual leaders. (B y acting as an intermediary in obtaining information on how many foreign professors could be used in the U.S., where they could teach, what subjects were preferred, what Americans would be available for assignments abroad, etc.)

4. Assist foreign missions to the U.S., not only of scholars, but of captains of industry and of labor leaders. (by arranging itineraries, helping to plan programs, serving as a central agency for such visitors.)

5. Assist various types of international scholarly undertakings. (E.g. promoting international cooperation in bibliographical work.)

6. Serve as a center for foreign students and professors upon their arrival in the U.S., and for American professors and students before their departure to foreign countries. ("It will assist in such ways as it can to make the period of residence of foreign professors and students in this country one of pleasant memory.")

7. Cooperate with other agencies in the dissemination of information about foreign peoples. ("The Institute is broadly educational. Though its work will chiefly be in association with educational institutions, it will cooperate with other agencies to disseminate correct information about foreign peoples. These agencies may be in the fields of science, art, finance, labor or journalism, and the cooperation may take the form of conferences on the various aspects of international relations that have a general educational significance.")

The above are listed as a few of the ways in which the Institute hoped to be of immediate use. The announcement stated also that the Institute did not itself contemplate undertaking the establishment of courses, scholarships or exchange professorships, "much less financing these activities", but hoped to help through making existing facilities known and to act as an intermediary "between persons who may suggest opportunities of service in international education and persons who may make these opportunities available."

These were the activities of the Institute visualized by the Director one month after the Institute opened its doors for business. Many of these activities were not only undertaken by the Institute in actuality soon after 1919, but are still major activities of the Institute. Others which were carried on by the Institute for many years have now been taken over by other agencies - as, for example the tabulation of fellowships and scholarships open to foreign students, now made and published by UNESCO in Study Abroad - though the Institute still issues booklets on opportunities for study in other countries for American students. One of the suggested activities, that the Institute serve as a center - or "rendezvous" as the original has it - both for foreign visitors to the U.S. and for Americans going abroad was apparently never undertaken on a major scale, though many persons both foreign and American called at the Institute offices for information and guidance; and no such center for persons headed in either direction for educational purposes exists today. It still seems like a good, though expensive, idea. Perhaps some foundation or group of foundations might yet be

persuaded of the importance of such a center as a headquarters for scholars, professors and students, both inbound and outbound.

The Institute's publication of 1928, on its origin, organization, and activities, reports on ten years of existence. A summary of its major activities at that time is interesting both in the light of the prognostications of ten years before, and of the Institute exactly twenty-five years later. The headings used are those given in the report, with current terminology for similar activities of 1954 added in parentheses.

Correspondence and Personal Interviews (Information and Counseling)

The bulletin reports that the Institute answered an average of 3,000 letters per month and had an average of 500 visitors asking "advice on courses of study, men under whom to study, special subjects, scholarships, fees, teaching opportunities, etc."

Itineraries (Special Programs)

"Since the Institute has become known abroad foreign governments sending commissions to study educational conditions in the United States have informed the Director beforehand of their expected arrival. This has enabled him to plan careful itineraries for such commissions so as to avoid the duplication of observation from which they usually suffered. Commissions from Japan, China, Switzerland, Mexico, Scandinavia and Czechoslovakia have been circuited in this way. Similarly itineraries for individual professors and men of affairs from abroad have been organized.

Conferences

The bulletin reports that "the purpose of the Institute to develop international good-will by means of educational agencies has been much helped by conferences which have been called by the Director from time to time to solve practical problems of cooperation. Conferences have been held on such problems as the treatment of the foreign student in our institutions in the United States, the status of the returned Chinese student (as related to the length of his stay in the U.S.) whether international fellowships could be confined to graduate students (what conclusion did they come to?), the methods whereby bibliographical research that has been destroyed by the War might be revived, the ways in which foreign scholarly magazines ruined by the War might be saved from disappearance, etc."

The listing reflects the Institute's broad interest in international educational problems, as opposed to interest only in exchange of persons, and the assumption by the Institute of a role of leadership in the field of international education and exchange of persons.

Distribution of Foreign Students (The Census - Education for One World)

"One of the first activities the Director was anxious to undertake was the discovery of how many foreign students there were in the United States, at what institutions they studied, what subjects they were studying, and the sex division among them." A questionnaire was sent out annually to colleges and universities and the results published in the Annual Report. (The Institute initiated the census of foreign students; it was later carried out jointly with the Committee

on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students.)

Fellowships and Scholarships

The Institute compiled information on scholarships and fellowships open to foreign students for study in the United States, or to American students abroad.

The bulletin also reports that the Institute had been made the repository for some 150 fellowships, established by foreign governments, organizations interested in a particular country, educational institutions or individuals. A listing is given of the scholarships and fellowships administered by the Institute for organizations or individuals followed by the statement: "The services of the Institute officials are always at the disposal of persons or organizations contemplating the establishment of new fellowships in the international field."

Exchange and Visiting Professors (Lecture Division, Special Programs Dept.)

This was one of the major activities of the Institute in 1928 and went considerably beyond the present activity of the Institute in this category of exchangees. "The Institute is instrumental in bringing to the United States distinguished scholars, educators, men of affairs, and university professors from all countries of the world. These it circuits among the American colleges and universities to deliver lectures in all fields of scholarship, but particularly those which will enable Americans better to understand the institutions, culture and civilization of other countries. It publishes monthly during the college year a News Bulletin which is sent to the administrative authorities of American colleges and universities announcing the names of foreign lecturers and professors who are available for lectures or teaching assignments. It has procured invitations for a number of American professors to lecture at foreign universities and has arranged some actual exchanges of professors between foreign and American institutions. It has been of service to American institutions in filling vacancies with professors from foreign countries."

Publications (Publications Division, Department of Development and Information)

This is described as one of the most important activities of the Institute. The publications are listed as follows:

Guide Book for Foreign Students in the United States
Bibliography on the United States for Foreign Students
Opportunities for Graduate Study in the British Isles
Opportunities for Higher Education in Italy
Handbook for American students in France
Syllabus on International Relations
Report on Education in China
Fellowships and Scholarships Open to Foreign Students for Study in the United States
Fellowships and Scholarships Open to American Students for Study in Foreign Countries
The American University Union in Europe

Annual Reports

The Annual Reports not only listed the activities of the Institute in the preceding year but served to give the observations of the Institute on some major aspect of international activities, to wit:

- The problem of fellowships for foreign students in the United States and American students abroad
- Foreign centers of international education
- New international educational activities, such as the Junior Year Abroad and summer sessions in foreign universities
- American education in so-called "backward" countries

Cooperation with Other Organizations

The bulletin describes the close cooperation of the Institute with the various types of organizations interested in international education or exchanges; for the most part this is maintained through interlocking board memberships, though in some cases the Institute served as headquarters for organizations (the ACLS, Instituto de las Espanas, International Committee of the AAUW).

Other Forms of Activity

- Nomination of native teachers of French, German, Spanish to American colleges and secondary schools
- Served as headquarters for information on summer courses abroad
- Collaborated with the Commissioner General of Immigration in the preparation of a memorandum for foreign students on immigration regulations
- Administered a program of international debates between Oxford and Cambridge Universities and American universities

Little purpose would be served by a general recounting of the activities of the Institute as given in later reports, since the pattern has been demonstrated in the foregoing description of the Institute's activities. However, a comparison of emphasis where there are contrasts between past activities and those currently engaged in may be useful, as well as some mention of types of activity once carried by the Institute but now dropped.

The twenty-five year report (1944) lists five major activities under the heading "Public Services", of interest as reflecting the conceptual framework within which the Institute's activities were placed. These included the Library and Information Services, Publications, Conferences and Informal Meetings, Special Projects, and Cooperation with Other Organizations.

The conferences held by the Institute are especially interesting because they are a type of "Public Service" or leadership in the field of international education which was once consciously given by the Institute, and which has now largely been discontinued. Conferences in addition to those mentioned earlier were called by the Institute to discuss and recommend on the following:

- The evaluation of European educational credentials
- U.S. students of medicine in foreign universities
- Travel problems in the migration of fellowship students
- The administration of immigration regulations pertaining to foreign students
- The improvement of machinery for instruction on international affairs in American schools
- The need to establish an Institute of Caribbean Affairs
- Ways in which the 12 leading U.S. agencies which sent American students abroad could assist UNNRA and the Red Cross in locating personnel for foreign service
- Functions and problems of Foreign Student Advisers, Cleveland, 1942

In regard to student exchange activities, the major differences as contrasted with the present situation which may be worth attention are: (1) a high proportion, designedly, of reciprocal exchanges; (2) IIE obtained, or arranged, the scholarships for all of the students under its sponsorship; such scholarships were offered by private organizations, institutions, or individuals, with the exception of a few offered to American students by foreign governments.

Since student exchanges are now and have always been a major part of the Institute's activities it is appropriate to include a statement of the Institute's early philosophy in regard to this activity:

> "Without losing sight of the importance of adult education, the Director determined to base his work primarily upon youth. Adults had more or less fixed ideas. Youth was impressionable and youth would assume control in another generation. The important question was how to help give the youth of the different countries the opportunity to secure an objective education in international relations that might realize the end in view. Obviously the Institute of International Education could not attempt a campaign of that kind in countries outside the United States. National resentment and financial limits would prevent that. But if selected youth of different nations might have the opportunity of a year or more of study in a different country international understanding might be hastened. Such a policy at the end of the war had no general application...
>
> "The exchange fellowships were founded primarily for their value as instruments of international understanding and only incidentally for the personal advantage of the Fellow. This is thoroughly understood by the Fellows who are very loyal to the principle and regard themselves as unofficially representing their country abroad...They were intended primarily to enable students of unusual ability but with small financial means to become familiar with another civilization and upon their return to help to interpret it to their own people."

The procedures in handling foreign and American student exchanges were essentially the same as in the present, and approximately the same services were given to the students under its sponsorship, with one exception: that the Institute for a period of many years held a three day orientation session for all foreign students under its sponsorship at the beginning of the year. This orientation was given at an estate or on a school campus, where the students and Institute staff lived together for the three days of formal and informal sessions, establishing close personal contacts and a sense of relationship to the Institute as well as helping in the adjustment of the foreign students.

Another student exchange activity which received greater emphasis in the past than now, for various reasons, was the recruiting of American students to attend summer schools abroad. The Institute reports that it played a very important part in the development of foreign university summer sessions, and that in 1931 it was the intermediary for 98 of the 121 summer schools being held in Europe and Latin America. At some the proportion of Americans was very high - of 218 students at Cambridge in 1937, 105 were Americans; these applied and were registered through the Institute.

The Institute also cooperated in the work student movement of the late 1920's and commented in the 1944 report:

"The Institute's interest in helping foreign students obtain practical experience as well as sound academic training in colleges and universities was clearly evidenced in the work student movement established in 1928. The movement began with a group of trainees from Germany, but was soon expanded to include other groups from Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland and the Scandinavian countries. Special arrangement was made with the Bureau of Immigration to permit these work students to enter the United States on non-immigrant visas similar to the ones granted for study...In order to qualify for this privilege, each of the work students had to be carefully selected in his home country, had to be properly supervised by a responsible agency while in the United States, and had to return home at the expiration of his period of training here. The majority of trainees selected were graduates of engineering colleges who showed promise of occupying executive and managerial positions in industrial plants at home...others, however, received their training on scientifically operated farms, or in financial and commercial offices. The many placements were supervised by various national agencies which were represented on a central committee under the chairmanship of the Director of the Institute of International Education."

Presumably the Institute did not itself select, place or supervise these trainees but helped in creating a favorable climate for such exchanges and in an advisory capacity. This movement stopped in 1931 as a result of the depression. It is interesting, in view of the fact that the Institute has in recent years not been considered by many as a suitable agency to participate in trainee or work student programs, though itself willing to do so, that the 1944 pamphlet of IIE says: "It is gratifying to the Institute as one of the early leaders in this movement to observe that the industrial training program was renewed in 1941 under the efficient sponsorship of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs and the Inter-American Training Administration. As soon as practicable the Training Administration, with much experience and broadened scope of operation, expects to extend this activity again to areas outside the Western Hemisphere."

The Counsel and Guidance Center within the Institute should be mentioned briefly in this comparative analysis of past and present activities since some of its functions are now carried on by the Student Relations Division and by the regional offices of IIE, while others have been taken over by NAFSA. Although it was established in 1942 with funds provided by the State Department primarily to assist the large number of Latin American students in the United States, its services were available "to any foreign students who have need of them". During the life of the Center (1942-49) it was felt that "one of the most important services we can render is to maintain a field secretary who can visit the institutions and discuss with their administrators the problems of adjustment and personality that have arisen as a result of the presence of foreign students; of equal importance is to find out the reaction of the foreign students to their new environment." The Center directly or through the foreign student advisers assisted with immigration problems, part-time employment, special hospitality during vacation periods, economic problems and so on.

Although the Institute's primary emphasis was on student exchange, major activities of the Institute's first twenty-five years were those concerned with what we now term "leaders and specialists" and visiting lecturers, as was noted previously. This deserves more detailed mention because of the opinion expressed in a number of quarters in recent years that the Institute should confine itself

to student activities "as in the past". Such statements could only be made by persons quite unfamiliar with the Institute's program before World War II.

The recapitulation of the first twenty years of the Institute's activities made in the 1938 Annual Report includes the following statement:

> "Simultaneously with the organization of the student exchange the Institute determined to place at the service of our colleges and universities the scholarship of European professors and men of affairs....(these men) gave an opportunity for American students and faculties to hear distinguished men which would otherwise have been impossible. Moreover in many instances the public was also invited...the success of the movement was best made evident by the numerous requests for our lecturers received not only from our institutions of higher learning but also from men's and women's clubs, Chautauquas and lecture organizations. The Institute had really initiated a movement in adult education devoted primarily to educating our people in foreign affairs."

The Institute "circuited 310 foreign scholars, educators, publicists, and men and women of affairs between 1919 and 1944", who made thousands of lectures. The scope of their influence can be judged by the record of 2,098 lectures given by 69 of these lecturers during a six year period. Among them were such persons as Jaques Maritain, Jules Romains, Hjalmar Schacht, Norman Angell, Walter de la Mare, Carlo Sforza, Fernando de los Rios.

The importance with which the Institute regarded this activity is reflected in the establishment of the Cooperative Lecture Plan, under which the Institute sent carefully selected lecturers to small colleges in the South and in the Northwest which were unable to afford the usual fee. The Institute paid all expenses except for local hospitality. The lecturers spent three days in each community, giving formal and informal talks to townspeople as well as to students and faculty. Some of these institutions had never had a foreigner on the campus even as a visitor. The funds for this undertaking first came from a grant to the Institute in 1934 from the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, which selected IIE as one of the organizations that had done most to further the objectives of the foundation - sound education for peace; the Carnegie Corporation made a second grant for this purpose in the following year. Later the plan was changed to arrange for visits of lecturers to a single region with the colleges and the Institute sharing the modest expenses for travel and fees.

The Institute also offered a number of services to American and foreign universities requesting professors for teaching appointments, in addition to its customary annual tabulation of U.S. professors abroad on sabbaticals andforeign visiting professors in the U.S., and assisted in various programs of placement in American universities for professors in exile from a number of countries during the thirties. In its earliest years the Institute, through a fund from the Carnegie Endowment, paid traveling expenses and arranged invitations from foreign universities for forty-five of the ablest American professors to lecture to their students while on their sabbatical year. The purpose of this activity was to "spread knowledge of American scholarship", much less highly regarded in the early twenties than now.

The Institute clearly did not feel that planning programs for "leaders and specialists" was beyond its field of interest or its abilities. In its first twenty-five years "the Institute arranged the contacts and planned the itineraries of several hundred foreign visitors here for special short-term visits, and helped an even larger number of Americans abroad in similar ways". The report on these activities notes that the visitors were interested in such widely diverse subjects as "traffic problems, dehydration processes, peanut culture, unemployment control and educational administration". The Institute performed these services for a number of educational commissions sent to the United States by foreign governments as well as for individual visitors.

With special funds it obtained from the Carnegie Endowment, the Institute arranged visits in 1929, 1930, and 1935 for groups of educators from Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. The 22 Argentine educators during their six weeks stay "studied the administration of our educational institutions, libraries, museums, industrial plants and social service organizations". On their return this stalwart group inaugurated a series of classes for the teaching of English at the Instituto Cultural Argentino-Norteamericano which have flourished and and expanded over the years. The visit of the Brazilians is reported as leading to the establishment of the Instituto Brasil-Estados Unidos in Rio de Janeiro.

The Institute, therefore, not only handled leader and specialist programs when requested by individuals, organizations, or governments, but actively participated in the initial planning and in securing funds for programs such as the above in much the same way as in recent years, though on a reduced scale.

It may be interesting to note that in the early years the Institute cooperated with other organizations in a number of non-exchange activities, such as the interchange of publications after World War I (with the American Library Association and the Smithsonian Institution). It also aided in obtaining funds for the first children's library in Europe from the Commission on Belgian Relief; devised application blanks to be used by American universities for foreign students, printed in English, French and German; administered the activities of the International Relations Clubs for a number of years until this activity was taken over by the Carnegie Endowment; selected and sent libraries of books on American civilization to Latin American universities; and engaged in a number of other similar activities. For the past fifteen years or more, however, the Institute has confined its activities quite strictly to exchange of persons, or to services relating directly to exchange programs.

GROWTH AND REORGANIZATION

A discussion of the growth and development of the Institute's activities, and the consequent administrative reorganization is given a separate section because of the significant developments which took place primarily within the last ten years. These developments did not involve major changes in the aims and philosophy of the Institute, or startling changes in the activities in which it engaged, except in emphases, but are rather a phenomenon of growth. In retrospect, the first twenty years of the Institute's existence are characterized by slow growth, reflected in a gradual increase in the volume of students and professors exchanged, from a handful in 1920 to some 400 in 1940. From 1940

onward the Institute's size and volume of activity increased by leaps and bounds, due, first, to the entrance of United States Government support for cultural exchanges, and secondly, to a great surge of interest in educational interchange among peoples all over the world, once the restrictions imposed by World War II were lifted, at least in part. As a result, the number of Institute exchangees increased from 400 in 1940 to 4,000 in 1952.

This increase was accompanied by a broadening of the areas of the world with which the Institute was concerned. Although in 1919 the Institute was organized into four "bureaus", for Europe, Latin America, the Far East and the United States, and said its activities were world-wide, most of its work was in fact centered around Europe, and this early administrative structure was soon abandoned. Its program outside Europe was limited almost exclusively to sending a few American professors to teach in China, Japan, the Philippines and Turkey in the early 1920's, to exploratory visits by Dr. Duggan to China and Japan, and to a small Latin American Division re-established in 1929 in response to interest on the part of American business. Only after 1940 did other major areas of the world, beginning with Latin America and extending later to the Middle East, Asia and Africa, come into the picture on a large scale.

This increase in both geographical scope and in numbers inveitably put an enormous strain on the facilities of the Institute, which sought to cope with the influx of applications for assistance and at the same time maintain the quality of its services within a limited operating budget. A memorandum prepared by Charles Dollard of the Carnegie Corporation in 1952 summarized the problem:

"The IIE was founded in 1919 when the flow of students to and from the U.S. was very limited and supported wholly by private funds. Until 1939 its operating budget (exclusive of funds for scholarships and fellowships) never exceeded $60,000. In these years the IIE's efforts were devoted as much to fostering the idea of international exchange of students as to facilitating and managing exchange programs already established. Beginning with the establishment of the Office of Inter-American Affairs in 1940, government funds began to be a major factor both in increasing the volume and in determining the nature and direction of international exchange of students....The cessation of hostilities in 1945 was quickly followed by the passage of the Fulbright and Smith-Mundt Acts and the inauguration of special programs for training of foreign nationals by the Armed Services.....

Granted a gradual increase in the flow of foreign students, a proper division of labor between the government, the IIE, and the hundreds of colleges and universities throughout the country might have been achieved without too much difficulty. In fact, the increase was anything but gradual. From 1936-37 to 1950-51, the number of foreign students in the U.S. increased from 7,036 to 29,813. Almost all of this increase has occured since 1946. The result is that all the agencies concerned with the training of foreign students have been so absorbed in keeping up with day to day operating pressures as to have no leisure to devote to devising a rational plan which would discriminate the functions of the various agencies and define their relations to one another."

To develop policies on how to meet its new responsibilities, the 1946-47 Committee on Organization and Program of the Board of Trustees mentioned earlier and the new director, Lawrence Duggan, with a staff consultant, made an analysis of the Institute resulting in a number of policy decisions.

It was agreed that the Institute's program should be world-wide in scope, and that the Institute should build up its library and informational services for the field as a whole, without diminishing its services in facilitating and operating exchanges. The Institute adopted the following priorities in its program for exchangees: 1. Exchanges of students, and teachers studying as students; 2. Teacher and professor exchanges; 3. Trainees on the graduate and undergraduate level; 4. Trainees on the industrial apprentice level. The Institute made a strong effort at that time to improve and strengthen its services through developing closer relationships with professional societies and with the bi-national and other organizations also concerned in exchange programs.

The Institute's Board and officers also discussed as a matter of policy whether IIE should attempt to become the "chosen instrument" in the field of international education or whether it should be primarily a central service agency stimulating and assisting other organizations to carry on the activities for which they were particularly qualified, and what distinctions could be drawn between service functions and coordinating functions.

The pressure of events did not permit leisure for reflection or for gradual development of policy. It was agreed that the Institute should try to play both roles, be at the same time an administering agency and a central, coordinating agency; and the Institute expanded its services in both directions. To finance this enlarged program, the Institute was granted additional funds by the Carnegie Corporation and the Rockefeller Foundation for a two year period, during which the Institute was to make strenuous efforts to broaden the base of its support through a number of means - bringing in new foundation support, enlisting support by annual subscription from colleges and universities and from corporations, and so on; and a fund-raising division was established in the Institute.

The role of the Institute as the administrator of government exchange programs for students, which was the major cause of its expansion, began with the first government exchanges with Latin America. ~~The Institute had begun~~ to make concentrated efforts in 1938 to increase exchanges with Latin America as a result of representations from the State Department, which was concerned about a means of combatting Hitler's anti-American propaganda in this area. When the State Department and the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs began to support Latin American exchange programs with government funds, the Institute was asked to administer the student exchanges under a contract arrangement. The State Department again requested the services of the Institute after the War when the passage of the Fulbright and Smith-Mundt acts made government exchange activities world-wide, as did the Department of the Army in its re-orientation programs with Germany, Austria and Japan. For the latter, the Institute administered a number of "leader" programs as well as student exchanges. Later the Institute also administered certain trainee projects for the Institute of Inter-American Affairs and the Mutual Security Agency.

In a sense, since Congress had recommended the use of private organizations to administer these exchange programs wherever possible, neither the Government agencies nor the Institute had a real choice in the matter of the "chosen instrument" policy. No other private organization was equipped to undertake the administration of other than small, special projects. The Institute was to an extent obligated, as well as willing, to undertake to provide its services to the government in addition to maintaining and expanding its traditional activities to meet the needs of the time.

The increase in the Institute's activities brought about a browth in the staff from about 50 in 1946 to 220 in 1954. This necessitated a steady growth in administrative and supervisory staff as well as operating personnel; the Institute which in 1946 had only two administrative officers - a director and assistant director - now has a President, two vice presidents, and seven directors of departments in its New York office with six directors in its field offices. The growing pains of the sudden expansion of the late 1940's made the Institute seek a grant to cover the costs of a scientific management survey, carried out in 1951, which resulted in various organizational changes as well as in the strengthening of the administration by the addition of some of the personnel listed above.

The Carnegie Corporation also provided funds for a study of the role and functions of the Institute by the Committee on Social Research of the University of Chicago, headed by Ralph Tyler, completed in November, 1952. During the period of rapid Institute growth and readjustment in the late 1940's, two important groups among the Institute's constituency, the universities and the foundations which supported the Institute, had expressed concern that the Institute might be relinquishing its leadership in the exchange field, and giving up some of its important historic functions, in particular in regard to the universities. Further, the increase in the number of organizations playing some part in exchange of persons activities made it desirable to make an evaluation of the Institute's appropriate functions in the 1950's rather than to rely too heavily on judgments of the past. The Tyler Committee made seven major recommendations, on the basis of its findings, which were, in brief, that the Institute's basic clientele were colleges and universities and that it could and should provide important services to them, that it should serve as a clearing house of information on the field of activities concerning international educational exchange. The Committee Report "outlines a role for the Institute of broad scrutiny of the whole field, the identification of problems, formulation of policies to guide others, provision of needed services to educational institutions. This role of leadership and service to many groups requires continuous consideration of relations with these groups in order that mutual understanding and confidence may be maintained. It is not an easy task."

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CONSTITUENCY OF THE INSTITUTE

I. **Board of Trustees**

Desirable direction of future composition

Regional Advisory Committees

Possible creation of Honorary Advisory Council

Individual Subscribers or Associates

II. Foundations

Improved liaison and consultation role

III. Colleges and Universities (participating in IIE programs)

A. Levels of interest

1. Presidents
2. Graduate and Professional Deans
3. Foreign Student Advisers
4. Fulbright Advisers
5. Faculty Members
6. Students and Alumni

B. Methods of Approach

1. Field Trips
2. Regional Conferences
3. **Educational Associates**
4. Advisory or Operating Committees
   a. National Selection
   b. Graduate Study
   c. Undergraduate Study
5. Printed Materials
6. Information Service

IV. Educational Institutions (not directly involved in IIE programs)

A. Many undergraduate colleges

B. Non-accredited institutions

C. Trade and vocational schools

D. Lower schools and school systems

V. Organizations concerned with Exchange Field

A. Bi-National Organizations

B. National Association of Foreign Student Advsiers

C. Committee on Friendly Relations with Foreign Students

D. Operating organizations such as Experiment, etc.

E. Social Science Research Council

F. American Council on Education

G. Conference Board of Associated Research Councils

H. Related educational organizations such as Association of Graduate Schools, Registrars, Modern Language Association, National Association of Student Personnel Administrators

VI. Governmental Organizations

A. Congress

B. State Department

C. Defense Department

D. Office of Education

E. Foreign Operations Administration

F. United Nations and allied organizations

VII. Foreign Contacts

A. Selection Committees

B. Foreign Universities and Organizations

C. Foreign Governments

VIII. Community Groups

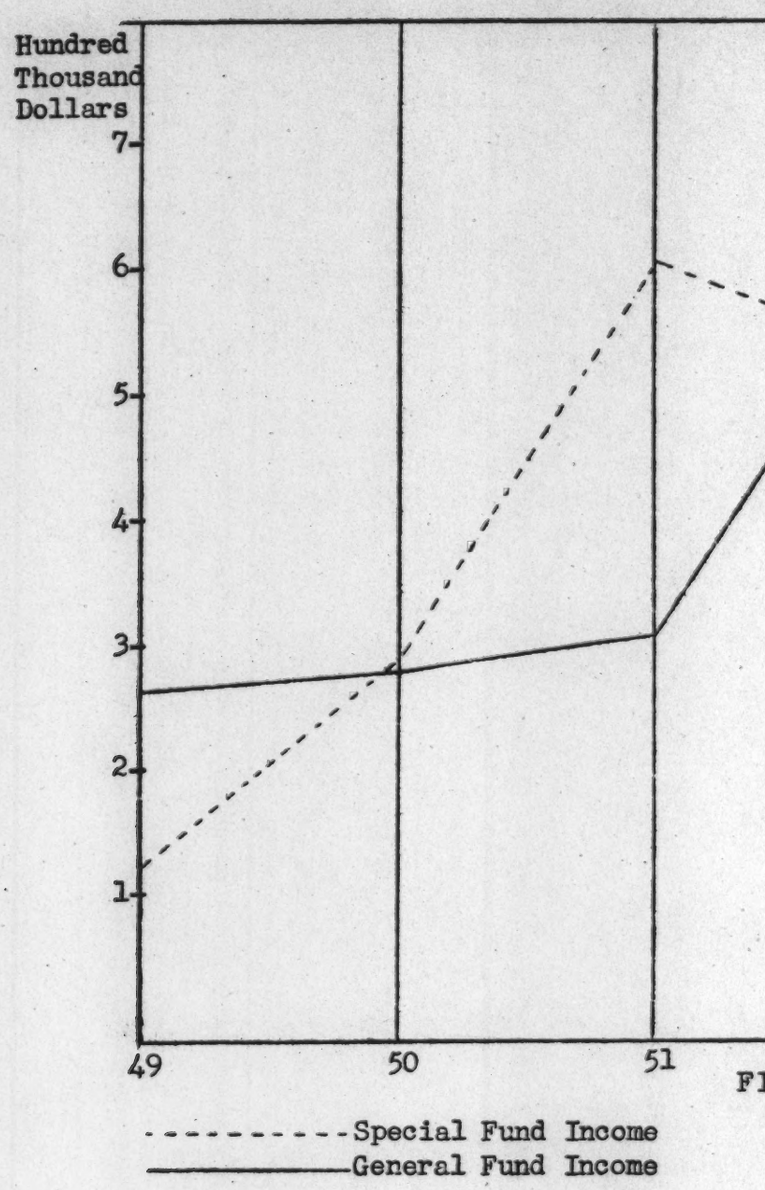
IX. Corporations

EXCHANGES UNDER THE AUSPICES
OF THE
INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION
1919-1954

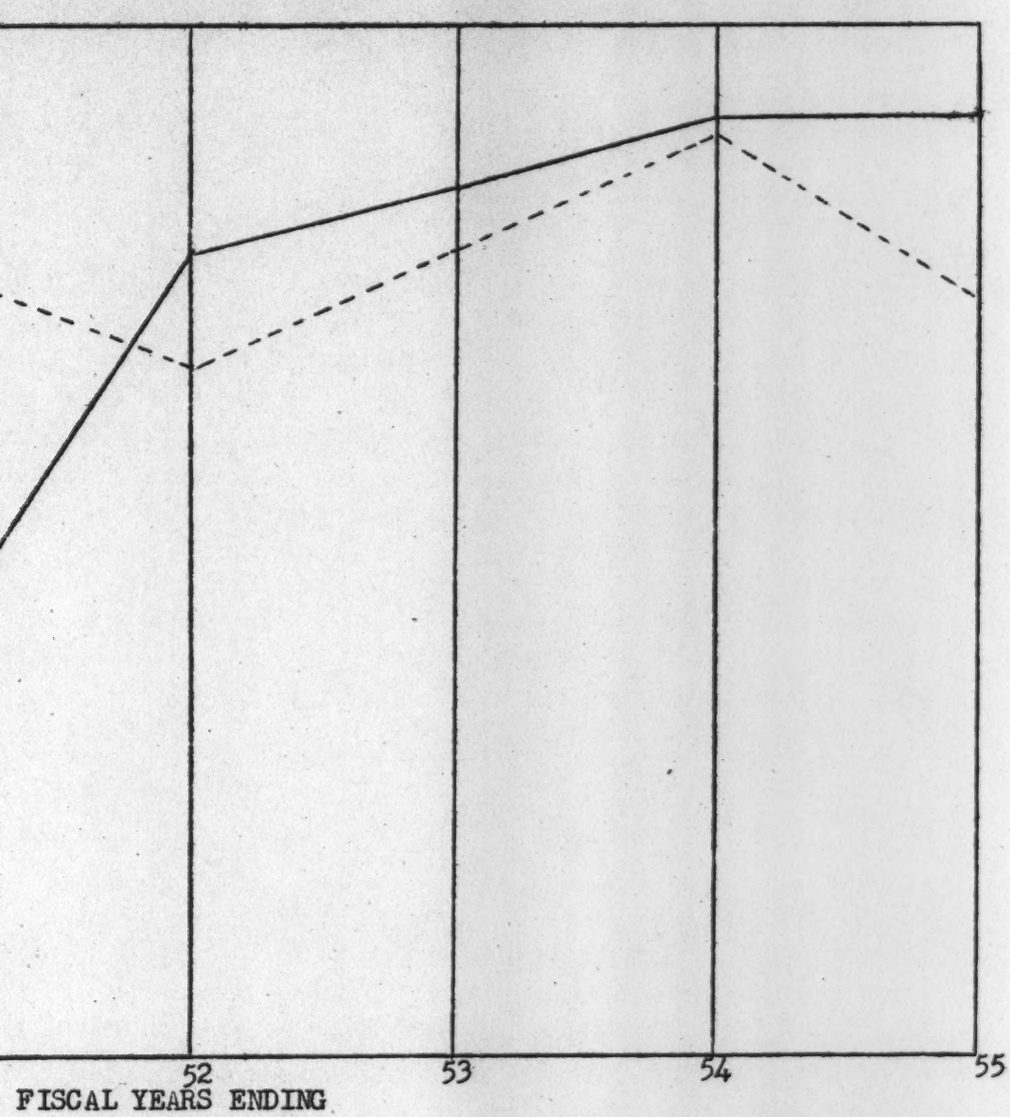
Year	Foreign Profs. & Specialists to the U.S.	Foreign Students to the U.S.	American Profs. Abroad	American Students Abroad	Total	Number of Countries Involved
1919-20	7	0	3	0	10	6
1920-21	8	10	17	13 0	25	14
1921-22	9	53	14	?	?	?
1922-23	7	56	16	57	136	10
1923-24	10	62	4	62	136	11
1924-25	12	63	0	60	135	12
1925-26	11	73	0	78	162	11
1926-27	20	16 69	0	14 86	175	14
1927-28	21 - 105	107	0	104	232	12
1928-29	24	130	0	120	274	15
1929-30	25	114	0	175	314	13
1930-31	25	134	0	?	?	?
1931-32	12	182	0	227	421	15
1932-33	7	156	0	177	421	15
1933-34	13 106	95	0	157	265	18
1934-35	6	113	0	173	292	17
1935-36	15	144	0	200	359	20
1936-37	7	164	0	198	369	23
1937-38	8	183	0	206	397	23
1938-39	10	181	0	184	375	28
1939-40	16	201	0	184	401	23
1940-41	13	168	0	29	210	27
1941-42	11	308	0	14	333	42
1942-43	11	350	0	51	412	40
1943-44	12 - 109	404	0	32	448	36
1944-45	7	470	0	12	489	36
1945-46	9	543	0	25	577	42
1946-47	8	964	0	68	1040	52
1947-48	10	9 865	0	117	992	58
1948-49	218 - 252	983	0	161	1201	53
1949-50	94	1225	0	735	2054	59
1950-51	308	2293	0	746	3347	65
1951-52	366	2960	0	6 924	4250	70
1952-53	341	2813	0	1051	4249	83
1953-54	296	2259	0	1426	3981	80
	1405 / 1977	18,875	54	$839		

NOTE: The above figures have been compiled for the purpose of indicating the general trends in the numbers of exchanges sponsored by the Institute since its founding. The figures for 1919 through 1929 have been gleaned from the Annual Reports for those years during which time a census of IIE exchangees was not taken at the end of each academic year, and should therefore be considered as only approximations.

COMPARIS
1949 -

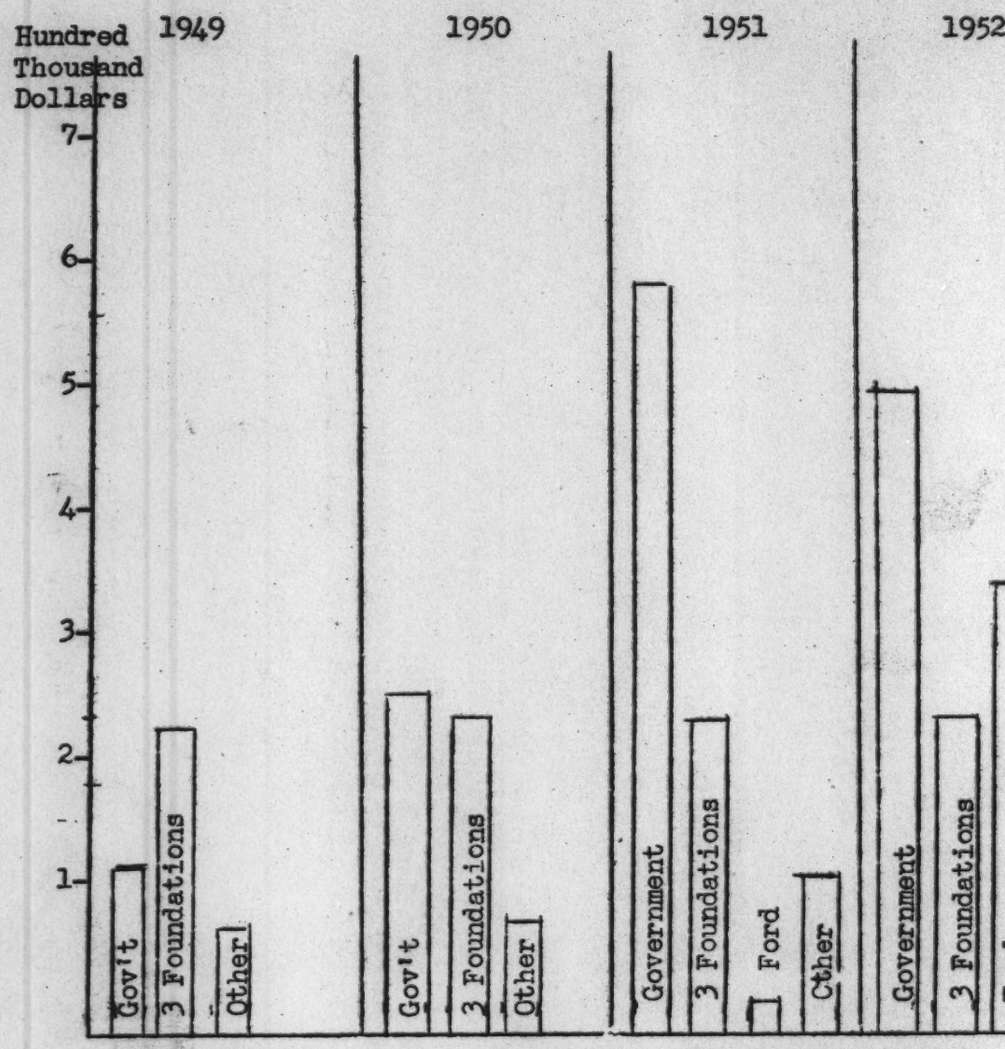


RISON OF GENERAL AND SPECIAL FUND INCOME
9 -- 1953 with 1954 and 1955 projected



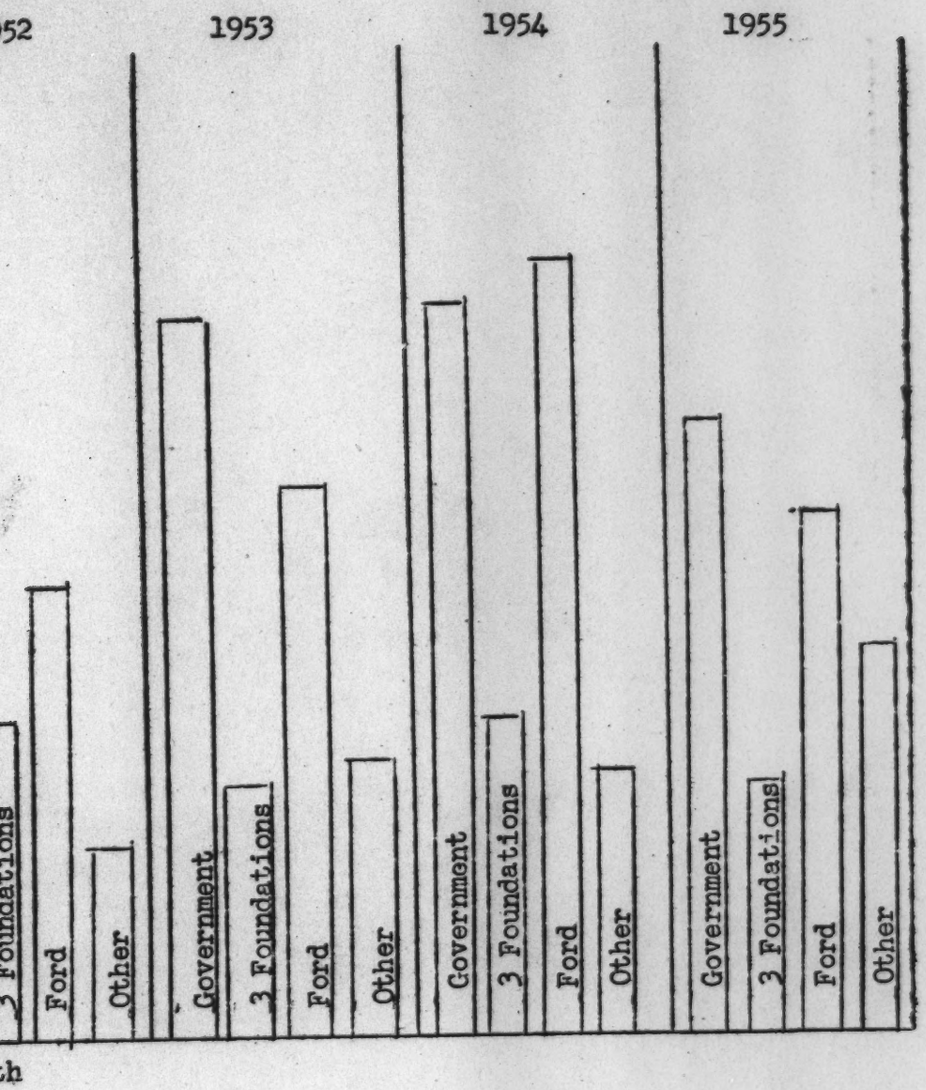
ANALYSIS OF

Fiscal Year 194



3 Foundations are Carnegie, Rockefeller, Commonwealth

F PRINCIPAL SOURCES OF INCOME
949 -- 1953 with 1954 and 1955 projected



BLUEPRINT FOR UNDERSTANDING

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

•

NEW YORK, N.Y.

BLUEPRINT FOR UNDERSTANDING

THE INSTITUTE OF
INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION, INC.

★

A Thirty Year Review

★

NEW YORK, N. Y. • DECEMBER, 1949

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Cooperating Contractors

A partial listing of suppliers of fellowships, administrative support, and hospitality

GOVERNMENT

United States Department of State, Department of the Army, Office of Education, Economic Cooperation Administration

UNITED NATIONS

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNIVERSITIES

1,115 colleges and universities in the United States
260 colleges and universities in 53 foreign countries

FOUNDATIONS

Carnegie Corporation of New York, Rockefeller Foundation, Commonwealth Fund, Columbia Foundation, Cleveland H. Dodge Foundation, Grant Foundation, Viking Fund, Wyomissing Foundation, Janssen Foundation, Kellogg Foundation, Watumull Foundation, Woolley Foundation, Independent Aid, Inc., Davella Mills Foundation, Marion R. Ascoli Fund, Max Ascoli Fund, Max Kade Foundation

CORPORATIONS

Pan American World Airways, Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, Anaconda Copper, Shell Chemical, General Electric, International Business Machines

ASSOCIATIONS

General Federation of Women's Clubs, Rotary of Georgia, American Field Service, American Association of University Women, American Scandinavian Foundation, Belgian American Educational Foundation, American Swiss Foundation for Scientific Exchange, English-Speaking Union, Greater New York Council for Foreign Students, National Association of Foreign Student Advisers, American Society for Friendship with Switzerland, Committee on African Students in North America, National Council of Jewish Women, National Catholic Welfare Conference, American Friends Service Committee, National Education Association, and more than 100 others

STUDENT GROUPS

180 fraternities, sororities, and student groups on college campuses in the United States

INDIVIDUALS

485 contributors to the scholarships and operations of the Institute of International Education

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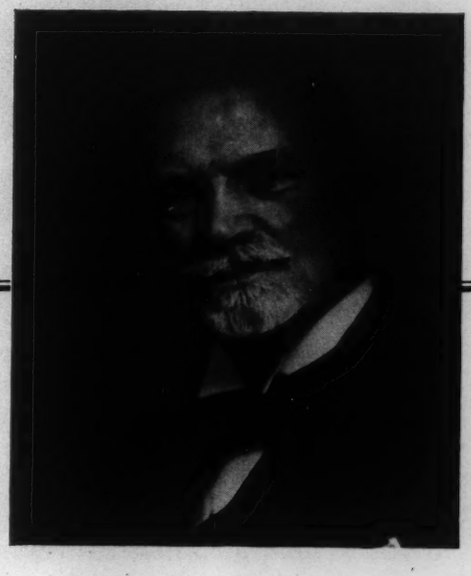
FINISHING TOUCHES 45
Being a brief look forward to the final stages of construction, and the great usefulness to the world of the completed building.



STEPHEN DUGGAN

Dedication

This thirty-year review of the work of the Institute of International Education is dedicated to Stephen Duggan and to his son, the late Laurence Duggan, for their devoted services to the cause of building understanding in the world.

LAURENCE DUGGAN

THE BLUEPRINT

A BLUEPRINT is a working plan for a final structure. It is the architect's vision of new building, and it is the builder's guide for laying the foundation, setting the joists, placing the doors and windows.

For thirty years the working plan of the Institute has been to build a structure of world understanding through education. This booklet will try to show how the construction has proceeded during three decades, who were the architects, who the builders. It will also try to tell realistically of the obstacles and impediments encountered.

As with the cathedrals of Europe and the arches and memorials of the ancient world, the measure of our building time is decades, not years. With an eye to the final structure, the work has proceeded through peace and war, through prosperity and depression.

The metaphor of blueprint implies no sense of lack of accomplishment. The work has gone far beyond the drawing stage. Rather, this figure is chosen to indicate continuing construction, with sound workmanship and a clearly drawn objective.

We invite your observations, as well as your participation in this important project.

DONALD J. SHANK
Vice President
Institute of International Education

THE ARCHITECTS

THREE DISTINGUISHED MEN sat before a log fire in the Columbia University Club in New York City in late fall of 1918. The Armistice had been signed in a railway coach in the forest of Compiègne only two weeks before. Their talk centered on the implications of peace and of future relations among the nations.

Elihu Root, the lawyer and statesman, commented that, in the years he had served as Secretary of State in Theodore Roosevelt's cabinet, he had had frequent dealings with foreign governments through international conferences and diplomatic missions. His point was that free discussion was hampered by two things—language barriers and inadequate acquaintance of individual nations with other cultures. "Something must be done on a large scale," he said, "to make the people of various countries more familiar with other languages and viewpoints."

"It has taken the agony of a great war to bring us into close contact with Europe," said Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, the second member of the group. "We must not slip back onto our island." In reviewing the years since 1910, when he had become a trustee of the newly-founded Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, he mentioned that he had noted the plain fact that even intelligent Americans were comparatively unfamiliar with international affairs. "We live in an intellectual vacuum, and the only hope is for us to become internationally-minded."

The third man was Stephen Duggan, Professor of Political Science at the College of the City of New York. Dr. Duggan was a member of a subcommittee on international educational relations of the American Council on Education, an organization formed when the United States entered the war. The purpose of the Council was to coordinate university cooperation with the Government, and the subcommittee with which Dr. Duggan was working was to search out ways in which information on American education could best be given to Allied countries interested in using our facilities. Dr. Duggan reported that subcommittee discussions of the last year had indicated a great need for some kind of clearing house of information which might at the same time serve to stimulate greater interest in the study of international relations on American campuses and in increasing the flow of students, specialists, teachers, and trainees between the United States and many countries of the world. "If done on a large and carefully selective basis," he said, "the ex-

change of such people might prevent war. But we should go ahead whether it might or not, because the world is shrinking and yesterday's foreigner is today's neighbor. We have to live next door, and the only sensible thing is to get acquainted."

The talk went late into the night, and before parting the architectural firm of Root, Butler, and Duggan had drawn the outlines of a blueprint for world understanding.

The essentials of the blueprint were:

- a structure of international understanding was to be constructed from the bricks and mortar of a two-way exchange of students, technicians, professors, and specialists between the United States and any country of the world wishing to cooperate.
- the building program was not to be hampered by any one-for-one limitation; total numbers exchanged between two countries could vary, with the total benefit expected to be mutual.
- all areas of the world were to be encouraged to participate.
- all fields of study were to be included in exchanges.
- participating students would be expected to return to enrich their home countries; it was not to be an immigration movement in any sense.
- each student was an integral part of the structure, and personal attention to proper placement, orientation, and hospitality was to be the goal.
- the measure of participation was to be ability, and scholarships were to be developed for those without funds.

This was the blueprint for the building. The firm recognized that the foundation had already been dug. Students were already being exchanged. Scholarships such as the Rockefeller, Carnegie, Boxer Indemnity, Commonwealth, and Rhodes encouraged international study. For coordinating and expanding building activities the contract was to be given to a newly-organized company —the Institute of International Education—with the hope that the broad lines of the blueprint could be transformed into a world structure.

In a statement of policy sent out a few months after its creation early in 1919, the Institute admitted its limitations and stated its objectives in these terms:

> *The possibilities of service exist, of course, in an infinite number of directions. The institute does not itself contemplate undertaking the*

American students visit the Finnish Parliament in Helsinki. By observation they learn something of Finland's political system.

establishment of courses, scholarships, or exchange professorships, much less financing these activities, but it hopes to help in making the existing facilities known, and to act as an intermediary between persons who may suggest opportunities of service in international education, and persons who may make these opportunities available. The Institute will be grateful for the cooperation of the educational institutions of the country, and for suggestions from anyone interested in its efficient functioning.

The Expectations of the Architects

So far so good. A neatly drawn blueprint by a well-qualified firm. What, however, would these three architects have answered to the question—"What purpose is this building expected to serve?"

Elihu Root had spoken of a large-scale movement to break down barriers of language and misunderstanding between nations. Nicholas Murray Butler

Daniel Reverdin, student from Switzerland, works at an electron optical bench at the Bureau of Standards, Washington, preparing for an industrial career on returning to his country.

had deplored intellectual isolation and talked of the "international mind." Stephen Duggan had dwelt on "today's neighbor" and even the possibility of preventing war.

This was the theory, but what the practice? The case of Bill Thomas, as an example, will help supply the answer.

Bill Thomas is 22, has his Bachelor's degree from the University of California, a major in Political Science, and a minor in French Language and Civilization. He has the feeling that before he settles down to a job and marriage, he'd like to live and study abroad for a short time. He realizes he knows very little about how the rest of the world lives. He wants to perfect his French and learn at closer range something of European history and politics. Bill expects to teach.

He chooses the University of Paris after correspondence and discussion with staff members at the Institute and perusal of numerous catalogs of French universities.

The first months at the University are not easy. His French is not what he thought it was back in California. The professors make no real demands and few assignments, expecting him to proceed much on his own initiative. By Christmas, however, Bill has his head above water. Living with a family on the Left Bank sharpens his ear. He penetrates the depths of the Bibliothèque Nationale, and finds abundant material as background for two papers on contemporary European political history.

Bill spends the Easter holiday in Rome visiting an Italian classmate for two weeks. He "does" Rome as he has Paris—the churches, bookstalls, night clubs, museums, restaurants, and homes.

In June, with a Certificat d'Etudes Supérieures in hand, he leaves Paris and returns to the United States by way of Germany and the Scandinavian countries. He is back home in Los Angeles in mid-August.

Letters written from France in the spring had turned up two offers of teaching jobs, and Bill goes in September to a western college as instructor in European History and French Civilization.

Now what has happened? A young American boy has gone to Europe for a year after finishing college, lived in Paris with a French family while studying Political Science at the university, traveled around Europe a bit, and returned to teach in a western college.

Certainly the world was not shaken. The relations between the great powers still went from bad to worse during that year. What then could the architects say had been accomplished toward building world understanding?

This can be said with certainty:

- Bill has been "broadened"—he knows more than he did of how French people live, work, play, and talk, and will pass much of this on to his students
- His French is much better
- The western college has a foreign-trained American instructor
- A number of Europeans have a new friend who lives in California, U. S. A.

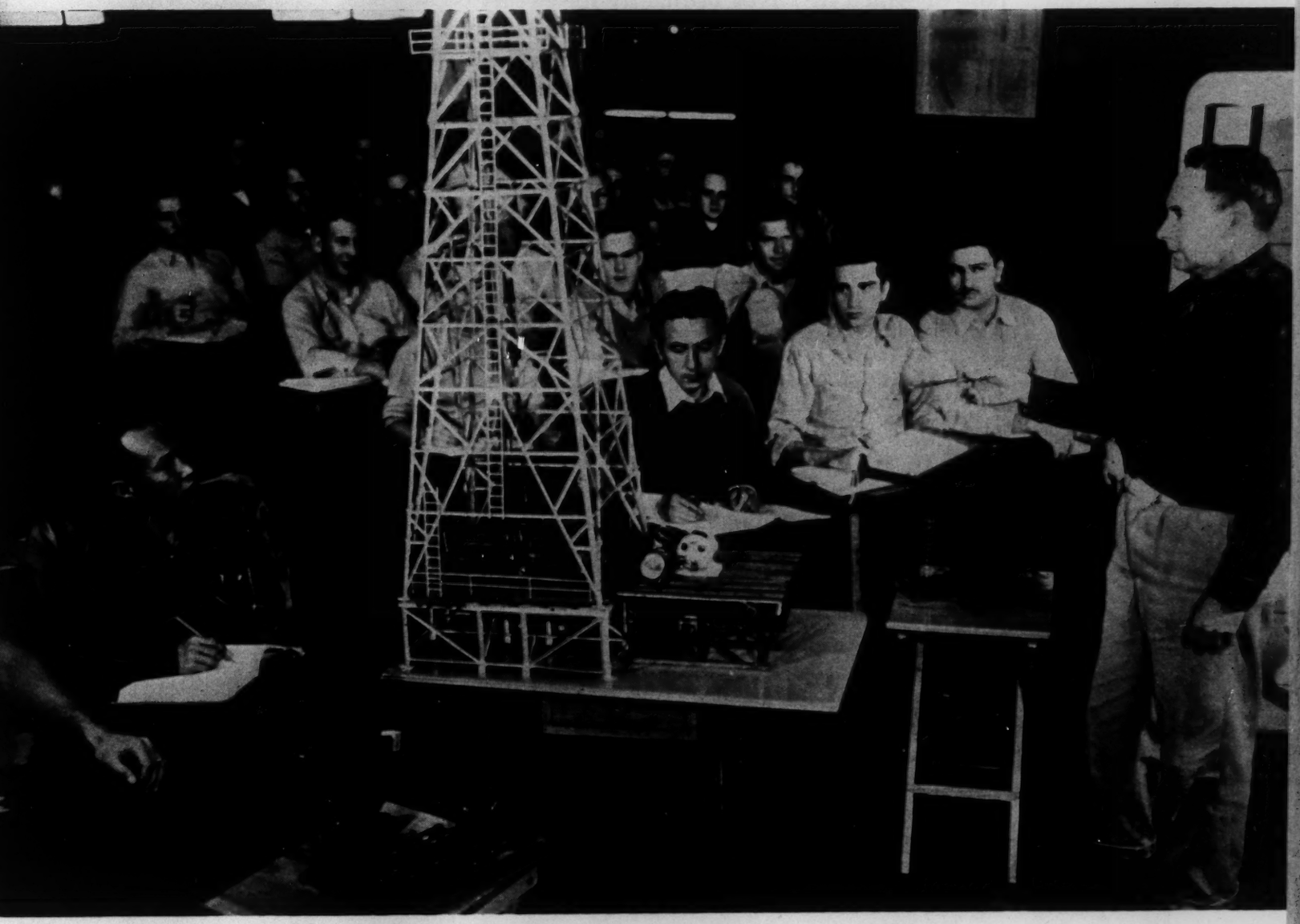
This much is speculation:

- American-French relations are stronger
- In addition to teaching, Bill may—write an article in a magazine or newspaper about problems an average Frenchman faces every day—give a talk at the local Rotary on ECA and the French dinner table—continue to correspond with his host family in Paris, and with several of his closer friends, such as his Italian classmate—take a more active interest in international affairs—write his Congressman about certain foreign policy legislation—support certain relief or rehabilitation efforts—subscribe to foreign affairs journals—support measures to strengthen the United Nations
- In fact, Bill may even in the near future go into some branch of American foreign service—serve as a cultural attaché—or he may join the staff of UNESCO in Paris

Then, another student may not. International education is no magic wand-waving. Another Bill may stay close to the American colony in Paris, shun contacts with French families, make few friendships, have little inquisitiveness about local conditions.

The year's investment is about $2,000. If one believes that education is capital invested for the future, the full returns are not measurable the moment Bill gets back home.

In a world where billions are dispensed on more questionable ventures, perhaps this is a reasonable risk. More than this the architects did not expect.



Students from Holland, Iran, Burma, and Turkey listen, with their American colleagues, to a lecture on oil drilling that will help them develop their own countries' resources.

THE BUILDERS

On February 1, 1919, the Institute of International Education opened its doors at 421 West 117th Street on Morningside Heights in New York City. Two of the architects had persuaded the third —Stephen Duggan—to accept the leadership. He became the first Director, a post in which he served brilliantly for twenty-eight years. Associated with him on the staff during these years were such men as Arthur W. Packard, now Director of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund; Edward R. Murrow, radio commentator and former Vice President of the Columbia Broadcasting System; and Edgar J. Fisher, now at Sweet Briar College. Mary L. Waite, the first executive secretary, served with distinction for nineteen years. A large share of credit for the program's development is also due to seven staff members whose loyal service for more than twenty of the Institute's first thirty years has given continuity to the work—Mildred Adams, Emily Donick, Agnes Dowd, Edna Duge, Ruth Hubbard, Helen Stovall, and Lillie Sutherland.

From November, 1946, until his death in December, 1948, Laurence Duggan, son of the first Director, served as leader of Institute activities. His keen perception, his initiative, and his abilities of organization during these two post-war years brought a doubling of staff, budget, and total program. Since Laurence Duggan's death, Donald J. Shank, Vice President, has directed the Institute's work. Behind him is administrative experience of fourteen years with the American Council on Education and Cornell University.

As this volume goes to press, the Institute is preparing to welcome a new president, Kenneth Holland. A graduate of Occidental College and Princeton University, Dr. Holland, an Institute alumnus, has studied abroad, has served his Government in the Office of Inter-American Affairs and Department of State and other agencies, and has been United States Counselor on UNESCO Affairs in Paris. He will assume the Presidency in the Spring of 1950.

Trustees

Many an organization has risen or fallen on the quality of policy decisions made by its board of trustees. The Institute has been particularly fortunate in the close interest in direction of work taken by members of the board. Individuals who are leaders in national and international life have shaped the new programs adopted by the Institute.

Abdul Latif of Pakistan and Abdul Zakhmi of Afghanistan cooperate in doing homework. Both are engineering students at Colorado School of Mines.

Around the table in the conference room on Morningside Heights early in 1919 were, among others, Henry Morgenthau, Sr., John Bassett Moore, Nicholas Murray Butler, Alice Duer Miller, and Dwight W. Morrow. Their planning and advice gave soundness to the initial stages of building. As the structure progressed, new names were added to the list, and such distinguished Americans as Thomas W. Lamont, John Foster Dulles, Alvin Johnson, Joseph P. Chamberlain, and Virginia Gildersleeve served as trustees.

As expanding activities of the Institute touched new fields of American and foreign life, an Advisory Council was formed to add supplementary and specialized advice. The roll-call of these advisers is a partial index to the social, economic, and political history of those years—Jane Addams, Henry L. Stimson, Harry Emerson Fosdick, Julius Sachs, James T. Shotwell, Charles Evans Hughes, Quincy Wright, William Fellowes Morgan, and dozens of others.

A recitation of names, however, does not by itself mean a great deal, and the significance of these names must be sought in the activities of the Institute, to which each gave a measure of his interest and energy.

Caroline MacGillavry of Holland works in Chemical Crystallography. While traveling and studying in this country, she also gave lectures on her field to American audiences.

Cooperating Agencies

Any builder has great reliance on suppliers for a flow of materials. Since the original charter of the Institute said that it could not "create or finance courses, scholarships, or educational opportunities," it has naturally had to rely on the generosity of others for a flow of funds and opportunities. This meant literally that without cooperation the Institute could not have moved a step toward its goal, could not have placed one beam or one brick in the structure.

During thirty years there has been great growth in the numbers of working connections which the Institute was developing.

In 1920 the relationships consisted of a few hundred personal contacts here and abroad made by Stephen Duggan in his initial traveling as ambassador of world understanding.

Early in 1949, when tabulation of these relationships was made, the number totaled over 2,300. The list included selection committees in most foreign countries, American and foreign colleges and universities, national educational organizations, civic groups, bi-national groups, United States Government offices, foreign governments, foundations, corporations with overseas connections, labor unions, press and radio, fraternities and student groups, and individuals.

To see the span of sustaining and cooperating organizations, one need only

look in the statistical summary of any Institute *Annual Report* and note such entries as:

> JEAN DAPHNE WHITE, King's College, University of London; to Columbia University (also recipient of *American Home Economics Association Fellowship*); Food and Nutrition
>
> JOHANNES MAX MÜLLER, University of Basel; to University of Pittsburgh (also recipient of *Ciba Limited Fellowship* and grant from *American Swiss Foundation for Scientific Exchange*); Chemistry
>
> ONDINA MARISTANY HERNÁNDEZ, University of Habana; to University of Southern California (recipient of *Soroptimist Foundation of Los Angeles Fellowship* and *United States Government Supplementary Maintenance Grant*); Social Work
>
> MARGARITA LOMELI CEREGO, National University of Mexico; to Columbia University (also recipient of *General Federation of Women's Clubs Latin-American Fellowship*, *United States Government Supplementary Maintenance Grant*, and *Pan American Airways Travel Fellowship*); Law
>
> JAMES DUDLEY KENNEDY, B.A., University of Idaho; M.A., Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy; to University of Amsterdam (recipient of *Edward W. Bok Scholarship*); International Relations
>
> WARREN LEROY HICKMAN, B.A., Colgate University; M.A., Columbia University; to University of Geneva and Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva (also recipient of American Society for Friendship with Switzerland Fellowship); International Relations

These entries speak volumes about the nature and dependence of the work of the Institute as a builder of opportunities for international study. In a few lines they show the function the Institute performs of "matching together" various offers of support, the wide area of the globe represented by its students, the varied fields of study, and the public and private agencies which make the construction possible.

In this brief booklet the Institute can only inadequately show the breadth of interest in the United States and abroad on the part of groups, governments, and educational institutions in supporting the field of international education.

In total, it is an impressive record of faith and accomplishment which deserves independent treatment in a separate volume.

THE BRICKS & MORTAR

THE GREAT WALL OF CHINA, stretching over a thousand miles of rugged terrain from the Yellow Sea to Turkestan, was built more than two thousand years ago as a measure of national defense. Legend has it that as the slaves who were building the wall died, their bodies were flung into the wall as fill, and that countless thousands were so buried.

In less grim fashion, the bricks and mortar used by the Institute, in thirty years of constructing the defenses of peace, have gone into a living edifice. The materials used are, of course, the thousands of individuals from scores of nations who have moved back and forth in these years in search of education and understanding. Many have come and gone directly under the sponsorship of the Institute of International Education; many others have received advice and guidance from the Institute; still others have not had occasion directly to use Institute services. But, whether by direct service or by indirect relation, all these, in the flow from the United States and from abroad, have constituted the bricks and mortar of the building.

Let us see how the foundation and building have progressed.

Early Digging

Exchanges have been made for hundreds, even thousands, of years. Whether it was the flow of foreigners into Athens following the Persian Wars in 500 B.C., or the influx to Rome after the conquest of Greece in the second century B.C., or the movement of "vaganti" or wandering students to Paris in the so-called Dark Ages—the incentive was always the same: to learn what one could not learn at home. To sit at the feet of an Aristotle, a Cicero, an Abelard, a Copernicus, or an Erasmus was intellectual ecstasy.

The Reformation, which heightened nationalism, divided Catholics and Protestants, and erased Latin as the language denominator, put the quietus on student exchange for more than a century.

Following the Napoleonic Wars came a resumption of foreign study, with the tide flowing across Germany for science, into France for art and philosophy, and down into Italy for music. In all this America remained an island around which the currents eddied, entering only a few bays and harbors. The intellectual cargoes were delivered elsewhere.

Foreign students at a California refinery. Visits to American industrial plants help them learn how free enterprise works in a democratic country.

The Foundations Rise

The turn of the century brought the turn of the tide of materials. Beginning shortly after 1900, several international scholarship programs were inaugurated. The first was the Boxer Indemnity Fund, established by Congressional action, which stimulated a large-scale movement of Chinese students to this country. One of the best known in the years before the First World War was the Rockefeller Foundation fellowship program.

Following World War I numerous other grants developed. Some of the most widely known were those of the Commonwealth Fund, the Belgian American Educational Foundation, the American Scandinavian Foundation, and the American Field Service Fellowships.

The Building Emerges

What were the total materials used from 1919 to 1949? Made up of a Charles here, a Carlos there, and a Karl elsewhere, how many noses can be counted in the roll-call of thirty years? Almost 400,000!

In these years more than a quarter of a million students, technicians, and specialists came to the United States for advanced study under the auspices of many organizations—75,000 during the 1920's; 80,000 during the 1930's; and 125,000 during the 1940's. An annual census of American students abroad has not been made, but for a general estimate of the same period, one might say that approximately 100,000 went overseas to study.

During these decades Canada, China, The Philippines, and Mexico have led in sending the largest numbers to this country. France, Germany, Switzerland, Great Britain, and Italy have been the focus of Americans abroad.

These, then, were major developments in a field which was yearly attracting wider interest and participation. A review of the highlights of the Institute's activities during these years will, because of its central and frequently co-ordinating position, be a fair cross-section of the total construction.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THIRTY YEARS

Abdul from Iraq, María from Buenos Aires, Bill from San Francisco. These —multiplied many thousands of times—make up the materials which for thirty years have gone into this structure of world fraternity. In varying measure the Institute has served them all—by encouragement to universities to welcome additional numbers, by instructional pamphlets and handbooks on where, how, and what to study, by personal counseling at its offices in New York, Washington, and Paris—and London before World War II—by administration of fellowship opportunities, by cooperation with advisory committees in 73 countries in disseminating proper information on opportunities for study in the United States, by active relationship with groups fostering hospitality programs for foreign students, by administration of exchange programs for the United States Government and foreign governments, and by cooperating with bi-national foundations.

History is elusive, and in a constant state of re-evaluation. Each passing year gives new perspective to past events and alters the selection and rank of important happenings. Out of these years of activity only a relatively few highlights can be selected to illustrate the range of relationships and scope of the work.

Exchange Programs with Europe

From the warm welcome to the large group of French students in 1920, on through the beginnings of the American-Czech exchanges in 1922, the quick extension of this pattern to other European countries, and on up to the present large programs, public and private, administered by the Institute—the interest in Europe has been a lively one.

For many years the eagerness of Americans for a European education matched

A trainee from Latin America studies modern methods of milk processing. Many lives may be saved with the knowledge he acquires here.

the desire of foreign students to come here so exactly that most of the programs —particularly with France, Germany, and Italy—were on a one-for-one basis. Austria, Hungary, Spain, and Switzerland were also active in cultural exchanges, sending and receiving large numbers each year.

The Junior Year Abroad plan of spending the third undergraduate year in a foreign university has for twenty years stimulated the flow of American students to Europe.

In recent years the popularity of summer school sessions in England and on the Continent has taken thousands of Americans into the six-week courses in dozens of European universities.

The intellectual climate between the Old World and the New is now one of mutual respect. The American no longer stands in awe of his European cousins' cultural accomplishments. The "poor relation" complex of half a century ago has disappeared. The United States stands equal in equipment, teachers, research, and libraries with the most advanced nations of the world.

Good Neighbor

As far back as 1929 the Institute established a Latin American Division with the purpose of developing educational exchanges with our southern neighbors. Opportunities for Americans to study in Latin America, however, were slow to develop, so for some years this was a one-way program, bringing many Latin Americans to the United States. Then, late in the 1930's, the Good Neighbor Policy developed. Added to private foundation interest, it caused a sharp increase during this decade of students from Latin America, principally from Colombia, Brazil, Venezuela, Peru, and Argentina, but also from every one of the other Latin-American countries. Opportunities opened for American students to go to Latin America as well. These were healthy developments. There can be no question that the Latin-American student, trainee, and specialist programs have materially strengthened Western Hemispheric understanding.

Asia and Africa

The newest of the Institute's regional divisions was established in 1947 to meet growing interest in international education in Asia and Africa. Starting with a small number of Iraqi and Burmese students, this division has grown rapidly, and now places nearly as many students as the older divisions. It is working with selection committees in Egypt, Burma, Lebanon, the Philippines, Siam, Gold Coast, Korea, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and the Union of South Africa. More countries and greater numbers of students from Asia and Africa will be drawn into the program in the future, particularly as United States Government funds enable more students to obtain study opportunities in this country.

Travels of the Staff

Much of the realism of direction of Institute activities can be attributed to the constant alertness of its leaders to changes in demands, interests, and opportunities in the field of exchange of persons. The first activity of Stephen Duggan in 1919, after organizational preliminaries were out of the way, was a wide tour of the United States, visiting colleges and universities, talking with the presidents, deans, and registrars about the admission of foreign students. This was followed immediately by a visit to Europe to sound out educational opportunities for Americans abroad, and to report to leading foreign educators the enthusiastic interest of American schools in receiving larger numbers of foreign nationals on campuses. At regular intervals thereafter Dr. Duggan made trips to Europe, and also to Latin America and the Far East.

The tradition of travel was continued by his son, Laurence Duggan, who, as a delegate at UNESCO sessions in Mexico City and Utrecht, at the Congress of Universities of the Commonwealth at Oxford, and by trips to colleges and universities throughout the country, extended and strengthened the educational relationships of the expanding Institute.

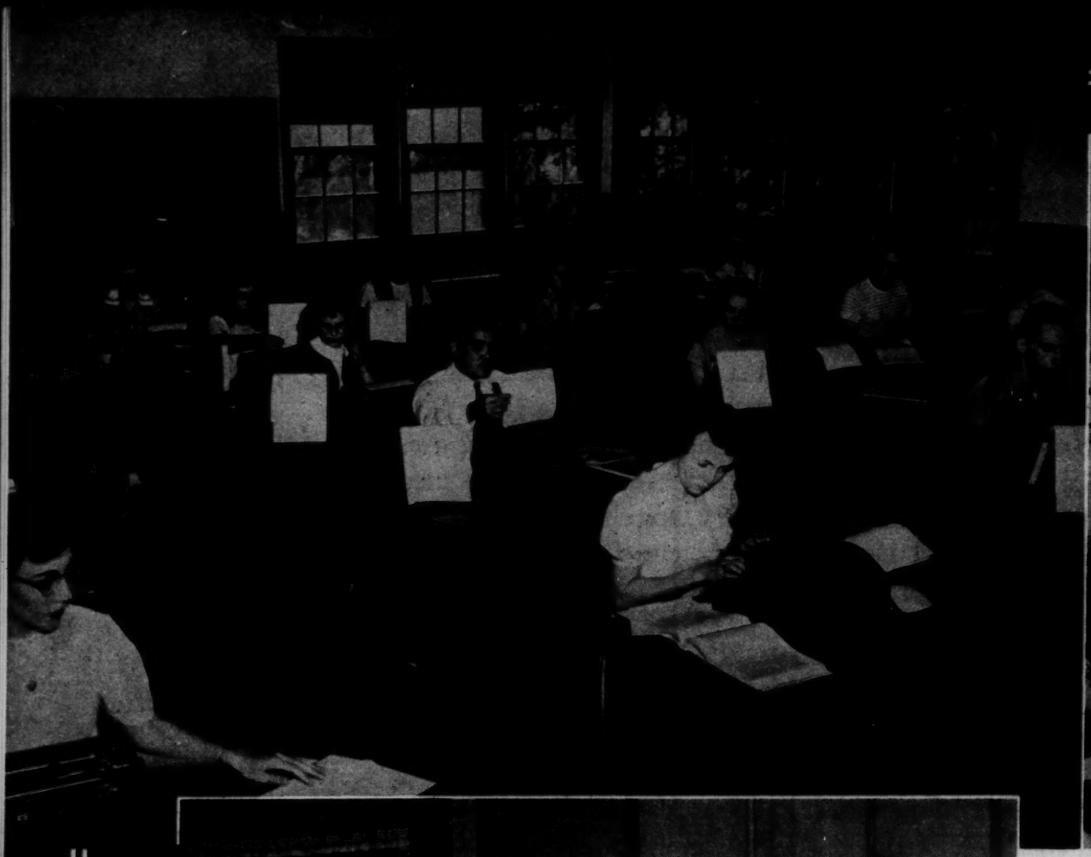
In addition, staff members have always made regular visits to campuses in all parts of the United States, as well as to conferences and cultural centers abroad. For example, in 1949 the Acting Director, Donald Shank, attended conferences in Paris and London, and Harry Pierson, the Director of Student Program, went on a special educational mission to Japan.

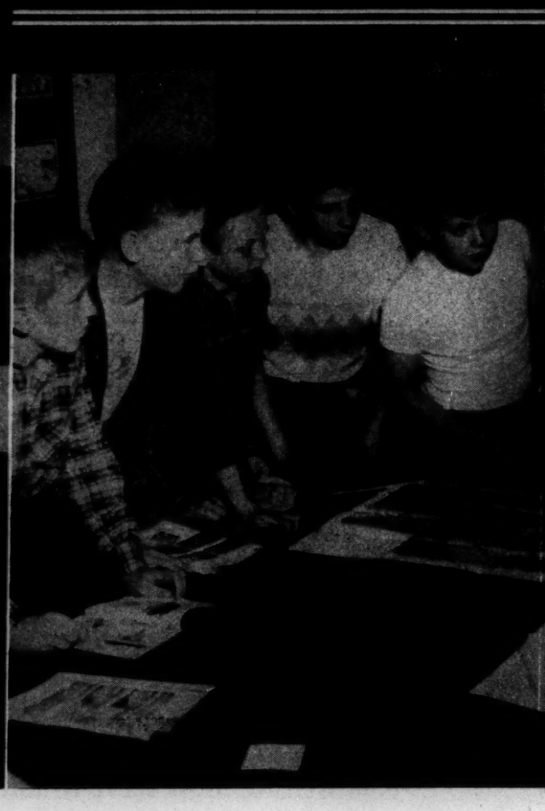
Conferences

Two examples of the numerous conferences called by or participated in by the Institute must serve to tell the larger story of an important phase of its work.

In 1933 large numbers of complaints came in to the Institute from Great Britain and the Continent that numerous inferior American medical students, unable to meet the standards of medical schools in this country, were seeking admission abroad. Representative medical schools and organizations were invited by the Institute to discussions on this subject which resulted in agreement that foreign universities should refuse applications from American students not passed upon first by the Association of American Medical Colleges or the Council on Medical Education and Hospitals of the American Medical Association. Following this conference, the flow of badly-prepared medical students to Europe gradually became much less of a problem.

Out of conferences called by the Institute with the cooperation of the Department of State in 1942, 1946, and 1947 grew the National Association of Foreign Student Advisers, established in 1948. Invited to these early meetings were foreign student advisers, college and university administrators, and representatives of the United States and foreign governments. From their discussions grew the belief that the students and the colleges would best be served by an organization of student counselors to work toward the solution of problems connected with student interchange.





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Through the National Association of Foreign Student Advisers those concerned with helping the foreign student are working on such matters as the counseling of foreign students; teaching English to foreign students; admissions and credit evaluation; assisting Americans studying abroad; immigration regulations. The organization, in the year and a half since it was established, has assisted in solving the financial problems of Chinese students in this country; has published a handbook on counseling students from abroad; and has worked with the Immigration and Naturalization Service on matters concerning foreign students.

Lecturers

Since the day its doors were opened on February 1, 1919, the Institute has brought to this country more than 400 prominent lecturers and men of affairs. The purpose was twofold: first, to give American college students the chance to hear distinguished authorities speak on their own fields, and, second, to give foreign specialists an opportunity to know the United States better by a wide visit to its cities and educational institutions. Colleges pay a fee to the lecturer, the Institute draws up an itinerary and program, and the lecturer delivers an average of about 25 talks in a dozen or more states.

This was one of the very first programs which the Institute conducted, bringing six speakers in 1920. Among those well known in the world scene whom the Institute brought to the United States, many of them for the first time, are: the British writer Walter de la Mare; the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs Carlo Sforza; Nobel Peace Prize winner Sir Norman Angell; the historian Arnold Toynbee; the political scientist Count Coudenhove-Kalergi; the economist Harold Laski, the Norwegian internationalist Christian L. Lange; the French political scientist André Siegfried; and many others.

That this experiment in international lecturers has been significant to the vast majority of the audiences hearing them is testified to by the hundreds of letters which say in general what was said in particular about one speaker: "He is no ordinary lecturer, but a philosopher who can use the platform to explain national and international matters in simple terms. We are deeply grateful to him and you."

That it is helpful to the visitor too may be illustrated by word received some months ago from Arnold Toynbee. "I shall always remember with gratitude the help which the Institute has given me in the past in bringing me into personal touch with universities in the United States, and I hope the Institute will continue, for a long time to come, to carry on its valuable work."

Industrial Trainees

Broader than the academic alone has been a portion of the Institute's program for training foreign nationals in American business and industrial practices. Called the Work Student Movement when it was established in 1928, it was confined at first to Germans but shortly expanded to Austrians, Czechoslovakians, and others. The foreign trainee, paid the prevailing wage for the work he did while learning, was allowed only one year's stay in the United States. Labor unions as well as employers gave full approval to the plan, and in 1929 there were over two hundred trainees from seven European countries. The depression caused the discontinuance of this activity for some years.

The United States Government took up a similar training plan for Latin Americans during World War II. Called the Inter-American Trade Scholarship Program, it placed several hundred trainees in fields ranging from road-building and the manufacture of glass-making machinery to modern insurance practices and the graphic arts. In April, 1947, the Institute took over the administration of this program, placing 53 additional trainees and advising those already in training. In the bi-monthly reports of each trainee there are clear reflections of American business activity as seen through foreign eyes. One trainee, impressed by the American system, wrote in his best formal English:

American and British students stop to chat in front of Oxford dormitories. Campus gossip acquires the status of an international "town meeting."

"The right to free enterprise, granted and defended by a democratic regime, has been so far the most efficient ever known to assure social and financial success. Bearing that in mind, I will not be a prey for anyone who in the future tries to mislead my opinion, for I saw the right and will stick to it."

Much appreciation and credit are due the cooperating corporations, which provide training opportunities for these young people and make their six-month to two-year periods of solid practical value. In a number of cases, the trainee has returned to his home country as representative of the bank or industrial concern which accepted him as apprentice here.

With the attention now being given to the sharing of American productive knowledge with underdeveloped areas of the world, trainee programs may offer one very sensible course of action for such technical assistance.

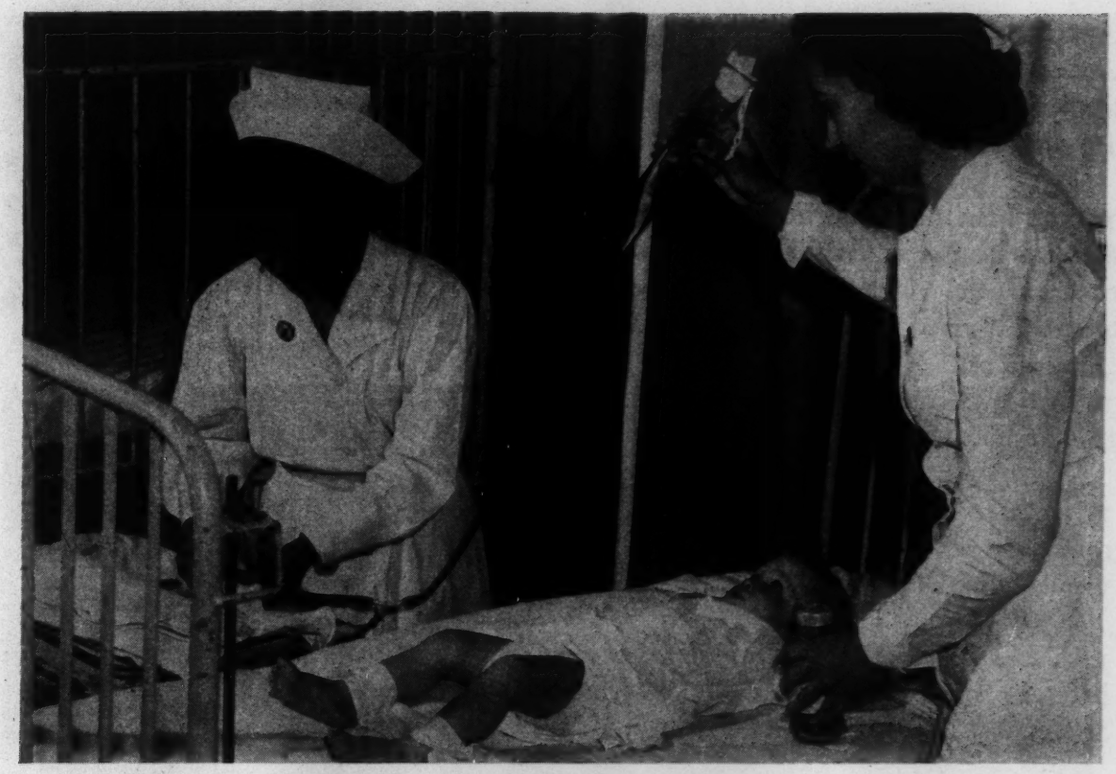
Publications

Since one of its principal functions is answering questions, the Institute has developed many practical booklets which explain the "where to" and the "how to" of international education.

For twenty years the most valuable pamphlet was the "Guide Book for Foreign Students in the United States," giving detailed information on our higher education, methods of teaching, dormitory and fraternity life, examinations, costs, and so on. The counterpart of this for Americans abroad was a series of guides to each of the most popular European countries. A very remarkable document entitled "Meet the U. S. A.," written in 1945 by a Chinese who had been a student in America, now supplants the "Guide Book for Foreign Students." It is, in effect, a history book, an educational guide, and a commentary on American manners and customs all rolled into one. Illustrated with photographs of American life and with maps and charts, it is good reading for the general public too.

Numerous other booklets, pamphlets, and memoranda have been distributed annually by the Institute. These publications are an important part of the wider outreach of Institute influence, since they go by the thousands to American campuses, to foreign institutions, government offices, program-operating foundations, overseas consulates and information centers, and to hosts of individual inquirers. Providing basic information on scholarships, courses, immigration regulations, living costs, educational standards, specialized opportunities, and the like, they give primary instruction to many who may need no other of the many services rendered by the Institute.

This quick review of a few phases of the Institute's work is in no way an adequate summary of the accomplishments of thirty years. More flavorful accounts appear in the yearly reports of the Director, available at the Institute and in most college and public libraries across the country.



Miss Trinidad Ramirez of Peru (left), a nursing trainee, assists in administering subcutaneous fluids at Children's Hospital, Washington, D. C.

"Firsts"

In the building progesss, a number of "firsts" stand out. This listing indicates no claim to absolute leadership in the field. It does illustrate how a private agency can be a strong initiating factor in a free society, by advancing new policies and principles later carried out and enlarged upon by cooperating government and private bodies.

These are some of the projects in which the Institute of International Education has pioneered:

★ The Institute published the first comprehensive list of scholarship opportunities for foreign students in the United States and for Americans abroad; the first guide books for foreign students; and the first monthly publication in this country exclusively concerned with international education.

★ The Institute pioneered in sending American professors to universities abroad and bringing foreign professors to the United States. So far as is known, only one arrangement for the exchange of professors existed before 1920. By

1921 the Institute had made arrangements for seventeen professors from American institutions to spend their sabbatical years teaching in eleven different countries. By 1923 the Institute was assisting American colleges to fill teaching vacancies.

★ The Institute was the first organization to arrange on a large scale noncommercial lecture tours for distinguished scholars and men of affairs from abroad to speak at American colleges and universities. Many of them were subsequently invited to important posts in American educational institutions.

★ The Institute was the first organization to arrange for debating teams from the British universities to meet American teams.

★ In 1922 the Institute assisted in securing a change in existing immigration regulations to permit foreign students to enter the United States on special visas, outside the regular quotas.

★ Years before the "Good Neighbor Policy" was inaugurated, the Institute brought students from the Latin-American countries to study in the United States.

★ The Institute was instrumental in the establishment of "Student Third Class" travel arrangements on ships, later to become the popular "Tourist Class."

★ The Institute has worked unceasingly to establish more uniform evaluation of academic credits in all educational systems.

★ The Institute assisted in the establishment of the first summer schools for American students in Rio de Janeiro and in Lima, Peru; and the first "winter schools" for Latin Americans in the United States.

★ Early in its history, the Institute supervised the reorganization of International Relations Clubs on college campuses, enlisted new interest among students and faculty members in organizing Clubs, and distributed books and syllabi to them.

★ In cooperation with the United States Department of State, the Institute pioneered in the establishment of uniform selection standards and the development of bi-national selection committees, so that only qualified students would come here or be sent abroad.

★ The Institute cooperated with the United States Department of the Army and other organizations to bring to the United States after World War II the first large groups of students from Germany, Japan, Austria, and the Ryukyus.

★ Since the end of World War II, the Institute has assisted in the establishment of programs for education in the United States of students and technicians from underdeveloped and colonial areas which had not sent students before.

★ The Institute encouraged the development of the office of Foreign Student Adviser on college campuses in the United States.

Mrs. Rajammal Devadas of Madras, India, in an American university laboratory. She is seeking inexpensive, practical ways of improving the diet of the masses in her country.

BUILDING PROBLEMS

No building rises magically, without complications and emergencies. Work stoppages, material shortages, the fallibility of the builder's judgment—all account for temporary delays and inefficiencies.

The work of the Institute of International Education did not proceed magically. Basic problems presented themselves constantly. In fact, they still plague the work progress in building international understanding.

Adjustment Problems

Every person who goes abroad has some kind of adjustment problem. It may be a new language to cope with, different social customs, faster or slower pace of life, unexpected expenses, or just plain, old-fashioned homesickness. So it is in varying degrees with all of the 27,000 students who came to the United States this year, and most of the 17,000 Americans in foreign countries.

Some people just expect too much. They have conjured up elaborate pictures of a romantic Paris, an ancient Rome, an exotic Shanghai, a stately London, or a gold-paved New York. What they find is often far from their preconceptions.

We might all take to heart the sensible words of Michel Delande of France who studied engineering at the University of Oklahoma in 1948–49—"It seems to me that all the fabulous descriptions of a foreign country should be forgotten when landing, and the student must think in terms of ordinary people, working to live, having trouble, and not necessarily rich, nice, or friendly." To that one can only say "Amen." Too high hopes often lead to disappointment, and sometimes genuine unhappiness, which could have been avoided by more moderate attitudes. Actually, though, the student will find friendship and hospitality, with the unhappy experience the exception. The efforts of college authorities to welcome and orient the foreign students, combined with hospitality from nearby community clubs, churches, and homes have of late improved the situation markedly.

"So Freshman!"

An American college campus is confusing even to an American. One can

imagine then the blanket of confusion covering a foreign student who has to cope with new expressions such as semesters, credits, load, seminar, exams, grades, prerequisites, and the like. One can appreciate the flavor in the letter which began:

> *Your student from Korea is now writing you with a green hat on the head, the black tie around the neck, and green button (name on it) in front of the hat. So Freshman! Upon arrival late in the evening of September 15, I found myself already abandoned in the busy orientation, which included various practices such as yelling, singing, and clapping, and in addition to having the speeches, made by distinguished members of the Alumni and the Deans of the College.*

Even when he has "gotten his feet wet" in the American system of education, the student from abroad often resents the rigidity of a compulsory curriculum, or may feel that full credit was not given for work done in his home university. One "core course" in Physical Science caused a student in a New England college to complain—

> *I feel as if I am wasting my time in this class, since it looks like a repetition of high-school physics in English. It seems to me that "Sun goes round the earth, or earth goes round the sun" does not have any direct relation with my future activity. Therefore, I went to see the deans, and they insisted on my taking it. I am now gallantly fighting the tasteless course called "Physical Science."*

More serious than the single course, however, is the placement of the student in the right academic class by proper evaluation of his previous studies. Should Marie from a French Lycée be a Sophomore or Junior at the University of Texas? How should Montana State College rate the application of a second-year student at the University of Kabul, Afghanistan? How advanced are the educational systems in Liberia, Panama, or the Dutch East Indies? Overrating a person's capacities often results in as much grief as underrating. In this problem the advisory services of the United States Office of Education are of inestimable value to many colleges and universities.

Finances

Maria Giocaris from Athens has a full scholarship at a Midwestern college. The Institute of International Education informs her that she must provide $300 of her own money for travel to the college and for incidental expenses

during the year. Because of exchange restrictions due to the dollar shortage in Greece, she arrives in New York City without funds. How to buy the ticket to the Midwest, let alone provide for her incidental expenses for ten months?

Manuel Velasquez of Peru was at Yale when notified that a change in his home government had cut off his support; Chih Tang was stranded at Oregon when Shanghai fell; Emil Fazi was one of the 125 Palestinian Arab students affected by the war in his country.

Emergency aid in such cases may come from a variety of sources. The Institute of International Education may find a generous individual willing to assist Maria or Manuel. Temporary aid from ECA funds was forthcoming for stranded Chinese students this year. An American corporation made a generous donation to help Palestinian Arab students.

The foreign student learns too soon the humor behind the well-worn joke that, while in his day George Washington could throw a silver dollar across the Potomac, no one could do it today because "a dollar doesn't go as far." He shares with the G. I. and with many scholarship students the problem of spreading small monthly allowances over an endless thirty days. Because of immigration regulations and the need of devoting most of their time to studies, foreign students cannot earn sufficient money by part-time work to make ends meet. Nor do they have the marginal help of family and friends which gives a boost to many struggling American G. I.'s.

Consider the care with which $92.50 was spent by an Austrian girl who arrived with not a penny. Her report says:

> *Whatever I had to spend on private needs, I spent it out of the emergency grant of the Institute. I list the items of my expenses: University Dental School (so far) $5.50; Christmas (being invited, otherwise I would have had to provide for room and meals) $23; Writing paper, class utensils $6; Registration fee (to be returned) $5; Church $5.50; Cleaning of dresses $4.50; Mail (sent manuscripts of my scientific work done here to Europe) $11; Soap and other toilet things $5; Travel to New York $5; Trolley rides $1; Hose (there are no stockings in my home country since eight years, and I arrived with two pairs) $4.50; Shoes (mine brought from home being beyond repair) $8; Material for one dress that I made myself $8.50.*

Small items, one might say, and yet how important—the toothpaste, the mail, the shoes, the Christmas trip to an American home. This is a point where small offers of financial assistance from generous Americans may well do the most good. To Anna from Austria, $100 is a mountain of money.

Social Acceptance

All of us like to be popular, and the visitor to a foreign country no less. The Sikh from the Northwest Provinces of India likes to be found interesting for more than his stony-black beard and brilliant pink turban. The slim girl from Peking, come to study Dietetics, has more to her than exotic eyes and dress.

Each wants to be more than an oddity, on exhibit as "a foreign student on our campus." Each hopes to go beyond the bare-bones of the classroom, and be a flesh and blood member of the American community—to go on a hay ride, to sit in on "bull sessions" or "hen parties," to enjoy the Senior Prom, to cheer and yell at a football game, to go on a skiing party over a week end, and perhaps to join a fraternity or sorority.

Similarly, the American abroad yearns to merge into the landscape, to be considered more than a reasonable facsimile of a Chicago gangster or a Texas cowboy. He, too, would like to go on the week-end bicycle jaunt, attend the country fair and folk dances, sit in the cafés and argue the night away; in short, taste the full flavor of the daily life of the people around him.

Discrimination

The world makes much capital of the race problem in the United States. Often, for propaganda purposes, the size of the problem is exaggerated. But, whether by actual experience of discrimination or by observation, many visitors to our shores carry away strong impressions of this side of our social life.

It gives one pause to read the words of an engineer from India: "An important point I want to suggest is to advise colored students that whatever may be the hardships and their ultimate reactions, they must always smile, be kind and friendly. In other words, behave as if there was no racial prejudice in the United States."

The pause may not lie in this advice alone, but in realizing that this comes from one of three hundred million Indians, and that over three-quarters of the people of the world are what we call "colored." America's growth in international experience and contact will call for greater sensitivity and awareness of foreign viewpoints too easily ignored.

Language Barriers

It is a little disconcerting to those working with the students to discover that sometimes an undergraduate expecting to study, say, Liberal Arts at

Princeton knows scarcely enough English to order his meals and find his way around. In spite of all precuations in selecting applicants, occasionally students are sent whose first six months must be spent acquiring a working knowledge of the language. And once in a while, too, Americans are chosen to go abroad whose French or German or Italian is of the textbook variety, and far from a utilitarian means of communication.

Fortunately, these mishaps do not occur with great frequency. Whenever they appear, however, they result in a waste of time and money for all concerned. The solution to this problem lies in improving the selection processes even further.

The building, then, has not proceeded without encountering obstacles. Many individuals and organizations work constantly to remove these blocks to more even construction. As at other points in this brief presentation, it is impossible to list the councils, associations, committees, and agencies devoting themselves to a more qualitative exchange of persons. The pamphlet "Building Roads to Peace," prepared by the Institute of International Education and available free by writing to the Department of State, Washington, D. C., has a partial listing of groups working at these problems and needing the help of Americans everywhere.

Whether one has a spare bed, a one or one hundred dollar bill, or a free afternoon to offer, he can be sure that it will be invested in one of the most worthwhile projects of our time—the improvement of understanding between the peoples of the earth.

American students bound for Europe. In shipboard orientation courses they discuss the history, culture, and customs of countries they will visit.

CURRENT CONSTRUCTION

WHAT WERE the bricks and mortar of the year 1948–49? Did the building continue to follow the blueprint outlined thirty years previously by the architects Root, Butler, and Duggan?

It is appropriate at this point in a thirty-year review to examine a little more closely the accomplishments of the last year as typical of post-war Institute operations.

On a budget of approximately $390,000, with a staff of 100, with branch offices in Washington and Paris, and headquarters on the sixteenth and seventeenth floors of 2 West 45th Street, New York City—just what did the Institute of International Education accomplish in the last twelve months?

INFORMATION— It continued to serve as the central information bureau open to anyone wishing to study abroad or in this country. Performing these services, it answered over 100,000 mail inquiries and personally advised and counseled more than 10,000 individuals at its offices. Circulation of the monthly "News Bulletin" exceeded 9,000.

PLACEMENTS— It had directly under its sponsorship more than 1,200 students, specialists, technicians, professors, lecturers, and trainees from 53 countries of the world. It administered or assisted students to obtain scholarships and fellowships worth in total more than $2,500,000.

FULBRIGHT— In making preliminary selection of graduate students under Public Law 584 (79th Congress), known as the Fulbright Act, it received applications from 5,000 Americans for the 548 United States Government graduate scholarships open in ten countries abroad. Working with the National Selection Committee, it brought forward recommended candidates for final review by the Board of Foreign Scholarships and the Secretary of State. To improve Fulbright selection processes it expanded the National Selection Committee to include thirteen prominent men and women who are authorities in educational fields.

CENSUS—It took the census of all foreign students in the United States, in cooperation with the Committee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students, and found 26,759 students from 151 countries, colonies, and dependencies in 1,115 American colleges and universities.

ARMY CONTRACT—It signed agreements with the Department of the Army to bring approximately 200 students and teachers from the occupied areas of Germany, Austria, Japan, and the Ryukyus. Some $55,000 were appropriated for Germany, $43,000 for Austria, $77,000 for Japan, and $3,000 for the Ryukyus. It placed all of these students and teachers on partial or full scholarships and fellowships in American colleges and universities.

SPECIALISTS—It administered the UNESCO specialist program, bringing 23 leaders from seven countries of Europe and Asia to the United States for six months' study, observation, and discussion in the fields of educational reconstruction; and, in addition, by the contribution of the American Chemical Society, 4 Fellows for advanced research in Chemistry. It administered for the Institute for the Encouragement of Scientific Research in Industry and Agriculture (IRSIA) a program which brought 26 Belgian scientists for periods of from three months to one year to study in the United States.

LATIN-AMERICAN SPECIALISTS—Under this specialist program it placed 18 Latin Americans: 6 industrial trainees in factories, banks, and offices, and 12 educators in institutions and laboratories, under contract with the Department of State and the Institute of Inter-American Affairs.

PROFESSORS AND LECTURERS—It brought to the United States to lecture at colleges and universities distinguished speakers from Japan, India, Uruguay, England, and Italy; and 3 debating teams from the British universities which met American college teams all over the country. Under an arrangement with the National Education Association, it administered study programs in this country for 24 additional teachers from war-devastated areas. It made 13 placements of foreign professors in American educational institutions.

SUMMER SCHOOLS— It administered summer school programs under which 364 students went to five British universities; 30 to the University of Vienna; and 7 to the University of San Marcos, Lima, Peru.

KOREAN CONTRACT— It administered for the Republic of Korea a contract under which 34 undergraduate and graduate Korean students came to this country for a year of study.

BI-NATIONAL FOUNDATIONS— It cooperated with the English-Speaking Union to place more students from the United Kingdom in American colleges and universities; and with the American Scandinavian Foundation, the Belgian American Educational Foundation, and other bi-national organizations to place students from other countries.

SOCIAL WORKERS— It administered for Atlantique, French-American Society for Cultural Exchange, a program to bring French social workers to this country for practical training with professional social work agencies.

REORGANIZATION— It reorganized its Student Service divisions for greater operating efficiency, merging the Student Service and the Group Projects Division into the Student Program and establishing under it five divisions: Western European, Latin American, Central and Eastern European, and Asia-Africa for students from other countries; and Foreign Study for Americans going abroad.

EUROPEAN OFFICE— It reorganized the American University Union in Paris as the European Office of the Institute, with Dr. Albert George of Syracuse University as Director and Nuvart Parseghian of the New York Office as Assistant Director. The expanded functions of the European Office will include counseling foreign and American students and acting as liaison with universities, selection committees, governments, and UNESCO in all European countries.

ARTISTS— It administered, under a special grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, a summer project which brought 22 young artists from 12 countries to study and observe in music, painting, sculpture, drama, and literature.

ADVISERS—It established an Advisory Committee on Graduate Studies in an effort to develop closer relations between the Institute and American universities.

SELECTION—In cooperation with the Department of State, it continued to improve the selection abroad of foreign candidates for scholarships and fellowships offered by American universities, foundations, corporations, and individuals.

PUBLICITY—It tried to tell the story of international education more widely —through press releases, radio programs, and magazine articles— through a more popular account of the census of foreign students in "Education for One World"—through preparation of the aforementioned "Building Roads to Peace" for the use of the United States Department of State—through extension of circulation of its monthly "News Bulletin"—through exhibits illustrating the procedures used, the types of students brought, and the financing involved in Institute programs.

TRAVEL— It sent 7 staff members on field trips to all parts of the country, to discuss problems of student exchange and ways of developing the program. Two staff members visited Germany and Japan on missions at the request of the United States Government. In addition, several made visits to European countries, and one to Central America.

SUPPORT— It received the welcome support of ten foundations which contributed $65,000 to the expansion activities of the Institute, in addition to the continuing grants of $150,000 from the Carnegie Corporation of New York and $50,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation for the fiscal year July 1, 1948, to June 30, 1949.

CONGRATULATIONS— It received congratulations on thirty years of successful building from hundreds of friends, including—Thomas Dewey, Dwight D. Eisenhower, Robert Lovett, Eleanor Roosevelt, Arnold Toynbee, and Harry S. Truman.

MEMORIAL FUND— It received condolences from literally all parts of the world on the loss of its president, Laurence Duggan, expressing profound sympathy and regret at the passing of a man of great

ability, vision, and character. In token of affection for Mr. Duggan, $23,000 were contributed to a fund in his name upon the invitation of Mr. Archibald MacLeish and a group of friends —the money to be used by the Institute for enlarging international educational opportunities.

TRUSTEES—It received the splendid support and guidance of a Board of Trustees of 32 members soundly representative of the many fields in which the work of the Institute moves.

★

From the General to the Particular

The preceding recitation of facts and figures gives the total activity of the year 1948–49. But quality is the yardstick as much as quantity. Take the case of Dr. Suad Niazi, for example.

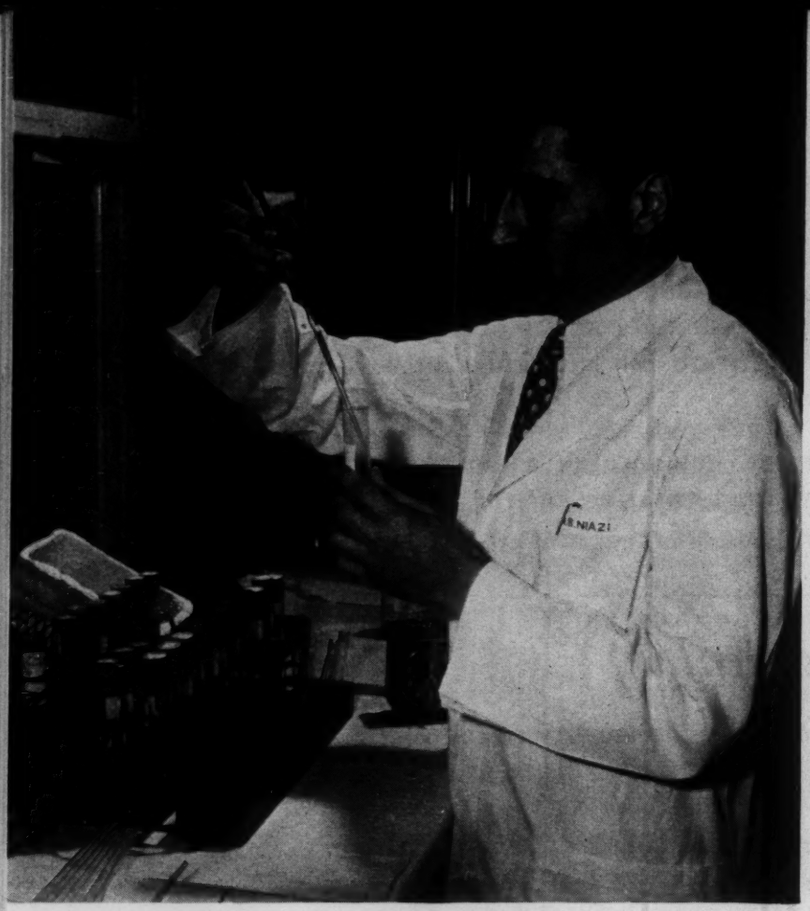
A physician from the Royal Medical College in Baghdad, Iraq, Suad Niazi represents a higher level of study and research than did the Bill Thomas described earlier. In general, though, he is in many ways typical of the students from other countries who came to the United States to study medicine last year.

In 1945, when he first contemplated advanced study in Surgery in the United States, Dr. Niazi was 28 years old and already had a brilliant academic and professional record behind him—"the outstanding student in each year of eighteen years of elementary, secondary, and college study, and since college awarded no less than thirteen prizes and medals for medical proficiency"—said the report.

Recommended for assistance by the American Legation in Baghdad, he was awarded a State Department fellowship covering $135 per month for twenty-four months, $260 for books and travel within the United States, and transportation back to Iraq upon completion of his studies.

At this point the Institute entered the picture in administering the fellowship and seeking to have Dr. Niazi admitted to a medical school. A number of tries were made, and after considerable negotiation an opening at the Medical School of the University of Minnesota developed in which Dr. Niazi would be able to "progress from internship to fellowship in Surgery, which would give him didactic and practical surgical training."

On *March 18, 1947*, Suad Niazi arrived in Minneapolis to begin his two years of American training. A letter of March 25 to the Institute of International Education said: "I have the honor and pleasure to write to you for the first time from this old University of Minnesota. . . . I expect to get my degree at



In return for his opportunity to study here, Suad Niazi of Iraq may one day give the world a test for cancer. American research facilities made his work possible.

the highest record ever dreamed of in America; trusting in God I must fulfill this mission to the utmost."

On *August 31*, after completing two summer school sessions, he wrote: "I am working on a special project in cancer, and I hope strongheartedly to achieve a very important result."

October 13—"The chief of Surgery here has been very kind. He took me down with him last Thursday to the Mayo Clinic in Rochester. There I met all the outstanding people of the Clinic."

January 14, 1948—"I continue work on several problems of research and hope to discover something of great importance."

Then, on *October* 22, *1948*, an article in the *New York Times*—"CANCER COLOR TEST CALLED A SUCCESS"—Special to the *New York Times*, by Gladwin Hill—"A clinical test for cancer with a high rate of accuracy in a limited number of test cases was reported today to the annual clinical congress of the American College of Surgeons.

"The test . . . was received by some doctors as an encouraging discovery in the long quest for a completely dependable indicator of cancer which is widely considered as a major objective in the campaign against the disease.

"Secondly, the development of the test was considered of significance in the prime effort to ascertain the causes of cancer. . . .

"The test was reported by Dr. Suad Niazi, a thirty-year-old native of Iraq who has been doing graduate work at the University of Minnesota Medical School in collaboration with Dr. David State."

In *June, 1949*, Suad Niazi was awarded a Damon Runyon Clinical Fellowship from the American Cancer Society, carrying with it a stipend of $3,500 for one year's further research.

* * *

The results are not final, but hope for the successful conclusion of Dr. Niazi's experiments is real. Who can say what is the dollar-and-cents value of such a development? Would it be worth a year, or in this case two years of organizational existence to be a working party to such discoveries?

Relevancy to the World Scene

One would be naive to say that this movement of students, specialists, trainees, and scientists will halt disease, will wipe out illiteracy, will stop war, will, in short—save the world.

The Institute of International Education does, however, ask the responsible citizen to consider some of these points about the 1,200 scholarship students under its auspices this year.

Was it not important—

To a United States seeking its role in world affairs

• • • that W. C. Peterson, for example, could go from the University of Nebraska to *Switzerland* to study Economics?

• • • that Margaret Lynch with a Master's degree from Columbia University could do advanced work in Political Science at the University of *Paris*?

• • • that Vincent A. Levelli of Brooklyn College could study Brazilian Economy in *Rio de Janeiro*?

• • • that Kenneth G. Olsen could go to Charles University in *Prague* to study Political History and International Law?

• • • that Dorothy Chavannes from Occidental College could study Psychology at the University of Stockholm, *Sweden*?

Was it not important also—

To a world with underdeveloped resources

• • • that Thorbjörn Karlsson could come from Reykjavik, *Iceland*, to study Mechanical Engineering?

• • • that from strategic and developing *India* could come, among numerous others: S. C. Banerjee for Chemical Engineering —Sukumar Dutt to take Mechanical Engineering—and Shiva Tiwari to study advanced Physics?

• • • that from Latin America came Fernando Balpardo of *Uruguay* for Animal Husbandry—Otto Granado of *Venezuela* to train in Auto Mechanics in Chicago plants—and Enrique Valenzuela of *Chile* to take practical work in Forest Utilization?

• • • that from far-off *Nepal*, with the aid of a United States Government grant, Mukunda Thapa came to study Electrical Engineering?

To a world hungry for education

• • • that Sai Bharnuratna could come from Bangkok, *Siam*, to

the Eastern Washington College of Education? He entered so completely and naturally into the daily life of the college that one report said: "Despite differences in age and experience even the youngest college students have enjoyed him and profited by knowing him. . . . They have included him in all their activities not because they felt they should, but because they liked him." (See special photographic story on pages 24 and 25.)

• • • that Amelia Van Dijk, Co-Director of the Applied Psychology Laboratory in The Hague, *Holland*, could spend six months here on a UNESCO Fellowship specializing in the education of war-affected children?

• • • that, among others, Gerd Spitzbart came from the "island" of *Germany* to learn about American education and specialize in International Relations?

To a world trying to cope with physical and social ailments

• • • that Myriam Molina of *Guatemala* could study Nursing at Yale University?

• • • that Otto Ritter of Lausanne, *Switzerland*, could take advanced work in Cardiology at the University of Michigan?

• • • that Sermsri Kasemsri of the royal family of *Siam* could attend the New York Institute for Education of the Blind to prepare for a life's work in aid to the handicapped of her country?

• • • that Rajammal Devadas of Madras, *India*, could do special food research at Ohio State University to try to prevent the death by malnutrition of hundreds of thousands of South Indians annually?

• • • that from war-ravaged *Greece* Sophia Kyriakou could come to take special courses in Home Economics?

The listings could go on endlessly. Suffice it to say that this is an exciting type of lend-lease which is going on between nations in these days. It is the sharing of educational materials among most of the countries of the world. It supplies new techniques and new awareness to the end that cultures may be cross-fertilized and strong personal relationships established. No lines can be drawn at the bottom of each page, and no totals taken off. Full returns are not measurable, but to those whose daily work is international education, the results in world enrichment are tangible and gratifying.

FINISHING TOUCHES

CERTAINLY there would be general agreement today that the most urgent problem of our times is how the separate nations of the world can learn to live together without periodic resort to war.

Obviously, there is no quick cure for international ills. This brief story of the person-to-person relationship between the United States and major countries of the world has not been put forward as a plan to guarantee world peace. It does suggest, however, that as an instrument of understanding and material assistance between nations, exchange of people has been tried and found to be one of the most substantial bonds available. As a project of good will, it has proceeded from a clearly drawn blueprint made thirty years ago by the firm of Root, Butler and Duggan.

"And when," one might ask, "will this building be finished?" The answer is clear, and is not measured in numbers of years or in numbers of bricks.

This building of international understanding will be completed, and will become a more powerful force in world affairs, when education in a foreign country is used as naturally, and supported as generously by all nations, as is domestic education.

It seems reasonable to most of us, for example, that two and a half million Americans should be in our colleges this year. This is a sensible investment, we would say, in the teachers, doctors, engineers, farmers, and welfare workers who will make our country stronger and healthier—a better place in which to live.

In similar fashion, it does seem reasonable to those who work in international education that tens of thousands should have the opportunity to live and study abroad. This is a good investment also in future leadership, with the hope that the world may be made stronger and healthier—a better place in which to live.

THREE SPECULATIONS

Perhaps the answer to this "when" of building completion may also be found in a few short speculations about recent and current history. What, the speculations run, might be the effect of a broad use of exchange of people in these world situations?

SPECULATION # 1

For almost a generation the German people lived under the mass hypnotism of National Socialism. The war over, the occupation begun—what was the answer to the question, "Can we trust the Germans?"

The Germans were as trustworthy as their shut-in minds would allow. What might have been the result of a policy which admitted that one of the best ways of letting fresh air into Germany was to let selected leaders of thought and opinion out—for short visits in surrounding countries and in the United States? A relative handful of students and specialists were exchanged, but what of a wholesale attack on the problem?

SPECULATION # 2

The Marshall Plan is a deep expression of American desire to win friends and rehabilitate other peoples. It puts its faith largely in the power of material supplies to prime national pumps, so that a flow of goods to the people will result in internal order and security.

Let us speculate for a moment what might be the effect in the countries receiving this aid if one cent out of every dollar, or 150 million dollars, were devoted to training chemists, physicists, engineers, mechanics, and other specialists to make better use of the 99 cents worth of supplies delivered. Or, going a step further, exchanging among the European countries involved some ten thousand educators, political scientists, economists, and trade experts to the end that substance might be given to the present proposals for European Union.

SPECULATION # 3

So repeatedly do international negotiations seem to stall on dead center that most of us hesitate to forecast the future trend of world events. But let us suppose that a more neutral relationship develops between East and West, and that a climate of "live and let live" prevails. Such political neutrality would need supplementing on the economic and cultural levels if it were to be meaningful.

The exchange of scientific, health, and agricultural missions would be a first step. This might be followed by an active exchange of students and professors, and by short-term projects such as international work camps and seminars. It is idle to believe this would be accomplished without delays, impediments, or even skepticism—on both sides. But no great nations can live together in the same world in frigid intellectual isolation from one another.

THE URGENCY

Good relations between nations do not happen accidentally. Planning, foresight, and investment of time and effort in international problems are urgently needed. It is important that we continue to strengthen the minds and bodies of our own people. It is also a simple fact that continued improvement in the welfare and standard of living of the American people is useless if the world itself does not hold together.

We are all aware of the numerous military and philosophic estimates made in recent years that, with the advent of atomic warfare, the world has only about five or ten years to iron out its basic conflicts if civilization is to survive. It should not be through fright that we work on international problems, but the present situation does underline the urgency of large efforts to create good relations between the United States and other countries of the world.

The Institute of International Education welcomes the participation of all people in this venture in international understanding. At the least, exchange of people among nations will bring knowledge and technical skill to areas of the globe which badly need them and will broaden cultural development. At best, it holds the possibility of some day contributing a major share toward the achievement of understanding and good will among all the people of the world.

American students visit the Palace of Versailles. Such tours are more meaningful after a year at the Sorbonne.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The Acting Director of the Institute of International Education is indebted to John S. Hollister, the Institute's Director of Development, for his masterful job of telling in a new way the story of the Institute's first thirty years. The booklet was designed by John Carnes, New York, N. Y. and printed in the U. S. A. by the Mack Printing Company, Easton, Pennsylvania.

* * *

The Institute of International Education is grateful to the following for permission to use the photographs appearing in this booklet:

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International Quarterly—Picture of foreign students, page 19

International Training Administration—Picture of Latin-American Trainee, page 21

Eastern Washington College of Education—Pictures of Sai Bharnuratna, pages 24 and 25

Mary Patricia Berry—Picture of students at Oxford, page 27

Institute of Inter-American Affairs—Picture of Miss Trinidad Ramirez, page 29

Ohio State University—Picture of Mrs. Rajammal Devadas, page 31

American Friends Service Committee—Picture of Shipboard Orientation, page 36

University of Minnesota—Picture of Dr. Suad Niazi, page 42

Keystone Pictures, Inc.—Picture of American students, page 47

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* Cities in which the Institute has relationship with committees for the selection of students.
** Cities in which the Institute works through United States embassies, consulates, or occupation authorities.
† No exchange-of-persons programs at the present time.

MEMORANDUM

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

December 11, 1952

TO : The Honorary Trustees and the Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment.
FROM : Joseph E. Johnson, President
SUBJECT: Appearance before Special House Committee to Investigate Foundations.

Mr. John W. Davis and I appeared, as scheduled, as witnesses before the House Select Committee to Investigate Foundations on the morning of Wednesday, December 10.

I enclose for your early information a copy of a summary report of the hearing that morning, prepared by Congressional Intelligence, Inc. (It should be added that this report was not prepared especially for the Endowment.) We shall send you as soon as they are printed copies of the part of the volume of the Hearings in which the Endowment testimony appears.

The evening before we testified, Mr. Davis and I, together with Mr. Avirett and counsel, visited the office of Mr. Keele, Counsel of the Committee, and were given an indication of the line of questioning he proposed to follow. When we appeared the next day, he followed without deviation the line he had previously indicated; in other words, he played absolutely square with us.

Mr. Davis was on the stand for only about fifteen minutes. Needless to say, he made a very favorable impression on the Committee and others present. He recounted in a very simple manner the developments leading to Mr. Hiss's appointment, then answered questions. It was in response to Mr. Keele's inquiry that Mr. Davis made his statement to the effect that he did not know who had first proposed Mr. Hiss but did know that Mr. Dulles was the first one who mentioned Mr. Hiss's name to him. It was also in answer to a specific query that he made his statement concerning the Board's decision to table Mr. Hiss's resignation and grant him leave of absence with pay.

Mr. Keele and the Acting Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Simpson of Pennsylvania, were fairness itself in their treatment of me. They permitted me to make an introductory statement, which was a slightly modified version of that which I submitted to the Trustees of the Board present at the meeting last Monday. In none of their questions was there any slightest suggestion of "witch hunting" or even a desire to embarrass, For instance, they limited their inquiries concerning the Institute of Pacific Relations to asking how much we had given that organization, when the grants had ceased, and why we had stopped them. They did not ask about my own present status as a trustee of the Institute.

The best estimate based upon the questions they asked me and word which has reached me in other ways is that the Committee's report will propose legislation requiring full reports, financial and otherwise, of tax-exempt foundations. It is unlikely that they will propose anything more. Although one of the members of the Committee has indicated by his line of questioning that he is toying with the idea of a commission somewhat similar to the SEC, he will probably not pursue this.

CONGRESSIONAL INTELLIGENCE, INC.
Ten Independence Avenue
Washington 24, D.C.

SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE FOUNDATIONS

Personal Report Dec. 10, 1952

Morning Session

John W. Davis, well known Constitutional lawyer, honorary trustee of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and law partner in the firm of Davis, Polk, Wardwell, Sunderland and Kiendl, was the first witness at today's hearing.

Mr. Davis testified only briefly before the committee because of the present arguments before the Supreme Court necessitated his appearance there at an early hour.

The main questioning of Mr. Davis involved the appointment of Alger Hiss as president of the Endowment. Davis told the committee that the Endowment wanted a man of international experience to fill the position. Several names were under consideration, but Hiss was selected because of his background. All the reports which came into the Endowment relating to Hiss were entirely favorable. Hiss appeared before the Endowment for an interview and it was the feeling that he expressed himself intelligently, made a favorable impression on the board, and was elected.

As to who first proposed the name of Hiss, Mr. Davis did not know, but his recollection was that the first time Hiss was mentioned it was by John Foster Dulles, who became chairman of the board at the same time Hiss became president. Dulles, Mr. Davis said, informed the Endowment that he had encountered Hiss at many international meetings and thought it a good idea to look him over.

Who did you talk to about Hiss? asked Committee Counsel Harold Keele.

We talked to members of his law firm, to the State Department, to other law firms such as Cahill, Gordon, Zachry & Reindel, and to many other persons, said the witness.

Did any other board members speak on behalf of Hiss? asked the counsel.

Yes, replied Mr. Davis. Some of them knew him personally and spoke highly of him.

After Hiss was indicted, you kept him on but did not permit him to participate actively as president, commented Mr. Keele. Why was that? he asked.

That assertion is correct, replied Mr. Davis. At the board meeting held before his indictment, Hiss presented his resignation, but it was not accepted since it was felt that to accept it would be to prejudge the case. We had no right to do so. We therefore gave him a leave of absence with pay since he had no other means of financial support. This leave of absence was extended to May of the next year.

Hiss was, while connected with the Endowment, in a position to make policy decisions, said the witness. In those decisions he did make, however, we have not been able to find the slightest amount of bias in favor of Russia. During that period the Endowment did what it could to popularize the Marshall Plan.

Did you receive any letters that cast any question on the integrity of Hiss? asked Mr. Keele.

None, replied Mr. Davis.

I understand there was a letter written to Mr. Dulles afterwards, observed the counsel.

I have no recollection of any, answered the witness.

Therefore, said Mr. Keele, you received no objection from anyone to the nomination.

None whatever to my knowledge, responded Mr. Davis.

Keeping in mind the obligations of the board of trustees, have you any suggestions about preventing such an occurrence in the future? asked Mr. Keele.

There is no magic formula, answered the witness. You have to use the utmost care to find out about the people you select. It is always an experiment and entire care and diligence should be used.

The second witness of the day was Dr. Joseph E. Johnson, present president of the Endowment.

In a preliminary statement to the committee, Dr. Johnson said that he believed foundations have a special obligation to the public at large, not only because of their tax-exempt status, but because they function in a sense in the public domain. A foundation is a public trust and its affairs should be an open book.

Dr. Johnson said the work in preparing for this investigation was immense, but the results of the effort and time involved have given a fresh perspective for the years ahead.

The witness said he was asked to become president of the Endowment in 1950 and accepted. He went over some of his own career and also pointed out some of the accomplishments of the Endowment over the period of years it has operated. He emphasized that his group is not a grant making foundation at present such as Rockefeller, but functions almost exclusively by carrying out through its own staff or through contracts specific programs authorized

by the trustees. This approach to our work, he said, is symbolized by the new International Center Building on the United Nations Plaza in New York, the cornerstone of which was laid only last Sunday.

You have mentioned, said Mr. Keele, that you favor making known the activities of foundations. What is your view on publication of reports, he asked.

My view is very clear on that point, replied Dr. Johnson, Foundations have a special relationship to the public and have a special obligation to make full reports.

I understand you publish about 1500 copies of your annual report, commented Counsel Keele.

That was the distribution of the last one, said the witness, but we hope to distribute more in the future. We send copies to all colleges, libraries, to the press, professors, and others who have an interest.

Do you believe it would be desirable to have legislation to require public reports and the filing of such reports? asked the counsel.

I believe that would be of benefit to foundations and others, replied Dr. Johnson. Incidentally, he said, we also furnish copies of our reports to the Library of Congress.

You apparently feel, observed Mr. Keele, that the work required in the preparation for this investigation was put to good use. Do you believe the work was justified? he asked.

I do so now, replied the witness. Most of our staff has come since 1945 and the work has been useful to us to study the work of the Endowment. We have found some weaknesses and have taken a look at our past and present programs.

Have you talked with the heads of other foundations along that line? inquired Mr. Keele.

No, I have not, said the witness. I read Mr. Dollard's testimony before this group and believe he also found the work beneficial.

Asked about the trustee situation, Dr. Johnson said that the charter of the Endowment provides for 27, although there are only 25 trustees at present-two having resigned. At least one-half the trustees come from outside the New York area. That is the result of a policy set up by Mr. Carnegie and is not an accident. Mr. Carnegie was anxious to have wide representation on the board. However, the nucleus must come from the New York area as far as the executive committee is concerned.

Is there anything in your work that is persuasive in pulling directors from the Pacific area which is not found in other foundations? asked the counsel.

I do not think that is a special need of our group, replied Dr. Johnson, but the issues of peace and war require an understanding by all people of the U.S. I believe it would be a mistake to concentrate on the Eastern Seaboard. Attendance of these directors has been good. The geographical distance does not seem to be a deterrent. The executive committee includes a member from Chicago, one from Iowa, one from Boston and the balance from the New York area.

How about your program over the last few years? asked Mr. Keele. How have you accomplished your objectives?

Since 1946, replied the witness, we have worked with the United Nations through publications. We have gotten out a series of volumes, for example, on the past history of various countries. We have also published material on the problems of the U.N., the role of the General Assembly, the International Court of Justice, the Security Council and the Secretariat. We have embarked on a program along the line of basic studies in international organization work. We assume that a world organization is here to stay, but realize there are many questions still unanswered. At present we are working on a series in 18 countries to find out why they went into the U.N. and what they expect to get out of it.

Continuing, Dr. Johnson said the Endowment has also worked in the field of education in world affairs. Americans, he said, have a vital role in it and should have an understanding of the work. There has also been a series of conferences conducted on this question.

In addition, we have built the International Center in New York and try to rent space to international groups. The Endowment itself only occupies one floor. We hope to make it a place where we can bring these international groups together.

Do you maintain a foreign office? asked the counsel.

We have an office in Paris, replied Dr. Johnson. We thought it would be helpful to have a European as a director. He works on programs decided by the directors in New York.

Asked about the assets of the Endowment, the witness said the book value was a little over $11 million and the market value about $13 million. The average income has been about $600,000 a year, but it will be smaller now. The Endowment also gets some grants from the Carnegie Corporation, but has not received any recently.

As to the percentage of funds spent abroad, the witness said this amounted to about 7 per cent. It may go up now because of those foreign studies we have initiated, he added.

Are you a grant-making or operating group? asked the counsel.

We do almost nothing but operate now, was the reply. We did make grants in the past, but felt we might suffer from 'scatteration' if we continued that

policy. However, we still make an occasional small grant, but generally a grant does not run over $5000. We contract for studies we wish to have done.

What is the present need for foundations today compared to the time when this group was set up? asked Mr. Keele.

Despite government money coming into the field today, we feel that is still a greater need than before. Previously there was a feeling of optimism for peace, but that optimism is not felt today, he said.

Your group is almost unique in its purposes, is it not? asked Mr. Keele. I believe that is so, replied Dr. Johnson.

What about your grants to the IPR? inquired the counsel.

We began making grants in March of 1926 and continued doing so until July 3, 1939, responded the witness. The over all total was about $182,000, with about $152,000 to be used for general purposes. We have made no grants since 1939.

Asked why the grants were stopped, Dr. Johnson said the decision not to renew was made in May of 1940. That was the period when Norway and France were beginning to be overrun and it was felt that the Endowment should not get involved in the world situation. It therefore began cutting down on grants to organizations operating outside the U.S.

I have read, said Mr. Keele, that the charge has been leveled at your group that instead of instituting measures for peace that you have been war mongering. Can you tell us about the alleged bases for this charge? he asked.

I do not know what the basis was unless it was the fact that Carnegie has stated it was pacifist as against peace-loving. We want peace with justice and not just for peace itself, the witness replied.

My recollection is that Nicholas Murray Butler was one of those persons active in getting the U.S. into World War I and was also president of the Endowment. I think that charge was illustrated in the fact that the president of Carnegie was one of those most active in American participation in World War I. I think that might be one of the bases for the charge, he observed. This led the witness to observe that Mr. Butler's thinking was shared by many people during that period.

I believe you subscribe to the belief that foundation functions today are in the risk capital field. Is that correct? asked the counsel.

Yes, it is, replied Dr. Johnson. We go along with the rest of the others on that same theory. I feel like a plagiarist in doing so because of the prior testimony, he added.

The counsel and the witness then went into a discussion of Endowment grants to organizations and individuals cited, listed or criticized. The summation of this testimony is presented in the following tabular form:

IPR -- this was the only organization listed by Carnegie, the other recipients being individuals. The breakdown of the grants to this group was previously mentioned.

Alger Hiss -- he was paid a salary of $37,388.90 during his active period of work with the Endowment. He was also granted $4,131.91 for expenses in connection with his position and given a little over $7,000 for salary purposes while on the leave of absence. His work mainly fell into two categories: (A) administrative; and (B) policy. Under (A) he planned the consolidation of the Washington and New York offices of the Endowment. Under (B), the Endowment had undertaken the position that the U.N. should be strengthened. The whole concentration of effort of the group was towards that end. Hiss played an active role in this work and in the publication of material on the Marshall Plan. He was only active in the office of the presidency for a short while. During that period of time no bias on his part in favor of Communism or Russia was detected. His whole record seems to be one of trying to make the U.N. work along democratic paths.

As a result of the Hiss incident the Endowment is being very careful as to candidates. Precautions were also taken before, but it is difficult to get information since it is not possible to obtain any data through the U.S. Government. It is therefore necessary to consult individuals.

Mrs. Marguerite Stewart -- the Endowment was trying an experiment on wider distribution of a publication. Mrs. Stewart was known to have had considerable experience along this line. She was not in a policy position. We learned of her citation after she had severed her connection with the Endowment. She was granted $326.67 for fourteen weeks' work.

Maxwell S. Stewart -- he was connected with the Public Affairs Committee and approached the Endowment to obtain a grant towards publication of a pamphlet. He was given $1400 for the preparation of it, but the manuscript was never used. He was also given $50 and $75 on two occasions for minor work.

Fred Schuman -- he was a professor of political science at Williams College and was given $50 in 1939.

Lester Granger -- he was given $50 in 1943 for lecture purposes. He was listed as a sponsor of the Southern Conference on Human Welfare.

Max Lerner -- this person was given $50 in 1940 for lecture purposes. He is a political scientist, writes a column for the New York Post and teaches.

Mordecai Ezekiel -- he was given $50 in 1941 as an honorary award. He was cited as belonging to various groups.

Vera M. Dean -- she was given $150 over the period of 1940-42.

Otto Nathan -- he was given $250 over the period 1935-38 for lectures.

Friederich Foerster -- he was given $500 in 1941 and $500 more in 1942 for refugee work.

William C. Johnstone -- he was given $350 over the period 1941-44 for lectures.

Viljalmar Steffanson -- he was given an $1800 grant in the 1947 fiscal year for research on northern routes of trade. He was an Arctic explorer.

Eduard C. Lindeman -- in 1941 he was given $700 and in 1942 he was given $350 for lectures on international trade. He was a professor at Columbia.

W.C. Rice, Jr. -- he was given $50 in 1937 for a lecture.

The total of all grants to the IPR and these individuals was $246,194.71. This was about 1 percent out of a total figure of grants by the Endowment of $24,984,343,62. If you subtract the IPR grants made before July 1, 1935 you get a percentage figure of only nine-tenths of one percent. The total granted anyone after citation was only $3,000. The largest grants went to the IPR during this period.

We have had statements made to us, observed Counsel Keele, that once a grant is made no effort is made to control results. Is that true? he asked

That is generally true, replied Dr. Johnson.

There was an exchange of correspondence between the Endowment and the American Bar Association in 1950-51, commented the counsel. Can you tell us what this was all about? he asked.

In 1948 the Endowment gave $15,000 to the Bar Association on condition that they match $7500, said the witness. The funds were to be used as a pool to continue cooperation on a program to promote international law under the U.N. There was a desire to have a codification of international law. In 1950 we were told by the U.S. Solicitor General in a letter that Carnegie funds were being used to curb Senate ratification of the Genocide Convention. I therefore addressed a letter to the ABA on this question, after I had consulted with Mr. Dulles and Mr. John W. Davis. We told the ABA that it appeared that that group was not using the funds for the original purpose granted. We got back a report from the ABA taking issue with such a statement. It turned out that three persons on the committee working on that project had appeared and testified against the Convention when it was up before the Senate Committee. It has not been shown that their expenses came out of the fund. An investigation showed that the largest part of the money had been used for (1) meetings on various problems of international law including the Genocide Convention, and (2) the drafting of reports to the ABA.

Our board did not believe the reports were of the type that should come out of such a study. However, the board did not take any action since the funds had nearly been expended and preferred to let the matter drop.

What connection has Ralph Barton Perry had with the Endowment? inquired Counsel Keele.

None at all now, replied Dr. Johnson. He has been a member of various committees on certain projects, but never a trustee or employee. One such committee on which he served was the Committee on Study of Atomic Energy. It worked on the problem of international control of atomic energy. He is now a professor emeritus of philosophy of Harvard.

Counsel Keele noted that Perry had been cited as being a member of a number of front groups. We are interested in the statement in your 1946 yearbook about the sending out of various books which, from the list, seem to be along the "one world" idea, said Mr. Keele. Would you comment on that? he asked.

The whole program was stopped before I joined the Endowment, said Dr. Johnson. I believe it was the feeling that we could help people study and understand international relations. I do not know how those books were selected, but the list includes books by John Foster Dulles, for example, as well as Owen Lattimore. I do not think we purposely selected the "one world" theme, he added.

Would it be fair to say you advocate international cooperation? asked Mr. Keele.

That is true, replied the witness.

In your opinion, has any Endowment work tended to weaken the capitalistic system or the government of America? inquired the counsel.

My answer to that would be categorically no, emphasized the witness. I cannot believe men like Thomas J. Watson would have anything to do with the Endowment if they had any idea we were acting along that line. I can assure you that I have no interest in anything but the promotion of the best interests of the U.S.

There are, of course, the two extremes of one world and isolationism or reverse internationalism, said Mr. Keele. Are there any foundations who support any projects or any groups advocating isolationism? he asked.

I do not know of any, replied Dr. Johnson. We do not sponsor extreme one world themes ourselves. Possibly some of the books along the line of those published by Charles Beard may have been helped by foundation money, but I do not know, he said.

Doesn't that suggest to you that foundations mold thought along that line? inquired the counsel.

I do not think so, replied the witness. The tendency has been to support scholarly study of all implications of both extremes and we believe the results show we should not support either extreme.

How are your grants determined as to amounts given? asked Rep. Simpson (R-Pa.).

The trustees adopt the budget in May of each year for the coming fiscal year which begins in July. Building projects are considered by them. The president has a contingent fund of $10,000 from which he can make some allotments, but must report on them to the board. All committment sheets must be approved by me, Dr. Johnson said, adding that this places a great responsibility on him.

How do these citations, listings and criticisms bear on your selections of personnel? asked Rep. Simpson.

We would not give to anyone on the Attorney General's list, was the reply. As to House Un-American citations, they should be carefully considered, but they are not a conclusive factor.

Do you believe Congress should require reports and do you believe your report contains enough information? asked Rep. Simpson.

We recognize there is a limit on detail reporting, answered Dr. Johnson. We already go into detail in our reports to the Internal Revenue Bureau and believe people have the right to know what is in those reports, he said.

At this point the committee recessed until 10:30 a.m. tomorrow.

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

405 WEST 117TH STREET, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

December 12, 1952

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed Murrow:

Mr. Johnson has left the City for a few days, but did not want to delay sending word to you of his and Mr. John Davis' appearance on behalf of the Carnegie Endowment before the House Select Committee to Investigate Foundations.

He has therefore asked me to send you the enclosed material, consisting of a copy of the report prepared by Congressional Intelligence, Inc., and of a memorandum which he dictated before his departure.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie Paffrath
Secretary

encls.

P.S. Our wishes are with you for a happy & safe travel just ahead. Godspeed to your return!
LP.

P 6

Confidential

Forty-eighth Meeting Volume 42

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE
(Incorporated, New York, 1929-1930)

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

MINUTES OF MEETING

December 8, 1952

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The regular meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace was convened, pursuant to due notice, at 10:15 a.m., on Monday, December 8, 1952, in the Board Room of the Carnegie Corporation, 522 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Mr. Harvey H. Bundy, Vice Chairman of the Board of Trustees, presided in the absence of the Chairman, Mr. John Foster Dulles. Upon roll call, the following Trustees, constituting a quorum, were present:

Harvey H. Bundy, Vice Chairman

Wm. Marshall Bullitt	O. Frederick Nolde
Ben M. Cherrington	Ellmore C. Patterson
David L. Cole	Philip D. Reed
Lee A. DuBridge	David Rockefeller
Frederick S. Dunn	Edward L. Ryerson
George A. Finch	W. J. Schieffelin, Jr.
Joseph E. Johnson	W. W. Waymack
	Henry M. Wriston

Communications of regret were received from the absent members:

W. W. Chapin	Earl G. Harrison
Margaret Clapp	Philip C. Jessup
Dwight D. Eisenhower	Edward R. Murrow
Douglas S. Freeman	Otto L. Nelson, Jr.

Harper Sibley

Of the Honorary Trustees, Dr. James T. Shotwell attended the meeting. A communication of regret was received during the meeting from Mr. Thomas J. Watson.

Mr. Leslie Paffrath served as Secretary.

Also present were Mr. S. Pearce Browning, Jr., of the firm of Sullivan & Cromwell, General Counsel; Mr. George R. Thomson, Assistant Treasurer; Mr. Howard E. Wilson, Executive Associate; Mr. William G. Avirett, Special Assistant to the President; Miss Anne Winslow, Editor-in-Chief; Mr. Howard N. Woodland, Bursar; Miss E. B. Sayre, Assistant to the President; Mr. Anton A. Pritchard and Mr. Lawrence S. Finkelstein, members of the staff.

Notice of the meeting was read by the Secretary.

The minutes of the annual meeting of the Board of Trustees, held on May 8, 1952, in Princeton, N. J., were presented. Having been circulated to all Trustees in advance, their reading was dispensed with and they were approved as presented.

The Chairman expressed pleasure at the presence of Dr. Shotwell, President Emeritus, adding the appreciation of the Board and the President for Dr. Shotwell's continued wise counsel in many matters.

PRESIDENT'S REPORT

The Chairman requested that the President present his oral report of the activities of the Carnegie Endowment during the preceding six months. The President stated that a number of documents had been distributed to the Trustees and invited reference to them as he proceeded with his oral report.

In reference to Endowment publications, he stated that the staff recommended that International Conciliation be reduced to five numbers a year, one of which, published before the convening of the General Assembly, would be an annual projection of issues faced by the General Assembly. He explained that the staff's recommendation would be referred to the Publications Advisory Committee (now being formed). Several Trustees expressed attitudes on the Endowment's role in providing publication of documentary material; although no recommendation followed, it was felt that this was a matter which the Publications Committee might wish to report on by the next meeting. The President invited the attention of the Trustees to the written report on publications, including a list of titles, which had been distributed prior to the meeting.

NATIONAL POLICY AND ATTITUDES ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

In reporting on progress in the project dealing with national policy and attitudes on international organization, the President referred to his trip to Egypt in March (1952), undertaken for the purpose of exploring the possibility of a study in Egypt. The Egyptian Society of International Law has since begun a study allied to the Endowment's project.

In Europe, Mr. John Goormaghtigh has succeeded in initiating studies related to the project, under the auspices of the Centre d'Etudes Politique Etrangère in France; the Institut des Relations Internationales in Belgium; and a special non-governmental committee in Yugoslavia. In the United Kingdom the Royal Institute of International Affairs has agreed to undertake a study.

The President referred also to his trip to Latin America in October-November (1952), which resulted in agreement to undertake allied studies in cooperation with the University of Chile and the Uruguay Institute of International Law. In Brazil no agreement has been concluded, although it is hoped that such a plan may mature in cooperation with the Brazilian Institute of International Affairs, an organization now in process of formation.

In Canada, the Canadian Institute of International Affairs is proceeding with a study of national attitudes on international organization. In India and Pakistan, the Indian Council of World Affairs and the Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, respectively, are undertaking studies. A preliminary agreement of the same character has also been reached with the Hebrew University in Israel.

The President announced that in January, 1953, he would begin a global trip, during which he expected to visit Australia, Japan, Indonesia, India, Pakistan, Israel and Turkey to negotiate future studies related to this project, and make a progress inspection of those already under way. He spoke of a desire to initiate a study in Western Germany, and mentioned the problems attached to consideration of a study of Soviet or satellite policies and attitudes, a matter which was to be explored further.

He reported that an application to the Ford Foundation had been made for a substantial grant for the purpose of expanding the aforementioned program; thus far no action had been taken on this application. Reference was made to the appointment of a special committee consisting of Trustees O. Frederick Nolde and Frederick S. Dunn, plus Mr. Erwin Canham,

whose task it would be to advise on policy and procedure relating to the project on national policy and attitudes on international organization.

The Chairman commended the Endowment's financial plan in this area of work, commenting that through the study agreements the Endowment will enlist at modest cost the services of extremely competent people, working through institutes in the several countries.

In concluding, the President invited the attention of the Trustees to the Annual Report for 1951-1952 and to a copy of a sample agreement for collaboration used in negotiating with cooperating organizations abroad.

UNIVERSITIES AND WORLD AFFAIRS

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Howard E. Wilson summarized recent events within the program area dealing with universities and their role in world affairs. Mr. Wilson stated that program lines had followed the plan approved by the Trustees. During the fall and early winter he had visited colleges and universities cooperating in the project, and had been impressed with the eager desire to cooperate with the Endowment's program. He stated that the number of cooperating institutions has been double that anticipated, and that many changes have been wrought within individual colleges and universities through the impact of the program. The year ahead, he stated, will involve working directly with institutions making self-surveys. A summary of the results may subsequently appear in published form.

Several Trustees affirmed approval of the leadership which the Endowment is providing in the field of university education in world affairs,

adding that cooperation with small colleges should not be neglected as the program proceeds.

BASIC POLITICAL CONCEPTS

The President stated that the Endowment had encountered difficulty in finding meaningful undertakings in this field. The Trustees discussed a definition of the topic. Dr. Shotwell referred to a study of the cold war, which he had undertaken at the suggestion of Mr. Thomas J. Watson. By way of illustration he pointed out that the concept of peace carries different meanings in communist Russia and in western countries. To the peoples of the west it means the transformation of a society that will afford an opportunity to achieve real international peace based on social justice, whereas the meaning seemed to be quite different among the leaders of the Soviet.

The President reported that during 1953 the Endowment would cooperate with the summer session of the Hague Academy of International Law by making possible a lecture series by Professor Myres S. McDougal. Reference was also made to financial assistance given Stanford University for a study on the world community, under the direction of Harold H. Fisher, Chairman of the Hoover Institute and Library.

INFORMATION-LIBRARY SERVICE

Referring to a memorandum distributed to the Trustees, the President summarized as follows the Endowment's plans for an information-library service in the new building:

> A small collection of reference material will be installed to serve both the Endowment and certain other organizations.

A reference librarian will be employed to supervise the collection and counsel persons seeking other sources of material in New York City.

An information assistant will work as a member of the Endowment's staff, at least until such time as requests for information may be handled by another agency. The other agency in mind is the Information Center for the United Nations, sponsored by the Women United for the United Nations, to which the Endowment expects to give space in the lobby of the new building.

It was the sense of the meeting that the size of the library should be carefully watched; that the facility itself should be termed "reference service" rather than "library," in order to avoid an impression that it was a large-scale library, and to avoid the tendency to expanding beyond need.

The President reported the expenditure of $1,000.00 from the President's Contingency Fund for a survey of the Endowment's library needs in the new building. The survey had been made by Miss Anne Burnett, Librarian of the World Affairs Council of Northern California. A written report had been submitted and is serving as a guide in plans for the future reference service.

OPERATING AND PROGRAM COSTS
INTERNATIONAL CENTER BUILDING

The President referred to a distributed memorandum dealing with the effect of building operating costs on future Endowment funds available for other program work. The report estimated that in fiscal 1952-53 expenses over and above rental income would be approximately $46,000.00, and in fiscal 1954, $39,000.00. He summarized a table of projected rental income and operating expenses of the International Center (for the fiscal

years 1954 through 1958) which must be met by the Endowment and which will be reduced as loans are repaid, so that in 1955 it is expected that there will be a small excess in income, and in 1957 an excess in income over expenses estimated at about $65,000.00. The President pointed out, however, that until all the factors were known, it was difficult to forecast accurately the financial operation of the building.

BUILDING COMMITTEE REPORT

The Chairman asked that the Secretary include in the minutes of the meeting the report on the building which had been made to the Trustees at the dinner the preceding evening. This follows.

The report of building progress was made in three parts: Mr. Otto L. Nelson, Jr., Chairman of the Building Committee, discussed the construction schedule; Mr. Gordon S. Braislin, President of Braislin, Porter & Wheelock, Inc., the Endowment's real estate agents, discussed leasing; Mr. Leslie Paffrath, Secretary, discussed current construction problems, long-range plans for the use of the building, and plans for the transition from the Endowment's old quarters to the new.

Mr. Nelson reported that efforts were being made principally to see (a) that the schedule for the completion of the building was adhered to in order to permit occupancy by April 1, 1953; and (b) that the cost of tenant installations did not become so excessive that some charitable organizations which had signed leases would be forced to withdraw. He explained that both aims were still within reach, but that those responsible for the project realized they must not relax their efforts.

Mr. Braislin reported that the tax-exempt space in the new building, exclusive of space to be occupied by the Carnegie Endowment or the International Center, totals in estimated rental value approximately $309,000.00 per year. On a dollar basis, the rental status of this space is as follows:

Approximately 80% is leased, and leases are signed.

Approximately 8% more is represented by two leases which are out for signature. These leases are those of the International Labour Organisation and the Life Insurance Medical Research Fund.

Approximately 4% more is in process of having leases negotiated. If these items are completed, the tax-exempt areas would then be approximately 92% rented. On an over-all basis, including ground floor store space and the Carnegie Endowment and International Center spaces in the rented area, the 92% figure represents approximately 87% of the total figure.

It was noted that all leases had been procured by the Endowment's representative, and that no fees had been paid to outside brokers.

There was discussion of the ground floor area being reserved for a restaurant. Although no real prospect is in hand, there is confidence that interest will increase when United Nations area improvements are further advanced.

Mr. Nelson repeated the high commendation he had made to the Executive Committee in November concerning the work of Mr. Braislin, Mr. Capen, and their firm for the energetic and effective manner in which their task has been performed. Through these efforts, he stated, the rental status of the building is far in advance of the normal position of a building six months before occupancy. It was noted especially that this record

had been achieved despite the building's pioneer location and character.

Mr. Paffrath reported that day to day problems arising from the building project were being met by staff members; that constant negotiations were taking place among the architects, real estate agents, the Endowment's construction supervisor, persons made available through the good offices of the Chairman of the Building Committee, and the Endowment's staff. He stated that all the staff, under impetus given by the President, were working on long-range plans for the use of the building, with Mr. Howard Wilson and Mr. William Gehron especially devoting time to these considerations. It was already apparent, Mr. Paffrath stated, that the existence of the building would attract many opportunities for its use in ways consistent with the Endowment's purposes. For example, the Endowment is exploring the possibility of a United Nations club in the new building. The transition from crowded uptown quarters in which habit patterns of work have been followed will require effort and adjustment for the Endowment's staff, but the effect will be salutary.

This ends the report concerning building matters made at the dinner meeting of the Trustees on December 7th, 1952.

The Secretary exhibited an executed copy of an agreement between the Endowment and the City of New York for the construction and use of display windows along the north wall of the Endowment's building. He explained that, while this agreement did not meet all the Endowment's desires, it represented a high degree of success on the part of Mr. Otto L. Nelson, Jr., Mr. David Rockefeller, Mr. Wallace K. Harrison and the Endowment's staff in inducing Commissioner Robert Moses to change the City's

plans by eliminating a wall along the building's north property line and permitting, in lieu of the wall, installation of windows for educational display purposes. The agreement was approved and ordered filed.

The President reported briefly on plans for the dedication of the building and the inaugural period which was to follow, stating that a committee of Trustees consisting of Mr. Edward R. Murrow (Chairman), Mr. Philip D. Reed, and Mr. William J. Schieffelin, Jr., had been appointed to assist in establishing a pattern for the use of the building. There was discussion concerning a proposal to invite President-elect Eisenhower to be the main speaker at the dedication of the building.

It is recorded that on December 7, 1952 the Endowment's Trustees, staff and other persons associated with the Carnegie Endowment participated in a cornerstone ceremony at the new International Center on 46th Street and United Nations Plaza. Gathered in the northeast ground floor area of the building were approximately 250 persons to witness the setting of the cornerstone. Brief remarks were made by the following, in the order indicated: Mr. Joseph E. Johnson, President; Mr. David Rockefeller, Vice President and Treasurer; Mr. Otto L. Nelson, Jr., Chairman of the Building Committee; Mr. Leslie Paffrath, Secretary; Dr. James T. Shotwell, President Emeritus. Copies of these remarks are to be printed and placed among the Endowment's archives.

Objects placed in the metal box behind the cornerstone included: A chronological history of the building project, with the names of Trustees, officers, staff and others who had contributed in various ways to the project; a copy of the United Nations Charter in five languages;

a single coin from each of the member countries of the United Nations; a complete set of the official stamps issued by the United Nations Headquarters; a selected group of Carnegie Endowment publications; a copy of Dr. Shotwell's poem, "The Way," and his lecture, "Time, an Historical Perspective;" key of the European Center, situated in Paris since 1923, brought from Europe for this occasion by Malcolm W. Davis, former Executive Associate; photostat of Andrew Carnegie's original letter to the Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; section of The New York Times, Sunday, December 7, 1952.

The ceremony was broadcast on Station WNYC and a recording made of the proceedings.

A reception in the incompleted second floor auditorium followed the ceremony.

REPORT ON THE EUROPEAN CENTER

The Board of Trustees, on being informed of the tragic loss of twin infants born in November (1952) to Mr. and Mrs. John Goormaghtigh in Brussels, asked that an expression of their sincere sympathy be forwarded to Mr. and Mrs. Goormaghtigh.

The President invited attention to a previously distributed document concerning the European Center. In general, the activities of the European Center had been closely related to the over-all Endowment program approved by the Trustees. As stated previously, studies in the area of international organization have been initiated from the European Center. A recommendation to initiate a quarterly publication dealing with basic concepts of world affairs had been postponed pending further

examination of the proposed venture. In reference to teaching of international relations and the role of universities in world affairs, the main activity consisted of contact with the several European institutes of international affairs. In addition, Carnegie Endowment publications, old and recent, had been distributed to a large number of European libraries. The house itself has become a small international meeting place, with all available space occupied by such institutions as the American Library in Paris (Left Bank Branch), the European office of the Institute of International Education, the Institut International d'Etudes et de Recherches Diplomatiques, the Sweet Briar Junior Year in France, the Paris office of the Union of International Associations, and the Paris office of a committee of World Brotherhood.

The President stated that John Goormaghtigh and Mme. Perreux were expected to visit the United States at the time of the dedication of the building and the annual meeting.

The President announced transfer of the sum of $1,200.00 from funds allocated for work on basic political concepts in order to assist Mr. Goormaghtigh in publishing a Guide to Publications of International European and Atlantic Organizations.

The Chairman requested approval of a step that had been taken consistent with Trustee opinion expressed at the May (1952) meeting, in retaining public relations counsel to aid in the current Congressional investigation, at $1,000.00 a month for a total period not to exceed six months. This action was approved.

THE TREASURER'S REPORT

Mr. David Rockefeller submitted the Report of the Treasurer as of the close of business, November 28, 1952, copies of which had been distributed in advance. He expressed appreciation for the President's economy in expenditures. The Treasurer's Report was accepted and ordered filed. The Treasurer also reported that the Endowment's accounts had been audited by F. W. Lafrentz & Company and their report was favorable. The accounts of the European Center had been audited by Whinney, Murray & Company, a firm recommended by F. W. Lafrentz & Company. As a result of the latter audit, a number of minor suggestions in procedure had been relayed to the European Center. The audits of the New York and Paris offices were accepted and ordered filed.

The Treasurer expressed thanks to Mr. George R. Thomson, Assistant Treasurer, for his work. The Board concurred in this expression.

The Chairman asked Mr. S. Pearce Browning, Jr., representing General Counsel, to report on the status of the Endowment's application for a ruling from the Bureau of Internal Revenue, which would entitle it to tax-exemption under Section 101(6) of the Internal Revenue Code. Mr. Browning reported that the initial recommendation of the Bureau, namely, that the Endowment should continue under 101(8), which was now being reviewed, does not give donors the benefit of deducting gifts from income tax. He indicated that further action could probably not be expected for some months.

After discussion, on motion duly made, seconded, and unanimously carried it was

Resolved, That the use of stock dividends be limited to purposes of the building and not to augment current income; that any

allocation of stock dividends to income be made only for purposes of constructing the building, or the payment of debts incurred thereby; that this action remain in force until and unless there be further action by the Board.

FINANCE COMMITTEE REPORT

Mr. Ellmore C. Patterson, Chairman of the Finance Committee, called attention to the report of this Committee. Copies of the Committee's report had been distributed in advance of the meeting. The report showed the following as of November 17, 1952:

A total book value of the Endowment Fund and Building Fund -- $11,599,502.00, and market value $13,729,058.00.

The indicated annual income on the Endowment Fund as now invested is $501,000.00, which is a yield of 4.4% on book value and 3.7% on market value. This compares with the actual income of $524,503.00 which was received for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1952.

Common stocks amount to 41.1% of the market value of the total Endowment Fund, as against 41.9% a year ago. No common stock sales have been made since February of this year. The principal investment changes made over the last few months have been the sale of United States Treasury bonds to purchase higher yielding corporate bonds and preferred stock.

Dividends in the form of additional stock continue to be allocated to principal or to income in accordance with the rule established in Matter of Osborne. This is done pursuant to the resolution of the Board of Trustees and up to the present time has resulted in an addition to income of $443,691.00, which amount has been transferred to the Building Fund.

Attention was drawn to the detailed schedule of investments which appeared in the Treasurer's Report.

The report of the Finance Committee was accepted and ordered filed.

REPORT ON HOUSE COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS

It was noted during the meeting that copies of the questionnaire submitted to the Endowment by the House Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations and Comparable Organizations, and copies of the answers made by the President, had been forwarded to all Trustees; that it was the sense of the meeting the answers to the questionnaire in general met with the approval of the Board, based on assumption of the accuracy of facts as stated in the answers to the questionnaire.

The President stated that he wished to record deep appreciation on the part of the Endowment to Mr. John W. Davis for his testimony before the House Committee with respect to certain questions raised by the Committee. It was agreed that the Chairman would express the appreciation of the Board in writing.

The President submitted the draft of a statement which he was considering making to the House Committee when he testified. Following a discussion, the Chairman urged that Trustees make known to the President their attitudes on this statement.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE REPORT

The Secretary submitted the report of the Executive Committee which had met on November 18, stating this was the only meeting of the

Executive Committee since the annual meeting of the Trustees in May. The minutes of the meeting having been distributed to all Trustees, the report was accepted.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

The Board then went into executive session with the President serving as Acting Secretary for the remainder of the meeting.

The Chairman read a letter of resignation received by the President from Mr. John Foster Dulles, the text of which follows:

November 20, 1952

Dr. Joseph E. Johnson
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
405 West 117th Street
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

In view of the public responsibilities which are in contemplation for me and my desire to prepare for them, I am resigning from all of my trustee and directorship responsibilities.

This unfortunately must include the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

I have been very proud to be associated with the Carnegie Endowment. My grandfather, John W. Foster, was a close friend of Mr. Carnegie and an initial member of the Board of Trustees. The Endowment has done and is doing splendid work in promoting Mr. Carnegie's ideal of a warless world. The task is more difficult than perhaps he conceived. That, however, is not a reason for discouragement and abandonment but for more intensive effort. I believe that the present program upon which the Endowment is embarked, including notably its project for an international center in close relation with the United Nations, represents a sound way of moving toward the goal of a just peace.

I wish you all success for the future.

Sincerely yours,

(signed) John Foster Dulles

The Board accepted Mr. Dulles' resignation with regret. On motion duly made, seconded and unanimously carried, it was

Resolved, That in yielding to Mr. Dulles's decision that he must sever official relations with the Carnegie Endowment, the Board of Trustees recognizes with deep regret that it is losing the services of a wise counselor and an able leader. As a member of the Board since 1944 and as its Chairman and ex-officio Chairman of its Executive Committee since 1946, he directed his activities essentially to the maintenance of institutional integrity and to the promotion of programs which would effectively carry out the purposes for which the Endowment was set up. He has thus moved in the tradition both of his grandfather, John W. Foster, who had guided the early work of the organization as a Charter Member, and of his uncle, Robert Lansing. The Board of Trustees gratefully acknowledges the substantial contribution which Mr. Dulles has made.

The regret which the Trustees experience in losing the direct services of Mr. Dulles is tempered by pride in his designation to the high office of Secretary of State. They find compensation for their loss in the knowledge that he will be in a position to direct the resources of the United States Government to objectives of world peace and justice. With such objectives the Carnegie Endowment has throughout its history been identified. This concurrence in purpose and the friendships built over the years establish bonds which the severance of official relations cannot break. The Trustees therefore rejoice in the significant opportunities which confront Mr. Dulles and are confident that he will meet the heavy requirements of his office with distinction and fidelity to duty.

The Board requested that a copy of the resolution be forwarded to Mr. Dulles.

The Board noted that since there had not been a communication from President-elect Eisenhower, no action was required at this time.

The Chairman stated that Mr. Dulles' resignation created the need to elect a new Chairman of the Board. He read Section 3 of Article VI of the By-Laws relating to the duties of the Chairman of the Board of Trustees. The Chairman requested that Mr. Wriston preside and retired from the meeting. Mr. Waymack, Chairman of the Committee on Nominations, reported that this committee recommended that Mr. Harvey H. Bundy be elected to fill Mr. Dulles' unexpired term as Chairman of the Board. The

committee recommended no action at this time with respect to the vice-chairmanship, but proposed that this office be left vacant until the annual meeting in May 1953. On motion duly made, seconded and unanimously carried, the Acting Secretary was instructed to cast a single vote for the election of Mr. Bundy as Chairman of the Board. Mr. Bundy resumed the chairmanship of the meeting and made a brief statement concerning his interpretation of the role of the office to which he had been elected.

The Trustees decided that no action be taken with respect to vacancies on the Board which exist now or may exist between the present time and the annual meeting of May 1953. The Chairman of the Committee on Nominations requested that members of the Board submit to him names of persons suggested for membership.

There being only a few items of regular business to conclude, it was decided to expedite matters by continuing in executive session.

The annual report of the Trustees to the corporation was submitted, approved and ordered filed.

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT IN EUROPE, INC.

After discussion, including reference to advice of Counsel, it was the sense of the Board that the officers of the Carnegie Endowment in Europe, Inc., should conform to those of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Inc., so far as possible. The members of the former corporation were asked to take this view into account in the annual meeting scheduled to follow adjournment of the meeting of the Board.

COST OF LIVING SUPPLEMENT

The President submitted a resolution authorizing continuance of the cost of living increase for the calendar year 1953. On motion duly made, seconded and unanimously approved it was

Resolved, That a cost of living supplement of $250.00 for all Carnegie Endowment employees receiving a per annum salary of $5,000.00 or less is hereby authorized for expenditure during the calendar year 1953, to be paid as the President shall determine is permitted by the regulations of the Salary and Wage Stabilization Boards, the same to be charged to the General Income of the Endowment.

BUDGETARY PRACTICES

The President stated that he had been considering a revision of budgetary practices in order to permit budget commitments beyond a single fiscal year, as now practised. Several members of the Board expressed doubt as to the need for such a change, but concurred with the President's proposal that recommendations to this effect should be submitted for consideration of the Executive Committee at its budget meeting in the spring of 1953.

The Board authorized the Chairman to send, on its behalf a letter of felicitation and best wishes to their colleague, President-elect Eisenhower.

Recognizing that the present session would probably be the last meeting to be held in the Board Room of the Carnegie Corporation, the Board authorized the Acting Secretary to record its thanks to the Corporation for its courtesy over many years and to communicate this expression of thanks to the President of the Carnegie Corporation.

CALLING OF NEXT MEETING

Resolved, That the annual meeting of the corporation to be held in May shall be held on Thursday, May 7, 1953, at 10:00 a.m., at the Carnegie Endowment International Center, United Nations Plaza at 46th Street, New York City, New York, or such other place as the Executive Committee may determine, to be followed by the annual meeting of the Board of Trustees at the same place.

There being no further business to come before the Board, the meeting was declared adjourned at 12:25 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,

Leslie Paffrath

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

405 WEST 117TH STREET, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

November 5, 1952

To the Trustees of the
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace -

For their confidential information

Dear Ed,

As I wrote you on October 7, the questionnaire received from the Select Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations and Comparable Organizations was of an exceedingly comprehensive and searching nature. Some of the questions called for exhaustive factual compilation. Others were not factual, such as D-1: "State your definition and understanding of the term 'subversive' as that term is commonly used in public print today--." Still others were in the realm of social philosophy, such as G-1: "What, in your opinion, is the function of tax-exempt...foundations in society today?"

I have given the above examples merely to indicate briefly the nature and scope of the task which confronted the Endowment's staff and counsel in laying the foundation for our reply. After the reply was in fair shape, we went over it carefully with the members of the special committee mentioned in my letter of October 7 and received valuable counsel from them. The reply has now been submitted to the Select Committee in Washington. I enclose herewith for your confidential information a copy of the reply, together with a copy of the questionnaire itself.

I should welcome any comments you may have upon our answer to the questionnaire both with respect to factual information of which you may be aware and with respect to the statements of what might be called a philosophical character. With respect to the factual information, of course the Endowment's staff must take primary responsibility for its accuracy, but there may be information which we do not have, and therefore your comments can be very helpful. With respect to statements of opinion concerning the role of Foundations in American society, it would naturally be very helpful if it could be stated at the appropriate time that a substantial number of Trustees were in general agreement with the philosophy set forth in the reply. In saying this, I should add that we believe we will be permitted to submit amendments to the questionnaire should that be necessary.

If you have any comments or questions which you would like to submit, will you please send them to Mr. William G. Avirett here at the Endowment, as I shall have left before this letter is mailed for a short trip to South America in connection with the Endowment's program. Should you prefer to get in touch with me directly, I hope you will do so as soon as possible after November 12.

Sincerely yours,

Ed

Joseph E. Johnson

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE
405 WEST 117TH STREET, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

JOSEPH E. JOHNSON
PRESIDENT

November 5, 1952

Dear Ed:

I enclose a copy of the letter which, together with its enclosures, is being sent to all members of the Board of Trustees. The questionnaire is not sent to you at this time because I know you already have a copy.

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph E. Johnson

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

A-1. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Inc.

A-2. A corporation.

A-3. New York State, by act of the New York State legislature, February 20, 1929.

A-4. 405 West 117th Street, New York 27, N. Y.

A-5. The Carnegie Peace Fund was established on December 14, 1910 by Andrew Carnegie with a gift in trust of $10,000,000. When organized the following year, it took the name of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and was incorporated, as stated above, in 1929.

A-6. The Corporation is the continuation of a trust originally established in 1910 by Andrew Carnegie.

A-7.(a) The Corporation is exempted under Section 101(8) of the Internal Revenue Code. This listing became effective in 1923, under the predecessor section, Section 231(8) of the Revenue Act of 1921. Application has been made and is pending for exemption under Section 101(6) of the Internal Revenue Code.

(b) No.

A-8. Not applicable.

A-9.

NAME	ADDRESS	TERM OF SERVICE
Alexander, Wallace McK.	Deceased.	1935-1939
Ballantine, Arthur A.	31 Nassau Street, New York, N. Y.	1936-1950
Barrows, David P.	85 Parkside Drive, Berkeley, Cal.	1931-1951
Bell, James F.	General Mills, Inc., Minneapolis, Minn.	1939-1942

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

NAME	ADDRESS	TERM OF SERVICE
Bullitt, Wm. Marshall	Kentucky Home Life Bldg., Louisville, Ky.	1933-
Bundy, Harvey H.	30 State Street, Boston 9, Mass.	1948-
Butler, Nicholas Murray	Deceased.	1910-1947
Catlin, Daniel K.*	Security Bldg., St. Louis 2, Mo.	1930-1951
Chapin, W. W.	544 Market Street, San Francisco 4, Cal.	1939-
Cherrington, Ben M.	University of Denver, Denver, Colo.	1943-
Clapp, Margaret	Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.	1951-
Cole, David L.	45 Church Street, Paterson, New Jersey.	1951-
Davis, John W.*	15 Broad Street, New York 5, N.Y.	1921-1950
Davis, Norman H.	Deceased.	1931-1943
Delano, Frederic A.	Deceased.	1920-1949
DuBridge, Lee A.	California Institute of Technology, Pasadena 4, Cal.	1951-
Dulles, John Foster	48 Wall Street, New York 5, N.Y.	1944-
Dunn, Frederick S.	Center of International Studies, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey	1951-
Eisenhower, Dwight D.	60 Morningside Drive, New York 27, N.Y.	1948-
Finch, George A.	1422 F Street, N.W., Washington 4, D.C.	1940
Fox, Austen G.	Deceased.	1910-1937

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

NAME	ADDRESS	TERM OF SERVICE
Franks, Robert A.	Deceased.	1910-1935
Fraser, Leon	Deceased.	1938-1945
Freeman, Douglas S.	5100 Harlan Circle, Hampton Gardens, Richmond 26, Va.	1937-
Gaines, Francis Pendleton	Lexington, Va.	1933-1951
Hamlin, Charles S.	Deceased.	1923-1938
Harrison, Earl Grant	1719 Packard Bldg., Philadelphia 2, Pa.	1947-
Heinz, Howard	Deceased.	1926-1941
Hiss, Alger	22 East 8th Street New York, N.Y.	1946-1950
Houghton, Alanson B.	Deceased.	1930-1941
Jessup, Philip C.	Room 3126, New State Bldg., Dept. of State, Washington 25, D.C.	1937-
Johnson, Joseph E.	405 West 117 Street, New York, N.Y.	1950-
Lowden, Frank O.	Deceased.	1923-1941
Molyneaux, Peter	Gulf States Bldg., Dallas 1, Texas.	1934-1951
Montague, Andrew J.	Deceased.	1910-1937
Morris, Roland S.	Deceased	1930-1945
Murrow, Edward R.	495 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.	1951-
Nelson, Otto L., Jr.	51 Madison Avenue, New York 10, N.Y.	1949-
Nolde, O. Frederick	7301 Germantown Avenue, Philadelphia 19, Pa.	1951-
Patterson, Ellmore C.	23 Wall Street, New York 8, N.Y.	1951-

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

NAME	ADDRESS	TERM OF SERVICE
Pritchett, Henry S.	Deceased.	1910-1939
Reed, Philip D.	570 Lexington Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.	1945-
Rockefeller, David	30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N.Y.	1947-
Root, Elihu	Deceased.	1910-1937
Ryerson, Edward L.	Room 1100, 38 S. Dearborn Street, Chicago 3, Ill.	1933-
Schieffelin, W. J., Jr.	16 Cooper Square, New York 3, N.Y.	1941-
Scott, James Brown	Deceased.	1910-1943
Sheffield, James R.	Deceased.	1919-1938
Sherman, Maurice S.	Deceased.	1926-1947
Shotwell, James Thomson*	405 West 117 Street, New York, N.Y.	1925-1951
Sibley, Harper	100 Hiram Sibley Bldg., Rochester 4, N.Y.	1938-
Strawn, Silas H.	Deceased.	1926-1946
Taft, Robert A.	1688 31 Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.	1935-1938
Wadsworth, Eliot	2416 Tracy Place, Washington, D.C.	1937-1951
Wakefield, Lyman E.	Deceased.	1943-1945
Watson, Thomas J.*	590 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.	1934-1951
Waymack, W. W.	Adel, Iowa R.F.D. 3	1941-
Wriston, Henry M.	Brown University, Providence 12, R.I.	1943-

*Having concluded their service as trustees on the date named, these trustees have since served in a special capacity as "honorary trustees".

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

A-10. No.

A-11.

Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace:

Mr. Harvey H. Bundy, 30 State Street, Boston 9, Massachusetts
Trustee, Wellesley College
Director, International Friendship League, Inc.
Director, Foreign Bondholders Protective Council
President and Trustee, World Peace Foundation
Director, Boston Metropolitan Chapter of the American Red Cross

*Mr. Ben M. Cherrington
Director, Institute of International Education, 1605 Pennsylvania Street, Denver 3, Colorado

Miss Margaret Clapp, President, Wellesley College, Wellesley 81, Mass.
Trustee, Walnut Hill School

Mr. David L. Cole, Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, Department of Labor Building, Washington 25, D. C.
Trustee, Rutgers University
President and Trustee, Shapiro Foundation
Trustee, Bernert Memorial Hospital of Paterson, N.J.
Trustee, Heart Association of New Jersey

Mr. L. A. DuBridge, President, California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, California
Trustee, Director or Officer:
California Institute of Technology
The Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California
Southwest Museum, Los Angeles

Mr. John Foster Dulles, 48 Wall Street, New York 5, N.Y.
Chairman, Rockefeller Foundation
Trustee, Union Theological Seminary
Trustee, New York Public Library

Mr. Frederick S. Dunn, Center of International Studies, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey
Trustee, Institute of International Education, N.Y.C.
Director, Center of International Studies, Princeton University

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

General Dwight D. Eisenhower, Commodore Hotel, Lexington Avenue and 42nd Street, New York 17, N.Y.
Honorary President, American Society of the French Foreign Legion of Honor, Inc., N.Y.C.
Member, National Executive Board, Committee on International Relationships, National Court of Honor, of Boy Scouts of America, N.Y.C.
Trustee, Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, N.Y.C.
President (on leave), Columbia University, N.Y.C.
Member, Educational Policies Commission, Washington, D.C.
Member, Board of Directors, Friends of the Land, Columbus, Ohio
Trustee, Grant Monument Association, N.Y.C.
Trustee, Metropolitan Museum of Art, N.Y.C.
Member, Board of Trustees, New York Chapter, American Red Cross
President and Trustee, N.Y. School of Social Work, Inc., N.Y.C.
Member, Executive Committee, Pilgrims of the U.S., N.Y.C.
Member, Board of Governors, Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, N.Y.C.
Trustee, U.S. Military Academy - The Association of Graduates, West Point, N.Y.

Mr. George A. Finch, 1422 F Street, N.W., Washington 4, D.C.
Editor-in-Chief, American Journal of International Law, published by American Society of International Law
Professor of International Law, Georgetown University School of Foreign Service, Washington, D.C.

*Mr. Douglas S. Freeman, 5100 Harlan Circle, Hampton Gardens, Richmond 26, Virginia
Trustee, Rockefeller Foundation
Trustee, General Education Board
Trustee, Woodrow Wilson Foundation
Trustee, Patrick Henry Memorial Foundation

Mr. Earl G. Harrison, 1719 Packard Building, Philadelphia 7, Penna.
Member of Board of Directors of:
Samuel S. Fels Fund, Philadelphia;
The Community Chest of Philadelphia and Vicinity;
National Conference of Christians and Jews;
World Affairs Council of Philadelphia;

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Pennsylvania Citizens Association for Health and Welfare;
Union Library Catalogue
Trustee, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
Trustee, Howard University, Washington, D.C.
President, Common Council for American Unity, N.Y.C.
Chairman, The Philadelphia Award Trustees

Honorable Philip C. Jessup, U.S. Mission to the United Nations, 2 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
Member of Board of Trustees, Hamilton College, Clinton, N.Y.
Professor, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.

Mr. Joseph E. Johnson, President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 405 West 117th Street, New York 27, N.Y.
Member, Council, Harvard Foundation for Advanced Study and Research, Harvard University, Cambridge 38, Mass.
Trustee, World Peace Foundation, Boston
Trustee, American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations
Director, Council of Foreign Relations, N.Y.C.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow, 485 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.
Trustee, Institute of International Education, N.Y.C.
Member, Board on Overseas Training and Research (subsidiary of Ford Foundation, N.Y.C.)
Vice President, The Correspondents Fund of the Overseas Press Club of America, N.Y.C.

Mr. Otto L. Nelson, 51 Madison Avenue, New York 10, N.Y.
Trustee, Institute of Public Administration
Member, Advisory Committee, Department of Politics, Princeton University
Director, Visiting Committee of Graduate School of Public Administration, Harvard University
Director, Regional Plan Association, Inc.
Director and Treasurer, New York Building Congress, Inc.
Member, National Panel of Arbitrators, American Arbitration Association
Member, Committee on Housing, Health and Welfare Council of New York City.

Mr. O. Frederick Nolde, Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y.
Director, Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, established by the World Council of Churches and the International Missionary Council

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Professor and Dean, Graduate School at Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, Pa.

Mr. Ellmore C. Patterson, 23 Wall Street, New York 5, N.Y.
Member of Board of Governors, Alumni Association of Psi Upsilon Fraternity
Trustee, The Harvey School
Treasurer and Member Board of Managers, Memorial Center for Cancer and Allied Diseases
Treasurer and Member of Board of Trustees, Sloan-Kettering Institute of Cancer Research
Trustee, Treasurer and Member Finance Committee, New York Trade School
Trustee, Northern Westchester Hospital, Mt. Kisco, N.Y.

Mr. Philip D. Reed, 570 Lexington Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.
Vice-Chairman and Member of Executive Committee, Business Advisory Council for the Department of Commerce, Wash., D.C.
Trustee and Member of Research and Policy Committee, Committee for Economic Development, N.Y.C.
Director, English-Speaking Union, N.Y.C.
Director, Fund for the Advancement of Education (Ford Foundation), N.Y.C.
Vice President and Director, Metropolitan Opera Assoc., N.Y.C.
Member, Executive Committee, U.S. Council of the International Chamber of Commerce

Mr. David Rockefeller, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20,N.Y.
Trustee, University of Chicago
President, Trustee, Rockefeller Institute of Medical Research
Vice-President and Director, Council on Foreign Relations
Trustee and Chairman of Executive Committee, International House, N.Y.C.
Trustee, Grant Monument Association
Vice-Chairman, Board of Overseers, Committee to Visit the Department of Economics, Harvard
Chairman of Finance Committee and Trustee, International House Association, Inc.
President and Director, Morningside Heights, Inc.
Trustee, Museum of Modern Art, N.Y.C.
Director, Protestant Council of the City of New York
Trustee, Historical Society of the Tarrytowns
Trustee, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Inc.
Trustee, IBEC Research Institute

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Mr. Edward L. Ryerson, 38 South Dearborn Street, Chicago 3, Ill.
Member of Board, Chicago Commons Association
Trustee, Chairman, Sunday Evening Club, Chicago
Chairman, Executive Committee, Chicago Community Trust, Chicago
Member Executive Committee, past president, Community Chests & Councils of America, Inc., N.Y.C.
Member of Board, Member of Executive Committee, Community Funds of Chicago
First Vice-President, Member of Board, The John Crerar Library, Chicago
Member of Board, The Civic Federation, Chicago
Trustee, Diocesan (Episcopal) Foundation, Chicago
Director, The Episcopal Church Foundation, N.Y.C.
President, Director, Inland Steel Foundation, Inc., Chicago, Ill.
President, Treasurer, Director, Morton Butler Ryerson Memorial Fund, Chicago
Honorary President, Trustee, The Orchestral Association, Chicago
Chairman of the Board, United Defense Fund, Inc., N.Y.C.
Trustee, University of Chicago

Mr. W. J. Schieffelin, Jr., 16 Cooper Square, New York 3, N.Y.
Member, Board of Managers, St. Luke's Hospital, N.Y.C.

Mr. Harper Sibley, 100 Hiram Sibley Building, Rochester 7, New York
Trustee <u>or</u> Director:
Rochester YMCA
National Board of YMCA, N.Y.C.
Genesee Hospital of Rochester
University of Rochester
Memorial Art Gallery of Rochester
Rochester Chamber of Commerce
Community Chest of Rochester
Eastman Dental Dispensary of Rochester

Mr. W. W. Waymack, Racoon Valley Farm, RFD 3, Adel, Iowa
Member, Board of Trustees, Freedom House
Member, Board of Trustees, American Institute of Pacific Relations, N.Y.C.
Committee Member, Committee for a Free Europe, Inc., N.Y.C.
Member of National Committee, American Civil Liberties Union
Member, Board of Directors, American Association for the United Nations.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Mr. Henry M. Wriston, Brown University, Providence 12, Rhode Island
President, Brown University
Trustee, Carnegie Foundation for Advancement of Teaching, N.Y.C.
President, Council on Foreign Relations, N.Y.C.
Trustee, Educational Records Bureau
Trustee, National Health and Welfare Retirement Association
Director, Rhode Island Seminar on Human Relations (affiliated with National Conference of Christians and Jews)
Trustee, Rhode Island Public Expenditure Council
President, Trustees of Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association Stock

*Information as to the relevant positions held by these trustees was obtained from reference books.

Staff

Mr. William G. Avirett, Special Assistant to the President
Trustee, Briarcliff Junior College, Briarcliff Manor, New York
Trustee, Emma Willard School, Troy, New York
Trustee, Riverdale Country School, 253rd Street and Fieldston Road, New York 71

Mr. Leslie Paffrath, Secretary
Not a trustee, officer or director of any other such organization.

Mr. Howard E. Wilson, Executive Associate
Member, Executive Board, Council on Student Travel, N.Y.C.
Member, Executive Board, Lisle Fellowship, Inc., N.Y.C.
Member of Committee, Exchange of Information on International Cultural Relations, American Council on Education, Washington, D.C.
Director, The Regents Study of Admissions to Medical Schools, The University of the State of New York, The State Education Department, Albany 1, N.Y.
Member, Education Committee, American Association for the United Nations, N.Y.C.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

A-12. Chairman of the Board: John Foster Dulles, 48 Wall Street, New York 5, N.Y.
Vice Chairman: Harvey H. Bundy, 30 State Street, Boston 9, Mass.
President: Joseph E. Johnson, 405 W. 117th Street, New York 27, N.Y.
Vice President and Treasurer: David Rockefeller, 18 Pine Street, New York 15, N.Y.
Secretary: Leslie Paffrath, 405 W. 117th Street, New York 27, N.Y.
Assistant Treasurer: George R. Thomson, Room 606, 46 Cedar Street, New York 15, N.Y.
Special Assistant to the President: William G. Avirett, 405 W. 117th Street, New York 27, N.Y.
Executive Associate: Howard E. Wilson, 405 W. 117th Street, New York 27, N.Y.
Director, European Center: John Goormaghtigh, 173, Blvd. St. Germain, Paris VI, France.

A-13. The amount of the original endowment was $10,000,000 of 5% first mortgage bonds, referred to in a letter addressed by Mr. Andrew Carnegie to the Trustees on December 14, 1910, in which document Mr. Carnegie defined the scope of the Endowment's purposes and the powers of the Trustees. On the date of Mr. Carnegie's letter, the Trustees designated by Mr. Carnegie met in Washington, D.C., and formally accepted the trust fund.

A-14. Transfer of funds and of assets of the American Association for International Conciliation to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace on April 17, 1924, amounted to $21,072.38. This became known as the Special Trust Fund and was carried as a separate fund until December 11, 1944, at which time the Board of Trustees authorized the transfer of the Special Trust Fund to the Endowment's capital fund.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

A-15. The Endowment fund is perpetual by the terms of the original deed of gift; the original capital may not be expended on an optional or determined liquidating basis.

A-16. As of June 30, 1952 -- $11,608,174.83 - Book Value
13,739,623.00 - Market Value.

A-17. See attached balance sheet.

A-18. For fiscal 1946 through 1951, average gross income equals $620,991.60. This figure does not include grants from the Carnegie Corporation, but does include receipts from sale of the Carnegie Endowment's Washington, D.C. property and liabrary. With grants from the Carnegie Corporation, totalling $150,678.64 over the six years in question, average gross income equalled $646,104.71.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

B-1. (a) Mr. Carnegie's letter of gift to the Trustees, dated December 14, 1910, made the following statements with reference to the purposes for which he established the Carnegie Peace Fund:

(1) "...the revenue...is to be administerd by you to hasten the abolition of war, the foulest blot upon our civilization."

(2) "I hope the Trustees will begin by pressing forward upon [the] line [of promoting arbitration treaties]."

(3) "Lines of future action cannot be wisely laid down. Many may have to be tried, and having full confidence in my Trustees I leav to them the widest discretion as to the measures and policy they shall from time to time adopt, only promising that the one end they shall keep unceasingly in view until it is attaind, is the speedy abolition of international war between so-cald civilized nations."

(4) "When...war is discarded as disgraceful to civilized men" the Trustees shall consider "what is the next most degrading remaining evil or evils whose banishment - or what new elevating element or elements if introduced or fostered, or both combined, would most advance the progress, elevation and happiness of man, and so on from century to century without end....

"Let my Trustees therefore ask themselves from time to time, from age to age, how they can best help man in

his glorious ascent onward and upward and to this end devote this fund."

(b) The original act incorporating the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace [Laws of New York, Chapter 21, February 20, 1929] established the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace "for the purpose of receiving and maintaining a fund or funds and applying the principal and income thereof to promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding among the people of the United States; to advance the cause of peace among nations; to hasten the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy; to encourage and promote methods for the peaceful settlement of international differences and for the increase of international understanding and concord; and to aid in the development of international law and the acceptance by all nations of the principles underlying such law."*

B-2. The Carnegie Endowment considers that in the present state of the world it is under obligation to do all it can to advance Mr. Carnegie's purpose as set forth in the first quotation from his letter of gift (B-1 (a)(1)). It considers that its major obligation is to advance international understanding and the attainment of peace with justice among nations. The activities which it regards as permissible within this broad framework are briefly as follows:

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* Amended February 5, 1930, as quoted in the last Annual Report of the Endowment, at p. 65, a copy of which has been forwarded to the Committee.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

(a) The promotion of research concerning: the nature, causes, and effects of war; obstacles which appear to stand in the way of the advancement of the cause of peace, such as lack of understanding between peoples of different cultures, and the absence of adequate substitutes for war as a means of settling disputes; the development of international law; problems and activities of international organizations and other institutions whose purpose is the promotion of peace; governmental policies and public attitudes in the countries of the world in relation to such organizations; and similar related matters.

(b) Dissemination of information, through publications and otherwise, whether resulting from research undertaken or supported by the Endowment or stemming from other sources, to improve international understanding and promote peace.

(c) Assistance to educational institutions and educators for the purposes described above.

(d) Support to other qualified organizations and groups which seek these goals.

Specifically, the Trustees of the Endowment in 1946 adopted as a major policy objective the support and strengthening of the United Nations through research, publication, and the dissemination of information to the end that the United Nations may more effectively accomplish the goals set forth in its Charter. It was this purpose which

led the Trustees in 1949 to decide to establish the headquarters of the Endowment near the United Nations' headquarters in New York and to create in connection therewith an International Center for the constructive activities of organizations and individuals interested in the promotion of international understanding and the work of the United Nations.

The interest of the Endowment in international organization is broader than interest in the United Nations alone. For example, the Endowment in 1949 made a number of grants designed to further knowledge and understanding of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Recent or forthcoming issues of the Endowment's publication, International Conciliation, are devoted to the Organization of American States, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and the Colombo Plan.

B-3 & B-4. All basic decisions governing the expenditure of funds are made by the Trustees, who meet at least twice a year. The Executive Committee, composed of seven Trustees, has "full power, in the intervals between the meetings of the Board of Trustees, to do any and all things in relation to the affairs of the corporation and to exercise any powers of the Board" not specifically reserved to the Board of Trustees. In practice the Executive Committee makes decisions only within the framework of policy already determined by the Trustees. At their annual meeting each

May, the Trustees adopt an annual budget prepared by the officers and reviewed and approved by the Executive Committee.

At the present time, a large part of the Endowment's funds is devoted to the construction of its new International Center building. With respect to other aspects of its program, the Endowment is operating within the framework of the memorandum on program submitted by the President, modified by the Executive Committee, and approved by the Trustees in May 1951 [see summary in Annual Report, 1950-1951, pp. 21-25]. The administrative officers of the organization consider themselves obligated to prepare program budgets and to expend funds only for the purposes set forth in this memorandum but would feel entitled at any time to request from the Trustees authorization for the expenditure of funds for other specific purposes falling within the general purposes set forth in the answer to B-2 above.

With minor exceptions, specific projects under this program are, through budgetary provision and reporting, submitted for the approval of the Trustees.

In drafting proposed programs and projects, in debating the budget, and in reviewing expenditures, the Trustees determine whether funds expended or the expenditure of which is proposed are spent within the limitations set forth in the answers to questions B-1 and B-2.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

B-5. On recommendation of the President, subject to approval by the Trustees and in the manner described in B-3 and B-4 above.

B-6. Proposals submitted to the Trustees for approval may originate with the organization seeking a grant, or with members of the Endowment's executive staff, or on the part of the Trustees.

B-7. Yes.

B-8. Joseph E. Johnson, President
Leslie Paffrath, Secretary
William G. Avirett, Special Assistant to the President
Howard E. Wilson, Executive Associate
John Goormaghtigh, Director, European Center
Building Committee*: Otto L. Nelson, Jr., Chairman
David Rockefeller
Philip D. Reed

*Created for the purpose of guiding the construction of the Endowment's International Center near the United Nations, New York.

B-9. Yes.

B-10. With respect to the Trustees of the Endowment, a nominating committee of the Board has been responsible for considering candidates for the Board of Trustees, checking in each case to determine their background and qualifications for the post. The list of the past and present Trustees contained in the last annual Reports, attests to the high standard set for membership on the Board.

As regards Mr. Johnson, the President of the Endowment, a thorough investigation was made by the nominating committee of the Board of Trustees to choose a new

President, consisting of the following: John Foster Dulles, Chairman, Harvey Bundy, David Rockefeller, Earl Harrison, and Dr. James T. Shotwell. This committee checked with the Department of State and the National War College and with the President of Williams College who not only knew Mr. Johnson in his capacity as a Professor of History at that institution but had known him for several years prior to his coming to Williams in 1936. The committee also asked Mr. Johnson to make a statement as to his beliefs, attitudes and organizational memberships.

With respect to the other members of the staff specified in answer to question B-8, investigations were made into their background by the then Presidents of the Endowment, Messrs. Butler, Shotwell and Johnson, seeking information as to their record and experience from previous employers and associates who were known to have knowledge of them.

B-11. Investigations have been carried on as a normal operating procedure of the Endowment at least since the late 1930's, so far as can be ascertained from the Endowment files. To the knowledge of the Endowment's staff careful investigations have been made since 1945.

B-12. While such investigations, as above indicated, have been made by the Endowment for some time, more emphasis has been placed on them since 1945. In addition to the fact that the crucial conflicts of the times have underlined the desirability of such investigations, it is a

fact that with the aging and death of Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, a significant change occurred in the operation of the Endowment as a whole. Since approximately that time, the Trustees of the Endowment have taken on more responsibility for the operation of the Endowment.

B-13. No. (Cf. statement of Joseph E. Johnson referred to in B-10, a copy of which is in the files of the Endowment.)

B-14. Not applicable.

B-15. No.

B-16. Not applicable.

B-17. Not applicable.

B-18. Not applicable.

B-19. There are very few positions in the Endowment which involve recommendations or decisions on policy. With respect to these posts, the procedure already outlined in answer to question B-10, above, is followed. With reference to other employees, the Endowment utilizes normal administrative procedures of requiring letters of recommendation, references and inquiries into background and experience. Since the Endowment is and has been a small organization, the President of the Endowment and the top-ranking staff members can check and evaluate, critically, the work and views of the Endowment's staff.

B-20. Not applicable.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

(The answers to this section and the following section are based on a survey of the Endowment's files and records since 1935, and the personal knowledge of members of the Endowment's staff since World War II.)

C-1. No. So far as we have information, we believe that we have made no grants which were not in accordance with the expressed purposes of the Endowment.

C-2. Not applicable.

C-3. Yes, The Endowment requires financial and activity reports from the recipients of grants to determine that the money appropriated has been used and is being used for the purposes for which granted.

C-4. No, to the best of our knowledge. With respect to general grants, which were occasionally made by the Endowment prior to 1940, they were made to organizations whose expressed purposes were believed to be consistent with the program of the Endowment as established in Mr. Carnegie's deed of gift and the Endowment's charter. Both prior to 1940 and since, grants have been made for specific purposes consistent with our general functioning to organizations whose general programs may not have been limited to the above purposes.

C-5. Not applicable.

C-6. Yes.

The chief consultation has been with the United States Government. Perhaps the easiest way to indicate how

this works is with respect to a principal present project, the study of policies and attitudes toward international organization, with particular reference to the United Nations, in a number of foreign countries. When this project was being developed, it was discussed with officials of the State Department having responsibility for United Nations affairs, for the purpose of ascertaining whether they saw any objection to the project. It was also subsequently discussed with high officials of the United Nations. In neither case, however, was formal approval requested or given. Subsequently, prior to undertaking specific segments of the project in certain foreign countries, officials of the State Department who had special knowledge of those countries were consulted concerning groups and individuals who might be asked to participate in the project. In a few cases, but not in all, officials of foreign governments have also been apprised of the project, notably when estimates of the situation suggested that at least a knowledge that the government would not disapprove the project seemed desirable.

With respect to the Endowment's program in the field of education, there is frequent consultation and collaboration with such organizations as the American Council on Education and the National Education Association.

The Endowment cooperates with the National Citizens' Committee for United Nations Day and the

Conference Group of National Organizations in the United Nations, to both of which it has made small grants; the membership of both these organizations includes religious, labor, business, veterans and other organizations of a national character. It has also cooperated, largely through participation of members of the staff, in the work of international non-governmental organizations. (See also E-3(b) and E-4(b).)

C-7. (Note: Dates below are those of fiscal year.)

A. Grants, etc., to Institutions and Operating Agencies

Academy of Political Science

1945	$ 1,000

Akademische Vereinigung fur Aussenpolitik, Austria

1951	$ 500

American Association for the United Nations (New York)

1949	$ 9,000
1950	500
	$ 9,500

American Association for the United Nations (Seattle)

1949	$ 500

American Association for the United Nations (San Francisco)

1949	$ 3,000

American Bar Association

1945	$ 2,500
1947	6,500

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. A. Grants, etc., to Institutions and Operating Agencies - (cont.)

1949	$15,000
	$24,000

American Committee in Geneva

1936	$ 6,600
1937	6,600
1938	6,000
1939	6,000
1940	6,000
	$31,200

American Council on Education

1945	$ 1,600
1946	1,000
1946	3,500
1947	2,500
1948	5,000
1949	1,750
1950	1,000
	$16,350

American Country Life Association

1944	$ 450
1945	450
	$ 900

American Federation of Labor

1944	$ 9,500

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. A. Grants, etc., to Institutions and Operating Agencies - (cont.)

American Friends Service Committee

1952	$ 2,000	Toward cost of publishing Elmore Jackson's The Meeting of Minds (1952)

American Group of the Interparliamentary Union

1936	$ 1,000
1937	1,000
1938	1,000
1939	1,000
1940	1,000
1941	1,000
1942	1,000
1947	1,000
1948	1,000
1949	1,000
1950	1,000
	$11,000

American Historical Association

1939	$ 1,900

American Labor Conference on International Affairs

1944	$ 1,000

American Law Institute

1942	$ 5,000

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. A. Grants, etc., to Institutions and Operating Agencies - (cont.)

American Library Association

1945	$ 600
1945	500
	$ 1,100

American Society of International Law

1936	$ 6,000
1937	1,000
1938	5,000
1939	5,000
1940	6,000
1941	6,000
1942	5,000
1945	5,000
1946	5,000
1947	6,000
1948	5,000
1949	5,000
1950	4,000
1951	2,500
	$66,500

American University Union, London

1941	$ 500
1942	500
1945	500

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. A. Grants, etc., to Institutions and Operating Agencies - (cont.)

1946	$ 500	
	$ 2,000	

Association of International Relations Clubs

1952	$ 7,700	
1953	1,800	

Association Yugoslav de Droit International

1936	$ 1,000	
1938	1,000	
1939	1,000	
1940	1,000	
	$ 4,000	

Bard College

1950	$ 500	Seminar on United Nations

British Apprentice Club

1950	$ 1,200	

Brookings Institute

1951	$ 2,000	State Department internship program for students
1952	2,000	State Department internship program for students

Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University

1950	$ 1,150	

Canadian-American Committee on International Relations

1945	$ 500	Conference

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. A. Grants, etc., to Institutions and Operating Agencies - (cont.)

Catholic Council of International Relations

1937	$ 500

Chinese Students' Christian Association

1945	$ 2,000
1946	1,800
1950	500
	$ 4,300

Church Peace Union

1943	$ 1,500
1944	1,500
	$ 3,000

Colgate University

1949	$ 2,000	Conference on implementation of Atlantic Pact
1950	1,500	Conference on American Foreign Policy
1951	2,000	Conference on American Foreign Policy
1952	1,800	Conference on American Foreign Policy
	$ 7,300	

Commission to Study the Organization of Peace

1943	$21,000
1944	24,000

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. A. Grants, etc., to Institutions and Operating Agencies - (cont.)

1945	$ 23,500
1946	25,000
1947	25,000
1948	25,000
1950	10,000
1951	5,000
	$158,500

Committee for Economic Reconstruction

1944	$ 15,000

Committee on International Economic Policy

1945	$ 1,750
1946	31,150
1947	16,050
	$ 48,950

Conference Group of National Organizations (on the United Nations)

1952	$ 2,000	
1953	200	(Draft Report of Committee on Human Rights)

Connecticut College

1949	$ 450	(Conference on United Nations)

Council on American Educational Enterprises Abroad

1950	$ 2,500

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. A. Grants, etc., to Institutions and Operating Agencies - (cont.)

Council on Foreign Relations

1937	$ 3,000
1938	3,000
1939	2,000
1941	2,000
1942	2,000
	$12,000

Dunford House Association, England

1940	$ 1,696
1941	5,218
1942	5,000
1943	4,016
1944	4,855
1945	5,056
1946	4,044
1947	4,000
	$33,885

East and West Association

1945	$ 400 (Conference)

Foreign Policy Association

1936	$ 5,000
1943	1,000
	$ 6,000

Foreign Trade Reconstruction Committee

1943	$ 5,000

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. A. Grants, etc., to Institutions and Operating Agencies - (cont.)

Geneva Research Center

1936	$ 5,000
1940	1,912
1941	8,343
1942	1,915
	$17,170

Girl Scouts, Inc.

1941	$ 2,500

Greater New York Federation of Churches

1936	$ 5,000	
1938	5,000	
1940	5,000	
1941	5,000	Peace Education by Department of
1942	5,000	Religious Education
1944	5,000	
1945	5,000	
	$35,000	

Hague Academy of International Law

1936	$50,000
1937	50,000
1938	50,000
1939	40,000
1940	40,000
1948	20,000

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. A. Grants, etc., to Institutions and Operating Agencies - (cont.)

1949	$ 10,000	
	$260,000	

Harvard Law School

1949	$ 5,000	(Harvard Research in International Law)

Indiana Committee for Victory

1944	$ 1,000

Institut de Droit International

1936	$ 20,000

Institute of Foreign Affairs, Earlham College

1936	$ 1,000
1937	1,000
1938	500
	$ 2,500

Institute of Government, Omaha

1939	$ 1,000
1940	797
1941	1,000
	$ 2,797

Institute of International Affairs, Nashville, Tennessee

1937	$ 500

Institute of International Education

1937	$ 2,000
1939	1,000

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. A. Grants, etc., to Institutions and Operating Agencies - (cont.)

1940	$ 1,000
1941	1,000
1945	1,000
1950	2,500
	$ 8,500

Institute of Pacific Relations, American Council

1936	$10,000
1937	10,000
1938	10,000
1939	5,000
1940	5,000
	$40,000

Institute of Public Affairs, Athens, Ga.

1936	$ 5,000
1937	5,000
	$10,000

Institute of Public Affairs, Dallas, Texas

1937	$ 5,000
1940	2,000
1941	4,000
1942	4,000
1945	300
	$15,300

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. A. Grants, etc., to Institutions and Operating Agencies - (cont.)

Institute of Public Affairs, University of Va.

1936	$ 5,000
1937	5,000
1938	10,000
1939	10,000
1940	4,000
1941	5,000
1942	5,000
1951	2,000
	$46,000

Institute on American Affairs, Texas Tech. College

1941	$ 250

Institute Cultural Argentino-Norteamericano

1936	$ 250
1937	1,000
1938	1,000
1939	1,000
1940	1,000
1941	1,000
1942	1,000
1943	1,000
	$ 7,250

Instituto Italiano di Diritto Internazionale

1936	$ 1,000
1937	1,000

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. A. Grants, etc., to Institutions and Operating Agencies - (cont.)

1938	$ 1,000
1939	1,000
1940	1,000
	$ 5,000

International Arbitration League, London

1936	$ 1,000
1937	1,000
1938	1,000
1939	1,000
1940	1,000
1941	1,000
1942	1,000
1943	1,000
1944	1,000
1945	1,000
1946	1,000
1947	1,000
1948	1,000
	$13,000

International Chamber of Commerce

1936	$12,500

International Film Foundation, Inc.

1947	$10,000

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. A. Grants, etc., to Institutions and Operating Agencies - (cont.)

International Law Association, London

1942	$ 1,500
1943	1,500
1944	1,500
1945	1,500
1946	1,500
1947	1,500
1948	1,500
	$10,500

International Peoples College, Denmark

1950	$ 1,500

International Press Institute, Columbia University

1950	$10,000

International Relations Center, Chicago

1945	$ 600 (Conference)

International Studies Conference

1949	$ 1,500
1951	250
	$ 1,750

International Students House, Geneva

1942	$ 575
1943	585
1945	584
1946	585

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. A. Grants, etc., to Institutions and Operating Agencies - (cont.)

1947	$ 586
	$ 2,915

International Student Service, N. Y.

1942	$ 3,000

International Student Service, Geneva

1947	$ 2,500

Inter-American Academy of Comparative and International Law

1947	$10,000
1948	10,000
	$20,000

Italo-American Institute

1941	$ 500

Japanese American Citizens League

1945	$ 5,000

League of Nations Association

1936	$ 7,786
1937	7,500
1938	11,775
1939	7,100
1940	7,000
1942	2,000
1943	500
	1,500
	$45,161

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. A. Grants, etc., to Institutions and Operating Agencies - (cont.)

League of Red Cross Societies

1943	$ 300

Mid-West Council on International Relations

1936	$ 2,500
1937	5,000
1938	5,000
1939	5,000
1940	4,000
	$21,500

Minnesota United Nations Association

1950	$ 2,000

Mount Holyoke College

1948	$ 6,000	(Institute on U. N.)
1949	6,000	(Institute on U. N.)
1950	4,000	(Institute on U. N.)
	$16,000	

National Citizens Committee for United Nations Day

1949	$ 9,000
1950	2,500
1951	5,000
1952	2,000
	$18,500

National Committee on Cause and Cure of War

1942	$ 2,000

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. A. Grants, etc., to Institutions and Operating Agencies - (cont.)

National Council for Social Studies

1949	$ 750

National Education Association

1947	$ 1,000	(Delegate to 1st UNESCO Conference)

National Peace Conference

1936	$ 7,500
1937	12,500
1938	12,500
1939	12,500
1940	6,250
	$51,250

National Planning Association

1942	$ 1,000

National Policy Committee

1942	$ 2,933
1943	500
1944	1,500
1945	2,700
1946	235
	$ 7,868

National Students Association

1949	$ 5,000

Nederlandsche Vereenging voor International Recht

1936	$ 1,000

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. A. Grants, etc., to Institutions and Operating Agencies - (cont.)

New York State Citizens Council for Durable Peace

1944	$ 1,500
1945	1,000
1946	1,000
	$ 3,500

New York State Community Service Council

1944	$ 400
1945	375
	$ 775

Non-Partisan Council to Win the Peace

1944	$ 900
1945	1,000
1946	300
	$ 2,200

Oklahoma Institute of International Relations

1941	$ 500
1942	400
	$ 900

Pan American Association

1946	$ 438

Pan American Bureau League of Red Cross Societies

1945	$ 2,500

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. A. Grants, etc., to Institutions and Operating Agencies - (cont.)

Pan American League

1943	$ 150
1944	250
	$ 400

Pan Pacific Women's Association

1949	$ 800

Pax Romana (c/o Catholic University, Washington, D. C.)

1941	$ 2,500
1942	2,500
1945	1,200
1946	600
1946	1,250
1947	1,500
	$ 9,550

Pomona College

1950	$ 500

Postwar Information Exchange, Inc.

1945	$ 3,000

Protestant Council, City of New York

1946	$ 5,000	Peace education in "released time" and after-school centers

Public Affairs Committee

1948	$ 1,400

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. A. Grants, etc., to Institutions and Operating Agencies - (cont.)

Public Forum, University of Omaha

1942	$ 1,000

Societee de Legislation Comparee, Paris

1936	$ 800
1937	800
1938	800
1939	800
1940	800
	$ 4,000

Southern Council on International Relations

1938	$ 4,000
1939	2,800
1939	3,800
1940	3,500
1941	4,000
1942	4,000
1944	1,000
1945	2,000
	$25,100

Stanford University

1942	$ 2,500	(Institute re Education in War and Post War Recovery)

Stanford University - Graduate Division

1952	$ 7,500

Carngeie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. A. Grants, etc., to Institutions and Operating Agencies - (cont.)

Stanford University, Office of Inter-American Relations

1943	$ 1,200
1944	500
	$ 1,700

Summer Institute of Politics, Lehigh University

1941	$ 500

The Grotius Society, London

1936	$ 1,000
1937	1,000
1938	1,000
1939	1,000
1940	1,000
1941	1,000
	$ 6,000

The Peace Institute, Oberlin College

1936	$ 2,500
1937	1,314
	$ 3,814

The Vatican Library, Rome

1936	$ 6,000	Indexing manuscripts and increasing the effectiveness of the library as an international influence
1937	6,000	
1938	6,000	

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. A. Grants, etc., to Institutions and Operating Agencies - (cont.)

1939	$ 3,000	
1940	3,000	
1941	3,000	Indexing manuscripts and increasing
1942	3,000	the effectiveness of the library
1943	3,000	as an international influence
1944	3,000	
1945	3,000	
1946	3,000	
1947	1,000	
	$43,000	

United Council on World Affairs (Boston)

1950	$ 1,500	

United Nations

1948	$ 6,000	(International intern program)
1949	2,000	(Library internships)
1951	300	(Internship for Arved Teleki)
	$ 8,300	

University of Illinois

1949	$ 2,000	Conference on implementation of Atlantic Pact

University of Maine

1950	$ 500	(Conference on United Nations)

University of Oklahoma, Institute re Pan American Day

1946	$ 200	

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. A. Grants, etc., to Institutions and Operating Agencies - (cont.)

University of Southern California

1952	$ 500	Workshop on International Affairs

Western Policy Committee

1944	$ 500
1945	2,000
1946	2,782
1949	5,000
1950	5,000
	$15,282

Women's Council for Post-War Europe

1944	$ 300

Women United for the United Nations

1948	$ 3,000

World Affairs Council of Philadelphia

1950	$ 2,000

World Affairs Council of Northern California

1950	$ 1,500
1951	2,000
1952	1,750
	$ 5,250

World Council of Churches

1939	$ 2,000
1941	4,000
1942	3,000

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. A. Grants, etc., to Institutions and Operating Agencies - (cont.)

1945	$ 2,500	
	$ 11,500	

World Peace Foundation

1951	$ 3,000	(Canadian-American Conference)

World Wide Broadcasting Foundation

1943	$ 15,000	Series of radio programs entitled "Beyond the Victory"
1944	20,000	" " "
1945	27,800	" " "
1946	20,000	" " "
1947	20,000	" " "
	$102,800	

World's Y. M. C. A.

1945	$ 1,000	(Conference)

B. Grants, etc., for Specific Projects

Aid to Refugee Scholars from Abroad

1941	$ 10,200
1942	6,124

Friederick W. Foerster	Eduardo Vergara
Henry Wachtel	Ernest Jackh
Lady Godfrey Collins	Ralph J. Wedgwood
Joseph Wachtel	Tiburcio Baja

Atomic Energy Exhibit - at Golden Anniversary Exposition of City of New York

1949	$ 2,000

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. B. Grants, etc., for Specific Projects (cont.)

Bibliography of International Organization Documentation -

World Peace Foundation

1948	$ 1,333
1949	1,333
1950	1,334

Carnegie Visiting Professors and Lecturers

1936	$15,500
1937	15,400
1938	25,498
1939	20,000
1940	12,250
1941	7,105.10
1942	25,650
1943	11,000
1944	20,400
1945	7,200
1946	7,000

C.G.S. de Villiers
Count Carlo Sforza
Sigismund Cybichowski
Jesse Fairing Williams
Samuel Flagg Bemis
Francis W. Hirst
Edwin Nims
Percival R. Cole
Leonie Villard
Sir George Paish
Herbert B. Ames
Theodore Geshkoff
Hans Simons
Prince Hubertus zu Loewenstein
George M. McBride

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. B. Grants, etc., for Specific Projects (cont.)

Oskar Morganstern	Robert Wilberforce
S. Ralph Harlow	Lewis Hanke
Preston Slosson	Claude M. Fuess
Pierre de Lanux	Jose Antonio Encinas-Franco
Bruno Schonfeld	Jose Costellejo
Veit Valentin	E. Allison Peers
Hersch Lauterpacht	Ernest Montengro
Paul F. Kerr	Carlos Delgado de Carvalho
Ernest Jackh	Constantine E. McGuire
R. B. Mowat	Eddy Vergara
Edmundo O'Gormon	Allan Nevins
Oliver Lodge	Mario Buschiazzo
Coudenbone-Kalergi	Erico Verissimo
Edward L. Tinker	Peter Molyneaux
Tiburcio C. Baja	Joseph Wachtel
Frank P. Wilson	Frank Tannenbaum
Alberto Ulloa	Ralph J. Wedgwood
Ignacio Maria de Lojendia	Kwang Tsing Wu
David S. Muzzey	Robert Lacour-Gayet
Paul L. Dengler	Guillerano Padilla Castro

Chatham House Conference Recommendations - Honoraria

1941 $ 5,170

Monroe Deutsch	Arthur C. Bunce
Eduard C. Lindeman	Alonzo E. May
Shephard L. Witman	Paul H. Douglas

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. B. Grants, etc., for Specific Projects (cont.)

Cooperation with International Chamber of Commerce

1939	$ 5,000	(Paul Van Zeeland - preparation of report)
1940	10,000	
1941	1,100	(Harper & Bros., William G. Friedrich)
1942	6,000	(Committee on Economic Reconstruction)
1943	5,000	(Committee on Economic Reconstruction)

Delegates from United States to Oxford Conference on Church, Community, State (Alfred C. Howell, Treas.)

1937 $ 5,000

Documentary on United Nations at Work (for 3rd National Conference of the United States National Commission for UNESCO)

1952 $ 4,000 Treasurer of the United States

Educational Radio Programs - Columbia Broadcasting System (Work re 1st International Conference School of the Air of the Americas)

1941 $ 1,500

Eighth American Scientific Congress (toward travel and expenses)

1940 $ 5,200

Alejandro Alvarez	Jose Matos
Horacio F. Alfaro	Luis Anderson

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. B. Grants, etc., for Specific Projects (cont.)

Alexander Wetmore
Nelson de Senna
Dantes Bellegarde
Cesar Salaya
Alberto Cruchago Ossa
Alberto Ulloa

European Centre, Paris, France Lecture Series

1949 $ 1,500

John Foster Dulles
Saul Padover
Paul Henri Spaak
Hector McNeil
Alexandre Parodi
H. V. Evatt

Exploratory Studies re Role of Universities in International Affairs - Kenneth L. Heaton, honorarium

1950 $ 1,000
1951 2,956.25

Fellowships in International Affairs

1936 $ 3,000
1937 8,000
1938 5,000

Leonard J. Cromie
Joseph W. Scott
Chitoshi Yanaga
Francis Deak
Hanna Rizo
John D. Tomlinson
Elizabeth Lay
John Perrine Walker
William W. Fitzhugh, Jr.

Fellowships in International Law

1936 $10,000
1937 10,000

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. B. Grants, etc., for Specific Projects (cont.)

James Arthur Funston	Lawrence E. Hartwig
Albert Henry Garretson	James Trapier Lowe
Friederich A. Freiherr von der Heydt	Schulim Segal
Cromwell A. Riches	John T. P. Humphrey
Gerald J. Davis	Robert B. Stewart

Field Work on International Relations - Ben Cherrington, Denver Center

1944	$ 2,000

Film Survey - Ruth Inglis

1949	$ 1,200

Fourth American - Japanese Student Conference, Stanford University (Kenneth Cox, Treas.)

1937	$ 1,500

Hague Academy of International Law Scholarships

1937	$ 875
1938	2,500
1939	2,500
1940	2,250

Elton Atwater	William P. Connally, Jr.
Fergus Belanger	Letitia Currie
Ross N. Berkes	Eleanor Frances Dolan
Robert W. Brown	Robert M. Duncan
David B. Calder	Emily Ericsson
Douglas W. Campbell	Leo R. Facto

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. B. Grants, etc., for Specific Projects (cont.)

Hazel E. Foster
Josef Edmond Gellermann
Cullen B. Gosnell
John Joseph Haramy
E. L. Harshbarger
Alice M. Holden
Samuel Hubbard, Jr.
Arthur S. Keller
Perry Laukhuff
Ruth Lawson
Elizabeth S. Lay
James Jefferson Lenoir
Thomas E. McDonald
Nathan Albert Pelcovitz
Pauline Reinsch (Mrs. Lawrence Preuss)
Robert R. Robbins
Betty R. Schmacker (Mrs. Gene Weyland)
John H. Spencer
Birney M. Van Benschoten
Albert C. F. Westphal
Francis O. Wilcox

Institute of Pacific Relations Conference, Lucknow, India - Harold Fisher

1951	$ 2,591.54

Inter-American Educational and Cultural Conference

1940	$ 1,574.11

International Conciliation - articles - Honoraria

1936	$ 150
1937	50
1938	100
1940	100
1941	50
1942	100
1943	50

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. B. Grants, etc., for Specific Projects (cont.)

1944	$ 50
1945	100
1946	75
1947	150
1948	250
1949	1,409.60
1950	570
1951	2,261.36
1952	1,100
1953	700

John B. Whitton
Ruth Masters
Henry Reiff
Harold S. Quigley
Arthur Bromage
Max Laserson
Otto T. Mallery
N. D. Houghton
Count Carlo Sforza
Francis Deak
Mordecai Ezekiel
Carter Goodrich
Kingsley W. Hamilton
Huntington Gilchrist
Grayson Kirk

George F. Zook
Lawrence Finkelstein
James Blackman
Madeleine Vernon
Sylvia Goldfrank
Charles Webster
Elspeth Rostow
Matilda Berg
J. F. Collins
Franz Neumann
Agnese Nelms
John E. Carr-Gregg
Ruth Stanton
Arthur Whitaker
M. Rene Ristelreuber

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. B. Grants, etc., for Specific Projects (cont.)

Leland Goodrich	Jacques Farques-Duparc
John B. Condliffe	Raymond J. Mikesell
Arno Huth	Annette B. Fox
Robert West	Antonin Basch
Albert Lepawsky	Gordon R. Clapp
Aleksander W. Rudzinski	Nicolas Antonoff
Benjamin Rivlin	Paul Mohn
Norman J. Padelford	Peter Franck
Marina Salvin	Jacob C. Hurewitz
Abram Bergson	Selma Lorentz
David Steinberg	Rom Landau

International Organization: National Attitudes Study

1952 $ 8,364.90

Egyptian Society of International Law

Institute de Relations Internationale (Brussels)

Canadian Institute of International Affairs

Centre d'Etudes Politique Etrangere (Paris)

International Organization - research and consultations

1952 $ 842.50

Leland Goodrich Jacob C. Hurewitz

International Relations Clubs - fellowships

1948	$ 1,800
1949	1,800
1950	3,600
1951	4,000

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. B. Grants, etc., for Specific Projects (cont.)

Wendell M. Lewis
Hal Lee Dean
William C. Gibbons
Edward S. Kozera
William E. Christensen
E. Robinson Pipping, Jr.
Mary Grace Hanrahan

International Relations Clubs - lecturers

1936	$ 1,050
1937	1,650
1938	1,285
1939	1,100
1940	1,225
1941	1,050
1942	1,200
1943	1,250
1944	1,250
1945	600
1946	1,150
1947	700
1948	750
1949	1,175
1951	300

Herbert B. Ames
Henry F. Angas
Floyd H. Black
George H. Blakeslee
C. Douglas Booth
Y. S. Chen
Stephan P. Duggan
Clark M. Eichelberger
Leon G. Ellis
Paul L. Dengler

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. B. Grants, etc., for Specific Projects (cont.)

Edgar J. Fisher
Donald Grant
Ben H. Kizer
Josef L. Kunz
Hillis Lary
Charles E. Martin
Elsie F. Musser
Otto Nathan
Ernest M. Patterson
Andre Philip
Walter M. Kotschnig
Malbone W. Graham
Frederick Wm. Ganzert
Elizabeth Wiskemann
W. O'D Pierce
Ralph H. Lutze
Arthur Salz
C. Perry Patterson
Jean Pajus
F. F. Figgures
Vera Micheles Dean
Lewis Hanke
Harold S. Quigley
Kathryn T. Abbey
Wm. C. Johnstone, Jr.
Karl Paul Polanyi
W. G. Rice, Jr.
William Lonsdale Taylor
Samuel Van Volkenburg
Herrick B. Young
Russell M. Story
F. R. Scott
Marie Louise Moll
Hans Simons
Philip W. Buck
Calvin B. Hoover
G. Bernard Noble
Fred L. Schuman
Ben M. Cherrington
Arnold Wolfers
J. Fred Rippy
Frederick A. Middlebush
Otakar Odlozilik
Werner A. Bohnstedt
H. Arthur Steiner
Benjamin Gerig
R. A. Mac Kay
Wilson Leon Godshall
George V. Ferguson
Helen Dwight Reid

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. B. Grants, etc., for Specific Projects (cont.)

Clyde Eagleton
Elbert D. Thomas
Grover Clark
Pierre de Lanux
Ernest B. Price
F. H. Soward
Charles G. Fenwick
Graham Stuart
Walter H. C. Laves
T. W. Schultz
Gladys Graham
Clifton M. Utley
Bertram W. Maxwell
Samuel Guy Inman
Moritz J. Bonn
Harry E. Terrell
Warner Moss
Henry F. Grady
Karl Brandt
Max Lerner
Frederic Spiegelberg
Frank Munk
Lester B. Granger
Lionel H. Laing
C. Dale Fuller
Dexter M. Keezer
Oliver Benson
Harold E. Conrad
Samuel D. Myers, Jr.
Leon B. Walcott
Franklin D. Scott
Grayson L. Kirk
Martha Sharp
Maxwell S. Stewart
Arthur P. Whitaker
Samuel A. Johnson
Conway W. Snyder
Andrew W. Cordier
Wm. J. R. Thorbecke
Robert Gale Woolbert
Eugene Staley
Edward Mead Earle
Pitman B. Potter
E. Wilson Lyon
Quincy Wright
Brooks Emery

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. B. Grants, etc., for Specific Projects (cont.)

Paul F. Douglas	Lawrence B. Packard
Ryland W. Crary	Andrei Lobanov
Alfred Crofts	Donald McKay
Raymond G. McKelvey	Joseph Dunner
Harry S. Gideonse	Laurence Sears
Peter Odegard	Alfred Crofts
George May	Taraknath Das
P. M. Baldwin	Easton Rothwell
Montell Ogdon	Herman Beukema
Ross Hoffman	Carol Binker

International Visits of Representative Men

1941	$ 2,900
1942	3,479
1944	5,000

Count Carlo Sforza	Friedrich Foerster
Welton P. Farrow	Dr. Per Jacobson
Rafeal Allamia y Crenea	

Interneships for Foreign Educators

1949	$ 1,254.64
1950	6,615.82
1951	2,207.89
1952	3,240.97

Giovanni Nencioni	Raymond Brugere
Edward Hales	Adela Zgur
Harish Chandra	

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. B. Grants, etc., for Specific Projects (cont.)

Mexican-American Project-Honoraria

1942 $ 6,500

Jaime Guiza	Charles A. Timm
George I. Sanchez	Daniel Cosio Villegas
Silvio Zavala	Alfonza Reyes

Permanent Court of International Justice (Salaries of President and Registrar)

1942 $ 5,000

Problem of European Federation - New York University

1948 $ 5,000

Regional Centers

1943	$38,800
1944	46,000
1945	53,500
1946	48,500
1947	36,000
1948	24,000

Chapel Hill - Southern Council on International Relations

Chicago - Center of International Relations
International Relations Center

Dallas - Center of International Relations
Institute of Public Affairs

Toledo - Center of International Relations
University of Toledo

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. B. Grants, etc., for Specific Projects (cont.)

San Francisco - Center of International Relations
International Center
World Affairs Council of Northern California

Minneapolis, St. Paul - Center of International Relations
Minnesota U.N. Committee

Des Moines - Center of International Relations
Western Policy Committee

Denver - Center of International Relations
University of Denver, Social Science Foundation

Portland, Oregon - Center of International Relations

Detroit - Center of International Relations
World Study Council

Seattle - American Association for the United Nations

Cleveland - Center of International Relations
Council on World Affairs

Los Angeles - Center of International Understanding

Survey of Current Activities in the Field of International Affairs

Yale University Institute of International Studies

Princeton University Institute of International Studies

1951	$ 2,650
1952	1,400

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. B. Grants, etc., for Specific Projects (cont.)

Textile Conference at Washington (John G. Winant)

1937 $ 1,562.24

Training fellowships re Chinese Mass Education - American-Chinese Committee of the Mass Education Movement

1947 $ 3,500

United Nations Check List and Index

1948 $ 4,107.83

Hugo Knoepfmacher
Hester Meigs
Eric Herzka

U.N. Personnel Study - Syracuse University

1951 $ 1,847

U.N. Studies, U.N. Action, Other Publications and Editorial Work

1949	$ 4,633.32
1950	8,535
1951	4,468.63
1952	1,133

Marina Salvin
Raymond Dennett
Franz Neumann
Eric Stein
Channing Richardson
Alexander Gourvitch
L. Larry Leonard
Oliver J. Lissitzyn
Benjamin Rivlin
Ronald P. Griffin
Silvio Zavala
William S. Haas
Ronko Broshich
Lawrence Finkelstein
Leopold Heinemann
Hilda Taba

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. B. Grants, etc., for Specific Projects (cont.)

Henri Monneray	Grayson Kirk
Raymond G. Carey	William Gane
Russell Fifield	H. Field Haviland
Aake Ording	Robert Rosenbaum
Max Habicht	Ruth Stanton
Waldo Chamberlin	Jacob Hurewitz
Clyde Eagleton	T. Cuyler Young
Mojmir Povolny	Richard W. Van Wagenen
Helen Davis	Evelyn A. Clark
Karl Lowenstein	

C. Grants, etc., for Publications

American Journal of International Law - American Society of International Law

1937	$ 5,000
1940	2,546.90
1942	1,000
1943	3,250
1944	2,500
	$14,296.90

Annual Digest of Public International Law Cases - London School of Economics and Political Science

1936	$ 2,000
1938	1,992
1939	1,876.50

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. C. Grants, etc., for Publications (cont.)

1940	$ 1,416
1942	1,305
1943	1,300
1944	1,650
1945	1,500
1946	2,000
1947	2,000
1948	2,000
1949	2,000
1951	2,500
	$23,539.50

The Catholic Tradition of the Law of Nations - Catholic Association for International Peace

1936	$ 1,000

The Chaplain: General Commission on Army and Navy Chaplains (Aid Toward publication of)

1945	$ 1,250
1946	5,000
	$ 6,250

Die Friedenswarte, Geneva

1936	$ 1,000
1937	1,000
1938	1,000
1939	1,000
1940	1,000

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. C. Grants, etc., for Publications (cont.)

1941	$ 1,000
1942	1,500
1943	1,500
1944	1,500
1945	1,500
1946	1,500
1947	1,500
1948	1,500
1949	1,500
1951	150
	$18,150

Drama of Upper Silesia - Stephen Daye Press

1936 $ 400

Editions Bernard Valiquett (Haite et ses Problemes)

1942 $ 500

Fondo de Cultura Economica

1942 $ 1,125

Handbook on Community Education in World Affairs - University of Minnesota

1951 $ 1,000

Imprenta Funes (Study on debt of San Salvador)

1942 $ 1,000

Institute on World Organization (Published proceedings)

1942 $ 500

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. C. Grants, etc., for Publications (cont.)

Sereni: Italian Conception of International Law - Columbia University

1943	$ 1,500

Japanese Journal of International Law

1936	$ 1,000
1937	1,000
1938	1,000
1939	1,000
1940	1,000
	$ 5,000

Journal du Droit Internationale, Paris, France

1936	$ 1,000

Journal of International Affairs - Columbia University

1952	$ 275

Nordisk Tidsskrift for International Ret, Sweden

1936	$ 1,000
1937	1,000
1938	1,000
1939	1,000
1940	1,000
1941	500
1942	500
1943	500
1944	500
	$ 7,000

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. C. Grants, etc., for Publications (cont.)

La Paz y el Pueblo - Gustav Gili

1936	$ 2,547.45
1937	1,141.70
	$ 3,689.15

Permanent Court of International Justice (Publications of)

1942	$ 5,000

Revista de Derecho Internacional, Habana

1936	$ 1,000
1937	1,000
1938	1,000
1939	1,000
1940	1,000
1941	1,000
1942	1,000
1943	1,500
1944	1,000
1945	1,000
1946	1,000
1947	1,000
1948	1,000
1949	1,000
	$14,500

Rivista di Diritto Internazionale, Rome, Italy

1936	$ 800
1937	800

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. C. Grants, etc., for Publications (cont.)

1938	$ 800
1939	800
1940	800
	$ 4,000

Revue de Droit Internationale, Paris, France

1936	$ 800

Revue de Droit Internationale et de Legislation Comparee, Paris, France

1936	$ 600
1937	800
1938	800
1939	800
1940	800
	$ 3,800

Revue General de Droit Internationale Public, Paris, France

1936	$ 800
1937	1,000
1938	1,000
1939	1,000
1940	1,000
	$ 4,800

United Nations News - Woodrow Wilson Foundation

1947	$ 7,500
1948	9,400
1949	13,100
	$30,000

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. C. Grants, etc., for Publications (cont.)

United States Influence on the U.S.S.R.: Max Laserson - Macmillan Publishing Company

1950	$ 1,000

Silvio Zavala Lectures - University of Pennsylvania Press

1942	$ 500

Zeitschrift fur offentliches Recht, Austria

1936	$ 500
1937	700
1938	700
1939	700
1940	700
	$ 3,300

Zeitschrift fur Internationales Recht, Germany

1936	$ 250
1937	350
	$ 600

Zeitschrfit fur Volkerrecht, Germany

1936	$ 1,000
1939	700
1940	700
	$ 2,400

D. Grants, etc., to Individuals (in addition to the above)

Edgar Alexander (preparation of study "Western Personalism vs. Eastern Collectivism")

1952	$ 500

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. D. Grants, etc., to Individuals (in addition to the above) - (cont.)

Ricardo J. Alfaro (attend Inter-American Conference at Lima, Peru)

1939 $ 2,000

John B. Andrews (fellowship for studies in industrial countries)

1938 $ 4,000

Percy Bidwell (honorarium re International Trade Organizatio Pamphlet)

1949 $ 500

Charles Douglas Booth (honorarium re lectures on Chatham House Conference recommendations)

1937 $ 1,600

Mrs. Paul Douglas (American Labor Press Conference)

1943 $ 1,000

Emily Ericsson (Aid for fellowship in Europe)

1939 $ 500

Lawrence Finkelstein (honorarium re Textbook on International Organization)

1949 $ 300

1950 200

Benjamin Gerig (information re League of Nations at New York World's Fair)

1941 $ 2,205.20

Pennington Haile (Population Educational Program)

1943 $ 1,000

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. D. Grants, etc., to Individuals (in addition to the above) - (cont.)

Gilbert Harrison (to develop post-war cooperation between United States Veterans of World War II and Allied Veterans of Western Europe)

1950 $ 1,000

Simone Heuline (internship at United Nations Library)

1951 $ 600

Jan Hostie (honorarium re "Organization for Communications and Transit of the League of Nations")

1949 $ 650

Clifford Houston (Extension Division University of Colorado)

1942 $ 2,800

Beatrice Lamb (expenses for visit to India for study and report)

1950 $ 2,000

Max Laserson (honorarium for volume "America in Russia")

1949 $ 350

L. Larry Leonard (honorarium re Textbook on International Organization)

1949 $ 300

1950 200

Helen Hill Miller (National Policy Committee)

1942 $ 1,000 (Field Work)

Ralph E. Pinkett (New York University Seminar)

1942 $ 500

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. D. Grants, etc., to Individuals (in addition to the above) - (cont.)

William Poteat (Student's Conference on Dumbarton Oaks and Bretton Woods Proposals)

1945	$ 700

S. Prokopovicz (Aid to publish Soviet Economic Bulletin)

1940	$ 1,500
1941	1,500
1942	1,500
1943	2,000
1944	1,500
1945	1,500

Hedwig Schleiffer (research re Commission on International Culture Relations)

1946	$ 275

Harry E. Terrell (Chatham House Conference Recommendation Lectures in the Mid-West)

1938	$ 2,400
1939	1,400
1940	3,000
1941	2,680
1942	2,000
1943	500
1944	1,000

Sarah Wambaugh (expenses trip to Europe re Manuscript on Saar plebiscite)

1937	$ 600

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

C-7. D. Grants, etc., to Individuals (in addition to the above) - (cont.)

Robert Wilberforce (expenses and honorarium re development of Catholic Agencies for furtherance of International Peace)

1936 $ 1,000

Thornton Wilder (honorarium good-will visit to South America)

1941 $ 500

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D-1. The term "subversive" is so freely used in public print today that it seems best to set forth the meaning and content of the word as we understand it. Thus, "subversive" signifies the desire or intent to overthrow or undermine the Government of the United States. In today's context, it connotes secrecy and conspiracy. "Subversives" are not loyal to the Constitution of the United States and the Republic. While this definition is applicable to other groups, such as the Nazis and Fascists, today the primary reference in the use of the word "subversive" is to individuals, organizations or activities designed to promote the interests of the rulers of the Soviet Union and the forces of international communism.

D-2. Yes. See D-3, D-7 and D-10.

D-3. In reaching such a determination, they would make an inquiry with the Endowment's trustees and staff, and with other independent sources of information which are available to them. In this connection, copies of the list of subversive organizations first prepared by the Attorney General in December, 1947 and the House Un-American Activities Committee's "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", dated May 14, 1951, are available to the officers of the Endowment, which officers are familiar with the contents of these publications. These results of these investigations are not reduced to writing.

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D-4. This policy has been pursued by the Endowment since World War II, as the question of subversive activities has become a matter of increased public concern. Under the present President of the Endowment, these procedures have become standard operating practices.

D-5. Not applicable.

D-6. See answer to D-3 above.

D-7. Yes. Such a listing (of an applicant for assistance upon the Attorney General's list) would certainly be of great importance to the Endowment in influencing it to withhold its direct or indirect aid from such applicant, should the situation ever arise. It has not arisen to date.

D-8. Not applicable.

D-9. Yes.

D-10. The Endowment has checked its files and has found no instance where it has made grants, gifts, loans, contributions or expenditures to organizations on the Attorney General's list or to any individual, individuals or organizations which it considered "subversive". See C-7, above.

D-11. Not applicable.

D-12. Not applicable.

D-13. Not applicable.

D-14. To the best of its ability, the Endowment has checked its files and has found no instance where, directly or indirectly, expenditures by it or a recipient of its

funds have been criticized or cited by the committees named with the exceptions of the following recipients:

Institute of Pacific Relations	Vera Micheles Dean
Alger Hiss	Otto Nathan
Mrs. Marguerite Stewart	Friederich Foerster
Maxwell S. Stewart	William C. Johnstone
Frederick L. Schuman	Vilhjalmur Steffanson
Lester B. Granger	Eduard C. Lindeman
Max Lerner	W. G. Rice, Jr.
Mordecai Ezekiel	

D-15. A. Total Grants to Institute of Pacific Relations

(1) Grants to Institute of Pacific Relations for General Purposes.

Date	Amount	Purpose
July 17, 1928	$ 5,000	Support of the work of IPR.
Dec. 21, 1928	15,000	same.
July 19, 1929	20,000	same.
July 10, 1930	20,000	same.
July 15, 1931	20,000	same.
July 6, 1932	12,000	same.
July 5, 1933	10,000	same.
July 5, 1934	10,000	same.
July 3, 1935	10,000	same.
July 3, 1936	10,000	Work to be done for CEIP by IPR.* (Division of Intercourse and Education.)
July 1, 1937	10,000	same.*
July 2, 1938	5,000	Support of the work of IPR.

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July 1, 1939	5,000	Work to be done for CEIP by IPR.* (Division of Intercourse and Education.)

TOTAL $152,000

(2) Grants to Institute of Pacific Relations for Special Projects.

Date	Amount	Purpose
March 20, 1926	$ 5,000	IPR Conference 1927.
July 12, 1926	5,000	same.
August 3, 1926	5,000	same.
July 8, 1927	15,000	same.
Nov. 21, 1932	37	To Rialto Service Bureau for half the cost of mimeographing 100 copies Statistical data on China Compiled by Grover Clark.
Nov. 20, 1934	2,000	For additional expense in extending to Australia and New Zealand the trip of Mr. E. C. Carter in the autumn and winter of 1934-1935.
Dec. 16, 1935	132	Research assistance, stenographic and typing work in connection with preparation of A Place in the Sun, by Grover Clark.

(3) Purchases from Institute of Pacific Relations

Date	Amount	Purpose
Dec. 29, 1938 to May 22, 1952	$4,964.33	Purchases of books and subscriptions for distribution, etc., principally under program abandoned in 1946 (see E-3, below).**

*While these grants are thus described, our files indicate that they were used for general purposes.

**All payments to the Institute of Pacific Relations, with the exception of these expenditures for books, occurred before the hearings before the Internal Security Subcommittee of the United States Senate.

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(4) In addition to the above, the following information concerning the Endowment's relations with the Institute of Pacific Relations is submitted:

(a) The Endowment sent Harold Fisher, Chairman of the Hoover Institute and Library of Leland Stanford University, as the Endowment's representative to a conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations held at Lucknow, India, from October 3 to 14, 1950. Mr. Fisher was reimbursed directly for his expenses of $2,591.54. The topic of the conference was nationalism in the Far East and its international consequences.

(b) The Endowment paid $600 to Lawrence Finkelstein as part of the expenses of his trip to Indonesia and the Far East in 1951, in partial return for which he wrote an article for the Endowment's publication, "International Conciliation", on the voting record of Indonesia in the United States. Mr. Finkelstein was at the time an unpaid member of the staff of the Institute of Pacific Relations and is now employed in a two-year project of the Endowment on foreign attitudes toward the United Nations.

(c) In January, 1952, while in London, Joseph E. Johnson, President of the Endowment and a Trustee of the American Institute of Pacific Relations, attended a meeting of the Pacific Council (Board of Trustees)

of the International Institute of Pacific Relations, as representative of the American Institute of Pacific Relations, at the request of Gerard Swope, President of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations and Honorary President of General Electric Company. Since this trip was in conjunction with other business of the Endowment, the expenses of this trip were met by the President's travel fund.

(d) The Endowment exchanges publications with the Institute of Pacific Relations and some of its affiliated councils.

(Note: The Carnegie Endowment cooperates, in performing its activities, with a number of institutes of international affairs, such as the Royal Institute of International Affairs, the Indian Council on World Affairs, etc. These organizations, in addition to their many other functions, are also affiliates of the Pacific Council of the Institute of Pacific Affairs. In no case has an Endowment grant or expenditure with respect to any one of these institutes been related to their special role as affiliates of the Institute of Pacific Relations.)

B. Alger Hiss

Mr. Hiss, as President of the Endowment, received, in salary, $37,388.90 from February 1, 1947 to December 13, 1948, with $4,131.91 for expenses during the same period. While on leave of absence from the Endowment,

from December 14, 1948 to May 5, 1949, he received $7,888.90 in salary.

C. Mrs. Marguerite Stewart

Mrs. Stewart was paid $326.67 by the Endowment in September, 1950, for approximately fourteen days of work. Her sole function during this period was promotional work in connection with the Endowment's pamphlet, "The United Nations, its Records and its Prospects".

D. Maxwell S. Stewart

In connection with work undertaken for the Endowment in 1946 by the Public Affairs Council, Mr. Stewart was paid $1,400 from Endowment-supplied funds in 1948 for preparation of a pamphlet which was not published. On December 24, 1946, Mr. Stewart received $50 from the Endowment as an honorarium for preparing a study outline of Thunder Out of China. Mr. Stewart also received $75 in 1947 as an honorarium for a lecture delivered under the auspices of the International Relations Clubs.

E. Frederick L. Schuman

Mr. Schuman received $50 in 1939 as an honorarium for a lecture delivered under the auspices of the International Relations Clubs.

F. Lester (B.) Granger

Mr. Granger received $50 in 1943 as an honorarium for a lecture delivered under the auspices of the International Relations Clubs.

G. Max Lerner

Mr. Lerner received $50 in 1940 as an honorarium for a lecture delivered under the auspices of the International Relations Clubs.

H. Mordecai Ezekiel

Mr. Ezekiel received $50 in 1941 as an honorarium for an article for International Conciliation.

I. Vera Micheles Dean

Mrs. Dean received $50 in 1940, $50 in 1941, and $50 in 1942 as honoraria for lectures delivered under the auspices of the International Relations Clubs.

J. Otto Nathan

Mr. Nathan received $50 in 1935, $100 in 1936, $50 in 1937, and $50 in 1938 as honoraria for lectures delivered under the auspices of the International Relations Clubs.

K. Friederich Foerster

Mr. Foerster received $1,000 in 1940, $500 in 1941, and $500 in 1942 under the programs for International Visits of Representative Men and Refugee Scholars from Abroad.

L. William C. Johnstone

Mr. Johnstone received $50 in 1941, $50 in 1942, $150 in 1943, and $100 in 1944 as honoraria for lectures delivered under the auspices of the International Relations Clubs.

M. Vilhjalmur Steffanson

Mr. Steffanson received $1,800 in 1947 for research on Northern Routes of Trade and Intercourse.

N. Eduard C. Lindeman

Mr. Lindeman received $700 in March 1941 and $350 in March 1942 in connection with the Chatham House conference.

O. W. G. Rice, Jr.

Mr. Rice received $50 in 1937 as an honorarium for a lecture delivered under the auspices of the International Relations Clubs.

D-16. See D-3, above.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

E-1. One of the arguments underlying and justifying the granting of exemption from federal income taxes to educational and philanthropic foundations is that these organizations can, by wise expenditure of their funds, contribute to the improvement of society. In a democracy, changes and improvements can, in the last analysis, only occur with public support. Foundations must, therefore inevitably sponsor and finance projects the results of which are likely to influence public opinion. In doing so, however, they should be concerned with providing basic information for the enlightenment of the public and should avoid distortion or presentation of biased material. The aim should be the development of an informed public opinion which will lead to better-based public policies.

E-2. The answer to sections a, b, and c is "No" in each case. When a tax-exempt foundation makes a grant for a project for a purpose which may involve conclusions, its purpose should be the promotion of honest research by qualified individuals. It would be misusing its special privileges were it to try to dictate conclusions, or to withdraw a grant or suppress findings on the ground that it or some of its officers disagreed with the results.

E-3. The Carnegie Endowment carries on a program of carefully developed and carefully delimited projects in the field of education. These projects are intended (a) to promote the study of foreign policy and international

relations, (b) to provide useful, informational materials for such study, and (c) to help education and educational institutions in our free society meet and discharge the responsibilities imposed upon them by the rising impact of world affairs.

The general publication program of the Endowment, by which information about world affairs is made more widely available, is an educational enterprise in the broad meaning of the term. In more specific fashion, the chief educational enterprise of the Endowment lies in cooperation with colleges and universities to the end that they may contribute most effectively to the conduct of international relations by the education of citizens and specialists and by the conduct of research bearing on world affairs.

The Endowment does not seek to impose on colleges and universities any particular beliefs or programs or policies bearing on world affairs. Rather, it encourages colleges and universities to study their role in international relations and to utilize their resources as wisely as possible in ways the institutions feel most effective. The Endowment (a) stimulates colleges and leaders to make self-surveys and self-appraisals of their work in this field, (b) serves as a clearing-house for the exchange of opinion among colleges and universities, and (c) provides expert consultation on specific problems, with the consultants chosen by the colleges and universities themselves. The

Endowment convenes conferences of university leaders for the exchange of information and views and seeks, in cooperation with them, to find the best ways by which university resources can be mobilized to meet the international crises of our times.

Among the institutions cooperating with the Endowment in this decentralized program of self-survey and appraisal on "universities and world affairs" are a number of state universities (in Oregon, Washington, Utah, Minnesota, Missouri, Michigan, for example), the United States Military Academy at West Point, a number of private liberal arts colleges, both secular and non-sectarian (Dartmouth, Loyola at Los Angeles, Knox, Reed, Pomona, etc.), certain of the larger independent universities (as Chicago and Stanford), and a group of teachers colleges and technical institutes. This entire program, developed over a period of years and to continue for several years more, is intended as one of counsel and aid to institutions adjusting themselves to the problems and opportunities of free and responsible centers of learning in an era of international crisis and struggle.

A smaller phase of the Endowment's educational program lies in cooperation with Institutes of International Relations such as now exist in many countries of the world outside the Soviet orbit. These institutes are scholarly, non-governmental centers carrying on research and education

in their respective countries. The Endowment seeks to facilitate cooperation among them, but does not subsidize them or in any way control their programs.

Another educational enterprise carried on by the Endowment is the occasional provision of fellowships enabling key educators in other countries to visit the United States. Educators have been brought here, for visits of several months each, from Italy (1948), Great Britain (1950), France (1950), Yugoslavia (1951), and India (1950). Recipients of such fellowships observe the United Nations at its headquarters and visit American colleges and schools to study methods of education about foreign policy and world affairs.

For many years the Endowment has sponsored student International Relations Clubs on colleges in many countries. These clubs are extra-curricular student clubs established under faculty advisers for the informal study of foreign policy and international affairs. During the period before 1946 the Endowment distributed books to the clubs, helped secure speakers for some of their meetings, and provided a central "secretariat" for the clubs. In 1948 an Association was formed of the clubs in the United States and Canada. The Association, under the direction of elected student officers and faculty advisers holds an annual conference and provides study materials and suggestions for its members. Since 1950 all aid from the

Endowment has been in the form of an annual grant to the Association. A representative of the Endowment sits on the Association's Executive Board, but the Endowment does not determine or control the programs or policies of the Association or of individual clubs.

Prior to 1946 the Endowment purchased books not only for distribution to International Relations Clubs but also for distribution to public and college libraries in the United States. Distribution of books was a continuation of Mr. Carnegie's known interest in libraries. This program, of considerable scope and importance during a period when books on international affairs were not generally and readily available in many parts of the country, was discontinued as a matter of program policy after 1946.

Representatives of the Endowment take part in educational conferences and work with educational organizations. Since the Endowment is not primarily a fund-granting agency its work in consultation and educational service carries only the influence of its own merit.

In respect to this educational program as a whole, the following replies may be made to the questions asked in E-3 (a) through (h).

(a) The basic policies of the Endowment in its educational program are (1) to cooperate with educational institutions, organizations, and leaders in analyzing and meeting the problems imposed on them by twentieth-century

world affairs; and (2) to aid educational institutions and organizations to make their maximum independent contribution to the conduct of world affairs in the interests of a free democratic society. Policies and programs to these ends are determined by the intent of the donor of the Endowment as expressed in his deed of gift and by the informed judgment of the Trustees and staff. [See B 1-4, above.]

(b) The Trustees and staff of the Endowment regularly seek advice and counsel from the officers of educational associations (such as the American Council on Education), from officials of other foundations, government officials and from the faculties and administrative leaders of educational institutions. They maintain close consultative contact with educational leaders throughout the United States and, to a lesser degree, in other countries of the free world. Many leaders in education and in public life who are not directly connected with the Endowment are among its influential advisers.

(c) In its cooperation with colleges and universities and other educational agencies the Endowment works with institutions and organizations holding divergent views on many controversial educational issues but loyal, we believe, to scholarly traditions and democratic ideals. In establishing contact with colleges and universities, for example, it works with institutions listed in the Directory of the United States Office of Education and which are

recognized by the accrediting academic associations of the United States. It works with educational institutions in all regions of the United States and, to a lesser degree, with those recognized as of academic excellence in other countries of the free world.

(d) No distinction is made in the Endowment's cooperation with educational institutions and organizations on the basis of religion or sect. It cooperates with institutions on matters of international relations but does not deal with religious or sectarian questions.

(e) In extending the Endowment's cooperative educational activities outside the United States, full consultation is held with State Department officials, American experts familiar with the area concerned, and with United States embassy officials, educational officials and scholars there. On the basis of their advice, the Endowment takes responsibility for formulating its program in the area.

(f) In our opinion, the Endowment has served education in the United States by (1) helping alert it to problems and to opportunities arising from the impact of world affairs on American life, (2) by endeavoring to place the study of international relations on a sound and unemotional basis, (3) by providing scholarly materials for the study of foreign policy and international affairs, (4) by facilitating contact with educational leaders in other parts

of the free world, and (5) by increasing cooperation among American educators concerned with world affairs. In other countries, the Endowment's contribution has not been so great, though its scholarly publications are widely used abroad, and it has aided in giving key leaders abroad greater familiarity with American educational policies and procedures.

(g) No.

(h) The contribution of educational and philanthropic foundations to the advancement of education, particularly higher education, both in the United States and abroad, has been one of the achievements of the American way of life.

E-4. (a) Since all of the activities of the Carnegie Endowment are by its constitutional documents within the broad field of international relations, the answers given below should be considered in conjunction with answers given to other questions of the questionnaire, notably, B-1, B-2, E-2 and E-3.

(b) Yes. Both informally and formally the officers of the Endowment are in frequent consultation with individuals and groups in an endeavor to determine what needs must be done and the best ways to do it. They consult officials of the United States Government, primarily of the Department of State, qualified persons in the academic

world, and other interested persons in many walks of life, both in the United States and abroad.

(c) In the conduct of its work, the Endowment is inevitably concerned with many controversial issues in international relations. As it deals with these issues through its grants and program, it seeks to discover and reveal information pertinent to the making of sound decisions. It endeavors to avoid propaganda or polemics concerning these issues.

(d) League of Nations. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace had no direct or official relationship with the League of Nations. In 1931, however, after the United States had established the custom of having an official observer at Geneva, the Endowment sent its own representative there who remained until 1935, reporting to the Endowment on League activities. In addition, the Endowment supported efforts to bring about the adherence of the United States to the Statute of the International Court of Justice. The Endowment also contributed funds at various times for the support of the League of Nations Association of the United States.

The United Nations. The Endowment has no organic relationship with the United Nations, except insofar as it has been accorded, along with many other organizations, consultative status with the Economic and Social Council.

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The Endowment, however, has been consistently concerned with the establishment and development of the United Nations.

During World War II, the Endowment created and supported the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, a scholarly group of Americans which prepared documentation on the problems and possibilities of international organization.

Dr. James T. Shotwell, a Trustee, director of the Division of Economics and History of the Endowment, attended the San Francisco Conference where the Charter of the United Nations was drafted as the representative of the Endowment, being one of about 40 consultants attached to the United States Delegation. Mr. Malcolm Davis was given leave of absence from his post in the Endowment staff to work in the secretariat of the Conference.

After the United States became a member of the United Nations by virtue of an 89 to 2 vote of the Senate and ratification of the Charter by the President, the Trustees of the Endowment agreed that the Endowment would include as a major part of its program work to support and strengthen and improve the United Nations. Pursuant to this conclusion, the Endowment made between 1947 and 1950 several studies on United Nations administration, designed to assist in improving the work of the United Nations. In connection with these studies and with other aspects of its program, officials of the Endowment have been in frequent

consultation with members of the United Nations secretariat and the United States Mission to the United Nations. The Endowment has contributed to the work of the American Association for the United Nations, has worked with the Conference Group of (American) National Organizations for the United Nations, has worked with the consultative group of organizations established by the Economic and Social Council, and has taken an active part in the National Citizen's Committee for United Nations Day.

In its contacts with the United Nations, the Endowment has supported the purposes and principles of the United Nations as sound bases of international organization. This has been fundamental American policy since the ratification of the Charter. The Endowment itself has not taken a position on particular issues and policies before the United Nations.

(e) The Carnegie Endowment does not have any official relationship with the State Department or any other Government Agency, and maintains its complete freedom of action as a private organization. Personal and informal relationships have existed between many Endowment personnel and various officials of the Department of State, reflecting their common absorption and not infrequent association in the striving for international peace. In addition to the personal contacts which exist between officials of the Endowment and many officers of the Department of State in

the course of conducting the Endowment's business, the President of the Endowment, Mr. Joseph E. Johnson, has been in his personal capacity, since April 1952, a member of the Panel of Consultants to the Secretary of State on Disarmament.

In connection with the summer intern program run by the Department of State, the Carnegie Endowment has during each of the years, 1951 and 1952, granted to the Brookings Institution in Washington the sum of $2,000 to be expended by it in the form of special scholarship grants to assist a few of the interns.

(f) It is difficult to assess the effect, if any, of the Carnegie Endowment on the foreign policies of the United States. It is legitimate to hope that the research sponsored by the Endowment, leading to the production of scholarly volumes, and the Endowment's efforts to create better understanding on the part of the American people of the problems of foreign affairs have in some small measure contributed to the formulation and carrying out of sound foreign policies. It may be that the opportunity occasionally given to discuss foreign policy problems with private citizens under the auspices of the Endowment has contributed to the thinking of Government officials.

Approximately the same statements may be made with even more reservation about the effect of the organization on the policies of the United Nations. The Endowment

published between 1947 and 1950 several studies on various aspects of United Nations administration. The studies may have contributed to changing administrative practices and perhaps to the improvement of administration. Qualified officials of the United Nations itself could best assess the amount of this contribution.

There is no known way in which the Endowment could have affected the policies of other nations except insofar as publication of research studies and of other material formed part of that stream of ideas and information which contributes to decisions on foreign policy.

(g) No.

(h) In our opinion, educational and philanthropic foundations have had a great and beneficial effect on the improvement of knowledge of international relations both here and abroad. They have undertaken projects and supported institutions which have contributed both to basic research and to better general understanding of problems of world affairs. Without the help of the foundations, much of the basic knowledge which is essential to the formulation and acceptance of sound foreign policies in an increasingly complex world would not exist. Contributions of these foundations have in general, we believe, been of this basic kind and have had little direct influence on foreign policies in the United States or the policies of the United Nations or the policies of other nations. In the sense that they have

helped to train experts, as for example, by granting fellowships or by supporting Area Study Institutes, they have had a beneficial effect on these policies.

E-5. Except through its interest in international relations described in E-4, above, the Carnegie Endowment has not been active in the field of government and public administration.

E-6. The Carnegie Endowment is not now active in the field of economics, except for occasional studies and publications involving the United Nations and other international organizations; for example, the publication of an article on the Colombo Plan.

In the past the Endowment has been active, particularly in the field of international trade policy, sponsoring a number of studies in this connection under the Committee for International Economic Policy, whose research it has previously supported.

E-7. (a) No.

(b) Not to the best of our knowledge.

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F-1. As indicated in F-2 below, the Carnegie Endowment maintains an office in Paris, France. Through this office, which is separately incorporated as the Carnegie Endowment in Europe, Inc., certain aspects of the Endowment's program are carried out. At the present time this involves largely negotiations of studies in various European countries under the project for a study of national policies and attitudes toward international organization (see F-4, below). In addition, the office has a small publications program consisting largely but not exclusively of translations of publications emanating from the New York office. All other activities in foreign countries are at present related to the national attitudes study.

F-2. Yes.

F-3. The following individuals are employed by the Endowment abroad, in the position and at the annual salary noted. All are resident in Paris, France, except Mr. Davis, who resides in Strasbourg, France:

Malcolm Davis, Consultant to the President (no reimbursement has yet been paid).

John Goormaghtigh, Director of the European Office of the Endowment, $8,000.

M. Sale Perreux, Secretary-General, $3,200.

Suzanne Fouque la Croix, Stenographer, $1,700.

Jacques Gernez, Caretaker, $950.

Lucienne Gernez, Caretaker, $950.

Marguerite Lejour, Bookkeeper, $1,000.

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F-4. Yes.

Since the beginning of 1952, the Endowment has been developing a project for the study in selected foreign countries of national policies and attitudes toward international organization, particularly the United Nations. This program of studies fits into the long range Endowment purpose of examining afresh the role of international organizations for peace in the modern world. More immediately it looks toward the agenda of the 1953 session of the UN General Assembly which, according to the UN Charter, must include consideration of the question whether there should be a Conference to review the Charter. One of the motives for initiating this series of studies was the value which would be derived from having available for officials and others authoritative analyses of the experience of various countries. Responsible officials in the Department of State, the United Nations and other governments, have in fact stated informally that they welcomed this project as of considerable potential value in preparations for possible review of the UN Charter.

The method which has been adopted involves limited Endowment cooperation with suitable groups or organizations in each of the selected countries. The group or organization concerned assumes full responsibility for directing the project in its country. It assumes the function of hiring the research personnel and setting up the study

group or groups to prepare a study, following the project outline which the Endowment has prepared. The Endowment's role is to cooperate in the financing (in accordance with a preliminary agreement), to provide technical assistance upon request, and to publish the resulting manuscripts in a series provided that they fulfill standards of scholarship and authority to be determined by an independent committee of scholars (see C-6 and attached memorandum dated May 5, 1952).

F-5. 1947-1948 (fiscal year) - 3.49%

1948-1949 (") - 3.27%

1949-1950 (") - 10.34%

1950-1951 (") - 9.23%

1951-1952 (") - 7.9%

The average annual budget for foreign activities during these past five years has been $36,706.

F-6. Not as a general rule. The Endowment does consult, on occasion, with officials of foreign governments, notably in connection with the study referred to in F-4, above. In one country, Yugoslavia, it was necessary to obtain governmental approval for the creation of the special group to carry out the study. We do not deal with any particular political party or group in any foreign country.

F-7. No member of the Endowment's staff abroad has any affiliation with any political party or movement. One employee, Mr. Chalupa, who was a receptionist in the Endowment's Paris office, has been an active member of the Czech Anti-Communist Refugee Group in Paris. He was Secretary of

the group in France and the editor of its Journal, and left the Endowment's employ in the fall of 1952 to emigrate to the United States.

F-8. Yes. The Endowment does consult with the State Department and with officials of American Embassies abroad, as indicated above in the answers to C-6 and E-4(e).

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G-1. In our opinion, the prime function of an American foundation in our free enterprise society is the vital one of providing venture capital for ideas. The special duty of the foundation is to serve the areas of intellectual endeavor, whether in the fields of medicine and public health, in the sciences or in the relations of men with men. In other words, the role of the foundation is to risk appropriate amounts of money on men and ideas where there is a reasonable prospect of some worth-while contribution to the advancement of knowledge.

In so doing, the foundation stands as a bulwark of American intellectual free enterprise. It may serve either as a pioneer or as a kind of mobile reserve. It may aid in exploring a promising line of advance or it may help to fill gaps in the established structure as those gaps become apparent.

To give one example among many, the American foundation is in effect a part of the American system of education. On that system America relies not only for the training of its manpower but also for much of the research, the invention and the sharing of information which are essential to continuing progress in a democratic society. American higher education today, both public and private, is under heavy pressure from the increasing number of students and from the increasing difficulty of financing the necessary plant and personnel. It is our experience that it

welcomes all the assistance that the foundations can render in the vital areas of research, encouragement of teaching staff and communication of ideas.

This is particularly true in the field of international relations, which involves an understanding of the problems now confronting the United States as a world power. To a wide-spread and informed understanding of these problems, every constructive contribution that the foundations can make is of value.

In our opinion further, the private foundation is a peculiarly American institution. It could not exist in a totalitarian society. Were government to take over all of the activities of the private foundation, American society would move dangerously close to a totalitarian system. Nothing could be more contrary to Communist concepts, for example, than the "heresy" of permitting privately-acquired wealth to finance the independent pursuit of new knowledge. On the other hand, if there were no foundations in our own free society, something very like them would have to be invented.

G-2. In our opinion, a clear distinction should be made between the activities of a foundation and its essential function. The activities change and those projects which have proved worth-while make their various contributions to American life and become a part of it. On the other hand, the essential function of a foundation continues; the vital

need for creative, imaginative and unfettered inquiry into new and promising areas does not cease. The frontiers of research are unlimited.

Each new discovery or completed project - as it becomes a part of accepted practice - releases funds and energies for new possibilities. One activity is replaced by another activity, but the essential function of creative research, from which the activities spring, goes on as long as progress in the area involved is conceivable.

We are all familiar with the achievements by private foundations in the field of medicine and research into other physical sciences. Equally important are the activities of the private foundation in the long-neglected area of the social sciences. It is precisely in this realm of endeavor that the limitations upon government which make it difficult for government to perform the functions carried out by the foundation, are best illuminated. In the social sciences, as in the physical sciences, the private foundation has been able to achieve important results because of its freedom to pursue long-range objectives and basic research; government, required by its very nature to seek solutions for immediate "practical" problems, lacks an equivalent freedom of research. Even more important, in the social sciences the private foundation, more protected from political forces and pressures than government, possesses an essential independence in its approach to the problems of our times.

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In determining whether or not government could perform the functions of foundations, and would find them an appropriate and congenial burden to assume, the following considerations among others may be pertinent:

(1) If foundations are regarded as one "system," their operation as a totality can be described as flexible and decentralized. In our opinion, a less flexible and more centralized operation in the hands of government would find it difficult to make decisions and delegate responsibility as effectively.

(2) Foundations today represent a wide variety of interests and responsiveness. One foundation may reject an idea; another foundation may welcome it. In our opinion, many proposals would go untested if a central agency, in seeking "consistency" in its policies and decisions, achieved it at the expense of the broad representation of diverse interests now possible with the private foundation.

(3) A decision taken by a foundation involves the risk that the project may not achieve the desired success. A private organization can afford a percentage of failure in its continuing experimentation and can rely on its batting average of successes. In our opinion, it would prove more difficult for government to explain why public money was risked on a project that failed. Similarly, the funds available to universities for fundamental research are often so committed to previously determined

projects that freedom to experiment is effectively denied to them. Nevertheless, a study of the history of private foundations will show a high percentage of successes and achievements despite or perhaps because of, the greater risks taken.

(4) The resources of foundations came from voluntary donations from private individuals and corporations. Since so many of the activities of the private foundation are essential to the well-being of our society, the performance of these activities by government would result in the imposition of an additional burden and expense to be met by increased net taxation.

(5) In the sensitive and complex field of international relations, the private foundation because of its independence can render services to international understanding which are inappropriate if not impossible for government because of the fear and suspicion which the activities of one government often create among other governments and peoples. In our opinion, the contribution of foundations in this field, including the stimulation of constructive criticism, support and strengthen American foreign policy.

G-3. (a) The contributions by foundations to twentieth century society have been legion. Foundations have aided research along the whole frontier of knowledge, have alerted institutions to emerging problems, have identified

and trained promising individuals for intellectual and scientific leadership. Their continuing effort has been to grapple with vital problems, some seemingly insuperable, groping for solutions.

We cannot speak for other foundations, of course, but we believe that the Endowment has made a significant contribution by striving to keep alive man's hope for peace, by stimulating research and study of the means to peace - notably in the field of international law and more recently in the field of international organization, by working constantly for improved and mutual understanding between people of differing national and cultural backgrounds, and by training men and women for responsible positions.

(b) In estimating the degree of success achieved, each foundation must speak for itself. Errors of judgment and foresight, with foundations as with every human institution, make it inevitable that perfection is not achieved. The record of foundations, however, is one that may be regarded with pride by our free society.

(c) Speaking, again, with respect to our own experience, any analysis of mistakes made must take into account the "mental climate" of the time when decisions were taken. Mr. Carnegie's "instructions" in regard to the abolition of war were given prior to 1914 and reflect the optimism of that day. Between the establishment of the Endowment in 1910 and the present, two world wars and a "Cold War" have

intervened. The international situation has changed and the emphasis in the Endowment's work has altered correspondingly. Undoubtedly some of the projects which seemed promising in the early years would seem unrealistic today.

Since human beings are fallible, occasional errors in judgment have undoubtedly been made over the years both in regard to programs and to personnel. We believe that the decisions were taken in good faith and that on the whole the record of accomplishment since 1910 is one in which we may take pride.

(d) The principal difficulties faced by foundations in achieving maximum results, aside from limited resources, arise from the inherent obstacles created by inadequate knowledge, changing world conditions and the extraordinary demands upon imagination and foresight implicit in the main role of the foundation today, that of providing venture capital for ideas.

G-4. In our opinion, the public has and should have a real interest in foundations. In the first place, foundations (as well as such institutions as colleges and universities) are tax-exempt. In the second place, the amount of capital and annual income involved is significant. Above all, the public has a stake in the foundations because the work of the foundations is directed toward broad objectives of great concern to our society. It is for this reason that the Endowment has always published an annual report in full

and last year distributed over 1500 copies of its report to libraries, newspapers and radio stations, colleges and universities, international relations associations, and the Conference Group of Non-Governmental Organizations of the United Nations, among others.

Since the major interest of the public is in the results achieved over the years, it follows that the public also has a direct interest in preserving the freedom of inquiry and research which is essential in achieving these results.

Note*: Questions G-5, G-6, G-7, G-8 and G-9 solicit opinions on questions concerning which there might be expected a broad divergence of views among individual trustees of this and other foundations. Furthermore, expressions of any views on these subjects could be but tentative until the completion of a study of the record of foundations has been made and the results tallied. With these considerations in mind, the answers to these questions constitute the individual opinion of the President of the Endowment based upon his experience in this field.

G-5.* See G-6, below.

G-6.* The President of the Endowment, without purporting to speak other than as an individual, has no objection to a requirement that foundations prepare annual reports of their activities, including their receipts and expenditures, and file copies thereof in a central depository available to the public.

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G-7.* Not applicable.

G-8.* The charters or other instruments creating educational and philanthropic foundations (and other comparable foundations) must use, in describing the permissible scope of activities, language which is expressive of the founder's purpose. In some instances, where concrete goals are identifiable, and particularly where the founder has limited the duration of the life of the foundation, a specific enumeration of purposes will undoubtedly prove helpful to the trustees and staff of the organization. In many cases, however, where the founder has provided for a foundation of lengthy or unlimited duration, with broad objectives incapable of precise delimitation, the instrument establishing the foundations might preferably be broad in scope with sufficient flexibility preserved to the trustees and the administrators of the foundation to deal with changing times and circumstances.

G-9.* The President of the Endowment, again speaking in his individual capacity, has no present basis for recommending limitations such as are specified in G-9.

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I-1. The President of the Endowment, as its chief executive officer, had the responsibility for preparing the answers to this questionnaire.

The statistical information included herein was compiled by members of the Endowment staff from the files of the Endowment covering the period from 1935 to the present.

With respect to the answers which concern Endowment policy, the President conferred with the following trustees whose geographical accessibility and business affairs made them available for consultation:

John Foster Dulles, Chairman of the Board
Harvey H. Bundy, Vice Chairman
David Rockefeller, Vice Chairman and Treasurer
Edward R. Murrow
Earl G. Harrison
O. Frederick Nolde

I-2. No.

I-3. Not applicable.

I-4. No.

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

405 WEST 117TH STREET, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

October 7, 1952

For your confidential information

Dear Ed:

As you may know, the Select Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations, under the Chairmanship of the Honorable Eugene E. Cox, of Georgia, has appointed Harold M. Keele, of Chicago, as Chief Counsel.

Recently Mr. Keele addressed a luncheon in New York to which a number of foundations had been invited. The Endowment was represented by Joseph H. Broderick, of Sullivan and Cromwell, who is our Special Counsel for this investigation, and by myself. Mr. Keele stated that he desired to conduct a fair and objective investigation and made a persuasive appeal for cooperation from all foundations. Since he has to complete the investigation with a small staff and $75,000 appropriation by December 31, he will need great cooperation.

In particular, he asked each foundation to appoint a liaison officer to simplify contact. Accordingly, Mr. Broderick and I called upon him in Washington on September 25 to introduce William G. Avirett as the Endowment's liaison officer to Mr. Keele and three members of his staff.

In the course of an informal and informative talk, Mr. Keele stated that he would rely greatly on a questionnaire to be filled in by each foundation by November 1. He also stated that there would be public hearings, beginning about the middle of November, and that in due course the Endowment would be questioned, presumably about December 1.

In view of the exceedingly comprehensive and searching nature of the questionnaire, which has just been received, I have obtained approval from the members of the Executive Committee for the establishment of a special committee to work with the President and counsel on the questionnaire. The following Trustees have agreed to serve on the committee: Messrs. Dulles, Bundy, Harrison, Murrow and Rockefeller. If you have any comment or question about this matter, I hope you will let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph E. Johnson

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

October 20, 1952

Dear Joe:

I could wish that all lawyers, including counsels for congressional committees, would write less turgid english.

In response to the question contained in yours of October 16: I am a trustee of the Institute of International Education, 1 East 67th Street, New York; a member of The Board on Overseas Training and Research which could, I think, properly be described as a creation or subsidiary of The Ford Foundation, at 575 Madison Avenue, New York. I am also a vice president of The Correspondents Fund of the Overseas Press Club of America, Inc., 1475 Broadway, New York.

I hope the above is responsive to the question.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Joseph E. Johnson
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
405 West 117th Street
New York 27, New York

dm

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

405 WEST 117TH STREET, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

October 16, 1952

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

With further reference to my letter of October 7 concerning the Select Committee of the House of Representatives created to investigate tax-exempt foundations and comparable organizations, the questionnaire to which reference was made contains the following question:

Section A-11.

> "Is any of your trustees, members of your board of directors, or executive officers also a trustee, director, or officer of any other tax-exempt organization or of any corporation or other business organization related directly or indirectly to your organization? If so, explain in detail."

The words "any corporation or other business organization related directly or indirectly to your organization" can be construed as meaning a parent or subsidiary "corporation or other business organization" or a "corporation or other business organization" under common or substantially common control or management. Given this construction, I believe that the latter part of the question has no practical application to the Carnegie Endowment. Unless you disagree with this point of view, I suggest that you restrict your answer to the earlier part of the question, including in your response the names of all tax-exempt organizations with which you may be associated, not merely those related in some way to the Carnegie Endowment. This will presumably include colleges, schools and charities, as well as foundations.

I shall be grateful if you will send me as soon as possible (it will be helpful if those Trustees at a distance can reply by air mail or telegram) the information necessary to compile an answer to this question.

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph E. Johnson

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

405 WEST 117TH STREET, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

October 3, 1952

PERSONAL

Dear Ed:

I enclose herewith a copy of the letter received today from Senator Cox. A copy of the questionnaire referred to therein will be forwarded to you early next week at the latest.

attached

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph E. Johnson

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

CABLE ADDRESS: "LADYCOURT," NEW YORK

SULLIVAN & CROMWELL

48 Wall Street, New York 5,

October 3, 1952.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

At Mr. Johnson's request I am forwarding you a copy of the Questionnaire which the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace received today from the House Committee investigating charitable foundations.

Very truly yours,

Joseph L. Broderick

(Enclosure)

QUESTIONNAIRE

SUBMITTED BY THE

Select Committee of the House of Representatives

OF THE

Congress of the United States

Created by House Resolution 561,
Eighty-second Congress, Second Session,
To Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations
and Comparable Organizations

INSTRUCTIONS

1. Answers to the questionnaire should be made to the committee in duplicate.

2. Answers should be prepared so that they are carefully keyed to the section and question number of each section. No particular form other than reference to section and question number need be observed. However, in order to avoid confusion and expedite processing, it is requested that the answers to each section should begin on a page separate from those on which answers to another section have been given. In other words, when beginning answers to any section please use a sheet of paper on which no other answers have been made.

3. The committee places a higher premium on clarity and substance than on style and form; on speed of completion rather than on niceties of phrase. Write as much or as little as is deemed necessary to answer the questions. The committee wishes your best thinking but will appreciate such brevity and compression as is consonant with clear exposition.

4. Please use one side only of regular 8½ by 11 letter-size paper for your answers, double-spaced and numbered serially at the top irrespective of section, with the name of your organization at the top of each page.

SECTION A

A–1. What is the name of your organization?

A–2. What is its legal nature, i. e., a trust, a corporation, or other type of association?

A–3. If a corporation, in what State is it incorporated and by what State agency?

A–4. Where is its principal office located?

A–5. When was it chartered or otherwise organized?

A–6. Is it the outgrowth or continuation of a form of predecessor organization, or the result of a merger? Explain.

A–7. (*a*) Has it been declared exempt from taxation under section 101 (6) or any other section of the Internal Revenue Code by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue? If so, when was such exemption granted?

(*b*) Has its exemption ever been removed, suspended, or challenged by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue? If so, state when and the circumstances thereof.

A–8. If it is in the nature of a trust, is it permitted deductions for charitable and related contributions as provided by section 162 of the Internal Revenue Code?

A–9. Give the names, addresses (business or mailing) and terms of all trustees or members of your board of directors since 1935.

A–10. Is any of your trustees, members of your board of directors, or executive officers the creator of your organization or a contributor, present or past, to your organization, or a brother or sister (whole or half blood), spouse, ancestor, or lineal descendant of such creator or contributor? If so, explain.

A–11. Is any of your trustees, members of your board of directors, or executive officers also a trustee, director, or officer of any other tax-exempt organization or of any corporation or other business organization related directly or indirectly to your organization? If so, explain in detail.

A–12. List the names and addresses of the principal executive officers of your organization.

A–13. What was the amount of your original endowment and in what manner was it granted to your organization?

A–14. What capital additions over $10,000 in amount have you received since your original endowment and from what sources?

A–15. Is your endowment fund perpetual or is it expendable on an optional or determined liquidating basis? Explain.

A–16. What is the amount of your present endowment?

A–17. Attach a balance sheet indicating the amounts of your assets, liabilities, and net worth as of the close of your last fiscal year.

A–18. What was your average gross income for the years 1946–1951, both years inclusive?

SECTION B

B–1. What is the purpose or purposes for which your organization was created as defined by your charter or other instrument creating your organization?

B–2. State the activities which your organization considers permissible under the purpose or purposes stated in your answer to question 1.

B–3. Who determines whether the funds of your organization are being spent within the limitations set forth in your answers to questions 1 and 2?

B–4. Who determines what gifts, grants, loans, contributions, or expenditures are to be made by your organization?

B–5. On what are the determinations specified in question 4 based?

B–6. With whom do proposals submitted to the person, persons, or group named in your answer to question 4 for gifts, grants, loans, contributions, and expenditures originate?

B–7. Is any individual or group of individuals charged with the duty of originating and developing plans, programs, and proposals for the distribution of your funds?

B–8. If the answer to question 7 is in the affirmative, state the names and positions of such persons.

B–9. Was an investigation of each individual named or specified in your answers to questions 3, 4, 7, and 8 made into his or her background and qualifications before he or she was elected, appointed, employed, or otherwise entrusted with his or her duties or responsibilities?

B–10. If the answer to question 9 is in the affirmative, give details as to the nature of such investigations, the manner in which they were conducted, and by whom.

B–11. If the answer to question 9 is in the affirmative, state when such investigations were first instituted.

B–12. If the answer to question 9 is in the affirmative, state the reasons for making such investigations, whether there has been any change in the policy of your organization in relation thereto, and, if so, the date and reasons therefor.

B–13. If the answer to question 9 is in the affirmative, state whether the results of such investigations were reduced to writing or if any memoranda were made in connection therewith.

B–14. If the answer to question 13 is in the affirmative, state whether such writings or memoranda (*a*) were extant as of January 1951, (*b*) are extant now, and (*c*) if extant, the person, firm, corporation, or organization in whose possession or custody they are.

B–15. If the answer to question 9 is in the affirmative, state whether any such investigation revealed any person hired or employed by or affiliated with your organization who at the time of the investigation had or prior thereto had had any affiliations with communist front organizations.

B–16. If the answer to question 15 is in the affirmative, state the name or names of such person or persons.

B–17. If the answer to question 9 is in the negative, state whether such investigations were ever considered or discussed by your organization or the trustees, board of directors, or officers thereof, and, if so, by whom and the basis of any decision reached in connection therewith.

B–18. If the answer to question 15 is in the affirmative, state what action was taken by your organization with reference to such person or persons.

B–19. What steps, if any, have been or are being taken to prevent infiltration of your organization by subversive persons?

B–20. If the answer to question 19 is in the negative, state whether you think it necessary or advisable to initiate procedures to prevent possible infiltration of subversives into your organization; and, if so, whether you intend to do so and the general routine of the intended procedures.

SECTION C

C–1. Have any gifts, grants, loans, contributions, or expenditures been made by your organization which were not in accordance with the purpose or purposes defined by the instrument establishing or creating your organization or the permissible activities of your organization set forth in your answers to questions 1 and 2 of section B?

C–2. If the answer to question 1 is in the affirmative, list the amount, recipient, date, and nature of such gift, grant, loan, contribution, or expenditure.

C–3. Does your organization follow up gifts, grants, loans, or contributions made by it to other foundations, agencies, institutions, or groups by investigation to determine the ultimate disposition of such moneys?

C–4. Has any gift, grant, loan, or contribution been made by you to another foundation, agency, organization, institution, or group which in turn made or makes gifts, grants, loans, contributions, or expenditures which are not permissible under your charter or instrument establishing your organization?

C–5. If the answer to question 4 is in the affirmative, list the amount, recipient, date, and nature of each such gift, grant, loan, contribution, or expenditure and the reasons for the making thereof.

C–6. In the making of gifts, grants, loans, contributions, or other expenditures does your organization consult with any other organizations such as the United States Government, educational groups, religious groups, labor groups, veterans' societies, patriotic societies, foreign governments, other foreign agencies? If so, explain.

C–7. List those institutions, operating agencies, publications, specific projects, and individuals which have received aid from your organization and the amounts and years and nature of such aid since 1935. (NOTE.—(*a*) If your filing system is so set up, it is desired that the lists be made up in alphabetical order. (*b*) Lists that are included as sections of published works will be accepted in fulfillment of 7 above.)

SECTION D

D–1. State your definition and your understanding of the meaning of the term "subversive" as that term is commonly used in public print today as applied to the activities of an individual, individuals, groups of individuals, an organization, or an institution in relation to the government of the United States.

D–2. Does your organization make any attempt to determine whether the immediate or eventual recipient (whether an individual, group of individuals, association, institution, or organization) of any grant, gift, loan, contribution, or expenditure made by your organization has been or is "subversive" as you have defined that term in answer to question 1, in advance of and/or after making such grant, gift, loan, contribution, or expenditure?

D–3. If the answer to question 2 is in the affirmative, state the nature of such attempted determination, how made, by whom, whether the results thereof are reduced to writing, and, if so, whether they are extant and where?

D–4. If the answer to question 2 is in the affirmative, state when such attempts were first initiated and why; also state whether such attempts have been made sporadically or whether such is established policy, and if the latter, when such policy was established.

D–5. If the answer to question 2 is in the negative, state whether such attempts were ever considered or discussed by your organization, its trustees, directors, or officers, and if so, by whom and the basis of any decision reached in connection therewith.

D–6. Does your organization check immediate, intermediary, or eventual recipients of grants, gifts, loans, or contributions from your organization against the list of subversive and related organizations prepared by the Attorney General of the United States?*

D–7. If your answer to question 6 is in the affirmative, state whether such listing of an organization by the Attorney General of the United States influences you in the making or withholding of grants, gifts, loans, contributions, or expenditures either directly or indirectly to organizations so listed.

D–8. If your answer to question 6 is in the negative, state the reasons therefor fully.

D–9. Do you consider it your duty or responsibility to consider the possible effects of grants, gifts, loans, or contributions to organizations which have been so listed by the Attorney General of the United States?

D–10. Has your organization made any grants, gifts, loans, contributions, or expenditures either directly or indirectly through other organizations to any organization so listed by the Attorney General of the United States or to any individual, individuals, or organizations considered "subversive" as you have defined that term in answer to question 1?

D–11. If your answer to question 10 is in the affirmative, list the recipient and date of each such grant, gift, loan, contribution, or expenditure and the amount and nature thereof.

D–12. If your answer to question 10 is in the affirmative, state whether you knew such organization had been so listed by the Attorney General or was considered "subversive" at the time you made such grant, gift, loan, contribution, or expenditure.

D–13. If your answer to questions 10 and 12 are both in the affirmative, state your reasons for making such grant, gift, loan, contribution, or expenditure.

D–14. Has your organization made any grant, gift, loan, contribution, or expenditure directly or indirectly to any individual, individuals, group, organization, or institution which grant, gift, loan, contribution, or expenditure or recipient has been criticized or cited by the Un-American Activities Committee of the United States House of Representatives or the Subcommittee on Internal Security of the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate?

D–15. If your answer to question 14 is in the affirmative, list the recipient and date of each such grant, gift, loan, contribution, or expenditure and the amount and nature thereof.

D–16. Does your organization consult the "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," House Document No. 137, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives? If so, for what purpose and to what effect?

*List of organizations designated by the Attorney General as within Executive Order No. 9835 according to the classification of Section 3, Part III, of the Executive Order.

SECTION E

E–1. In your opinion, should educational and philanthropic foundations and other comparable organizations which are exempt from Federal income taxation finance or sponsor projects which may have as a direct result the influencing of public opinion in the fields of politics? Economics? Education? International relations? Religion? Government and Public Administration? Other Fields? Explain fully.

E–2. In your opinion should a tax-exempt foundation which makes a grant to an individual, a group, institution, or organization:

(*a*) Indicate the conclusions to be reached?

(*b*) Withdraw its grant or discontinue it if conclusions different from those held by the foundation are reached?

(*c*) Suppress the findings if they differ from the views of the foundation? Explain fully.

E–3. Explain in detail the activities, if any, of your organization in the field of education both within and outside the territorial limits of the United States. The following questions should be covered fully, but your answer need not be limited thereto:

(*a*) What policies govern your activities in this field, and who formulates said policies?

(*b*) Do you consult individuals or groups other than those employed or otherwise directly connected with your organization in the formulation of policies in this field? Explain.

(*c*) Is an effort made to aid, assist, or support individuals, groups, or projects representing divergent views on controversial educational issues? If so, explain how this is accomplished. If not, explain the reasons therefor.

(*d*) Is any assistance provided by you for projects in this field conducted by religious or sectarian educational groups, associations, schools, colleges, or universities? If so, is an effort made to secure an equal distribution of moneys among the various major religious groups or sects? If such an effort is not made, why is it not made?

(*e*) With whom do you consult with regard to financing educational projects outside the territorial limits of the United States? Do you consult with any United States Government agencies, including the United States State Department?

(*f*) In your opinion, what effect, if any, has your organization had on education in the United States? In other countries?

(*g*) Does your organization directly or indirectly sponsor or otherwise support proposed or pending State or Federal legislation within the United States or legislation in foreign countries in the field of education? Explain.

(*h*) In your opinion what effect have educational and philanthropic foundations and comparable organizations had on education in the United States? In other countries?

E–4. Explain in detail the activities of your organization in the field of international relations both within and outside the territorial limits of the United States. The following questions should be covered fully, but your answer need not be limited thereto:

(*a*) What policies govern your activities in this field and who formulates said policies?

(*b*) Do you consult individuals or groups other than those employed or otherwise directly connected with your organization in the formulation of your policies in this field? Explain fully.

(*c*) Is an effort made to aid, assist, or support individuals, groups, or projects representing divergent views on controversial international issues? If so, explain how this is accomplished. If not, explain the reasons therefor.

(*d*) Explain in detail the relationship your organization has had with the League of Nations and the United Nations or any of its related agencies.

(*e*) Explain in detail your relationship with the State Department and any other Government agencies in this field.

(*f*) In your opinion, what effect, if any, has your organization had on the foreign policies of the United States? On the policies of the United Nations? On the policies of other nations?

(*g*) Does your organization directly or indirectly sponsor or support any proposed or

pending State or Federal legislation or legislation in foreign countries in the field of international relations?

(h) In your opinion, what effect, if any, have educational and philanthropic foundations and comparable organizations had on international relations? On the foreign policies of the United States? On the policies of the United Nations? On the policies of other nations?

E–5. Explain in detail the activities of your organization in the field of government and public administration. The following questions should be answered fully, but your answer need not be limited thereto:

(a) What policies govern your activities in this field, and who formulates said policies?

(b) Do you consult individuals or groups other than those employed or otherwise directly connected with your organization in the formulation of your policies in this field? Explain fully.

(c) Is an effort made to aid, assist, or support individuals, groups, or projects representing divergent views on controversial governmental and public administration issues? If so, explain how this is accomplished. If not, explain the reasons therefor.

(d) Explain in detail your relationship with United States Government agencies in this field.

(e) Does your organization directly or indirectly sponsor or support pending or proposed State, Federal, or foreign legislation in this field? Explain.

(f) In your opinion, what effect has your organization had on governmental and public administration matters in the United States? In other countries?

(g) In your opinion, what effect have educational and philanthropic foundations and comparable organizations had on governmental and public administration matters in the United States? In other countries?

E–6. Explain in detail the activities of your organization in the field of economics. The following questions should be answered fully, but your answer need not be limited thereto:

(a) What policies govern your activities in this field, and who formulates said policies?

(d) Do you consult individuals or groups other than those employed or otherwise directly connected with your organization in the formulation of policies in this field? Explain fully.

(c) Is an effort made to aid, assist, or support individuals, groups, or projects representing divergent views on controversial economic issues? If so, explain how this is accomplished. If not, explain the reasons therefor.

(d) In your opinion, what effect has your organization had on the economic life of the United States?

(e) Does your organization directly or indirectly sponsor or otherwise support proposed or pending State or Federal legislation in the field of economics? Explain.

(f) In your opinion, what effect have educational and philanthropic foundations and comparable organizations had on the economic life of the United States?

E–7. (a) Has your organization ever contributed any funds to any individual, individuals, group, or organization within or without the United States for political purposes? Explain.

(b) Has your organization ever contributed any funds to any individual, individuals, group, or organization for nonpolitical purposes, which funds were nevertheless actually used for political purposes? Explain.

SECTION F

F–1. Is your organization engaged in any activities in foreign countries other than those which you have indicated in your answers to prior sections of this questionnaire? Explain fully.

F–2. Does your organization maintain offices or agents in any foreign country?

F–3. If your answer to question 2 is in the affirmative, explain fully, giving the number of agents in each country who are employees, the nature of their duties, the amounts which they are paid and by whom.

F–4. Does your organization promote activities in any foreign country through any foreign organizations or foreign individuals not in your employ? Explain fully.

F–5. If you are engaged in any activities in foreign countries, state the amount of your average annual total budget for such activities during the past 5 years, and give the proportion of such budget to the total amount expended by you during the same period in the United States.

F–6. Does your organization deal directly with the governments of foreign countries in which funds are spent or activity is promoted? Do you deal with any particular political party or group in said countries? Explain fully.

F–7. Is any agent, employee, or affiliate of your organization engaged in political activities in any foreign country? If so, explain fully.

F–8. If your organization is engaged in any activity in foreign countries, do you consult with reference thereto with the United States Department of State? Explain fully.

SECTION G

G–1. What, in your opinion, is the function of tax-exempt philanthropic and educational foundations in society today? Are they supplying a vital need? If so, to what extent?

G–2. In your opinion, could the functions of foundations be effectively performed by government? Explain your answer fully.

G–3. State as succinctly as possible your views on the following:

(*a*) What contributions to society have foundations made to date?

(*b*) Have they succeeded in making the maximum use of their potentialities?

(*c*) What mistakes, if any, have they made?

(*d*) What are the principal difficulties they face in achieving maximum results?

G–4. In your opinion, has the public a direct interest in tax-exempt foundations and comparable organizations? State the reasons for your answer fully.

G–5. In your opinion, is some form of governmental regulation of foundations necessary or desirable?

G–6. If your answer to question 5 is in the affirmative, give your reasons therefor and state the form such regulation should take.

G–7. If your answer to question 5 is in the negative, give the reasons for your view.

G–8. Do you believe that the charters or other instruments creating educational and philanthropic foundations and comparable organizations should specifically describe the type of activity in which the foundation will engage? Or do you feel it is sufficient to indicate the organization's purpose in general terms as "promotion of human welfare," "diffusion of knowledge," "betterment of mankind"? Explain.

G–9. Do you feel that any limits should be placed on educational and philanthropic foundations and comparable organizations as to the size of endowment, legal life, right of trustees to spend its capital funds, etc.?

SECTION H

H–1. If you have any views or suggestions concerning educational and philanthropic foundations which you have not covered elsewhere in your answers to this questionnaire, the committee will welcome them.

SECTION I

I–1. Name and identify those persons, firms, or organizations, both within and outside your organization which have had responsibility for preparing the answers to this questionnaire.

I–2. State whether you have consulted with the representatives of other foundations with reference to this questionnaire and the answers thereto after receipt of this questionnaire.

I–3. If your answer to question 2 is in the affirmative, give the names, addresses, and titles of those persons with whom you have consulted.

I–4. State whom, if anyone, you have consulted with reference to this questionnaire in any branch, department, or agency of the United States Government other than the representatives of the Select Committee submitting this questionnaire. Give the names and titles of such individuals.

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 24488

COPY

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
House of Representatives
Selected Committee to
Investigate Foundations and Other Organizations

October 2, 1952

Carnegie Endowment for
International Peace
405 West 117th Street
New York 27, New York

Gentlemen:

House Resolution 561 of the Eighty Second Congress, Second Session, authorized and directed the Select Committee of the House of Representatives, of which I am Chairman, "to conduct a full and complete investigation and study of educational and philanthropic foundations and other comparable organizations which are exempt from Federal income taxation to determine which such foundations and organizations are using their resources for purposes other than the purposes for which they were established, and especially to determine which such foundations and organizations are using their resources for un-American and subversive activities or for purposes not in the interest or tradition of the United States," and to report the results of its investigation and study by January 1, 1953, together with such recommendations as are, by the Committee, deemed advisable.

In carrying out the mandate of the House, the Committee is submitting the enclosed questionnaire with the request that you give it your prompt and careful attention.

You can assist the Committee by making full, frank and direct answers to the questions submitted to you. It is believed that if your answers are made without consultation with other foundations or agencies the Committee will receive the benefit of a broader cross-section of informed and independent opinion than would result from any collaborative effort.

The Committee believes that the questionnaire can be completed and returned to the Committee within three weeks of its receipt. We should appreciate it, if, within one week after the receipt of this letter and questionnaire, you would notify us by letter as to when, in your opinion, your questionnaire will be in our hands, so that we can plan accordingly. In the event that you have any questions, you can communicate directly with Mr. Harold M. Keele, Counsel for the Committee, or with his staff at the offices of the Committee - 304 House Office Building, Washington, D. C. Telephone National 3120, Extensions 2243 and 2244.

Very truly yours,

(signed) E. E. Cox

E. E. Cox, M. C.
Chairman

8P

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR

INTERNATIONAL PEACE

TRUSTEES CALENDAR

1951-52

Semi-Annual Meeting

Monday, December 10, 1951

Annual Meeting

Thursday, May 9, 1952

OFFICERS

Chairman of the Board: John Foster Dulles

Vice Chairman: Harvey H. Bundy

President: Joseph E. Johnson
405 West 117th Street, New York 27, N. Y.
(Telephone UNiversity 4-1850)

President Emeritus: James T. Shotwell
405 West 117th Street, New York 27, N. Y.
(Telephone UNiversity 4-1850)

Vice President and Treasurer: David Rockefeller
30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y.
(Telephone CIrcle 7-3700)

Secretary: Leslie Paffrath
405 West 117th Street, New York 27, N. Y.
(Telephone UNiversity 4-1850)

Assistant Treasurer: George R. Thomson
18 Pine Street, New York 15, N. Y.
(Telephone HAnover 2-6000)

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DAVID P. BARROWS, Berkeley, California	
University of California, Zone 5	Ashberry 6000
85 Parkside Drive, Zone 5	Olympic 5608
WM. MARSHALL BULLITT, Louisville, Kentucky	
1700 Kentucky Home Life Bldg., Zone 2	Jackson 1144
"Oxmoor", Route 6	(?)
HARVEY H. BUNDY, Boston, Massachusetts	
30 State Street, Zone 9	Capitol 7-5020
191 Commonwealth Avenue, Zone 16	Commonwealth 6-3722
Manchester, Massachusetts	Manchester 2
W. W. CHAPIN, San Francisco, California	
544 Market Street, Zone 4	Sutter 1-1700
2108 Washington Street, Zone 9	West 1-7800
BEN M. CHERRINGTON, Denver, Colorado	
Director, Social Science Foundation,	
University of Denver, Zone 10	Spruce 2717
631 Vine Street, Zone 6	Fremont 5651
MARGARET CLAPP, Wellesley, Massachusetts	
President, Wellesley College	(?)
(Home address ?)	(?)
DAVID L. COLE, Paterson, New Jersey	
45 Church Street, Zone 1	(?)
15 Overlook Avenue, Zone 2	(?)
LEE A. DUBRIDGE, Pasadena, California	
California Institute of Technology	(?)
(Home address ?)	(?)
JOHN FOSTER DULLES, Washington, D. C.	
Room 3117, New State Building	Republic 5600
Department of State, Zone 25	
2425 Kalorama Road	Michigan 4929
FREDERICK S. DUNN, New Haven, Connecticut	
Yale Institute of International Studies	
Yale University	(?)
(Home address ?)	(?)
DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, Paris, France	
SHAPE	
Hotel Astor	

TRUSTEES

GEORGE A. FINCH, Washington, D. C.	
1422 F Street N.W., Zone 4	Sterling 9097
100 Virgilia Street, Chevy Chase 15, Md.	Wisconsin 3164
DOUGLAS S. FREEMAN, Richmond, Virginia	
1 Harlan Circle, Hampton Gardens, Zone 21	Richmond 5-1234
EARL G. HARRISON, Philadelphia, Pa.	
1719 Packard Building, Zone 2	Rittenhouse 6-0380
Moylan, Rose Valley, Delaware Co., Pa.	(?)
PHILIP C. JESSUP, Washington, D. C.	
Room 5116, New State Building	Republic 5600
Department of State, Zone 25	
(Home address ?)	(?)
JOSEPH E. JOHNSON, New York, New York	
405 West 117th Street, Zone 27	University 4-1850
Buxton, Northwest Hill Road,	
Williamstown, Massachusetts	Williamstown 997-M
EDWARD R. MURROW, New York, New York	
Columbia Broadcasting System	
485 Madison Avenue, Zone 22	Plaza (?)-2000
(Home address ?)	(?)
OTTO L. NELSON, JR., New York, New York	
51 Madison Avenue, Zone 10	Murray Hill 5-5000
65 So. Stanworth Dr., Princeton, N. J.	Princeton 2336-M
O. FREDERICK NOLDE, New York, New York	
World Council of Churches	
297 4th Avenue, Zone 10	Gramercy 5-3475
602 East Lane, Chestnut Hill	
Philadelphia 18, Pa.	Chestnut Hill 7-3328
ELLMORE C. PATTERSON, New York, New York	
J. P. Morgan and Co.	
23 Wall Street, Zone 8	H anover (?)-2323
(Home address ?)	(?)
PHILIP D. REED, New York, New York	
570 Lexington Avenue, Zone 22	Plaza 5-1311
Sunset Lane, Rye, New York	Rye 7-0184
DAVID ROCKEFELLER, New York, New York	
30 Rockefeller Plaza, Zone 20	Circle 7-3700
146 East 65th Street, Zone 21	Trafalgar 9-8757

TRUSTEES

EDWARD L. RYERSON, Chicago, Illinois	
Room 1100, 38 S. Dearborn Street, Zone 3	Central 6-7920
1431 Astor Street, Zone 10	Superior 7-3498
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100 Hiram Sibley Building, Zone 7	Stone 0013
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W. W. WAYMACK, Adel, Iowa	
R.F.D. No. 3	Dallas Center 4220
HENRY M. WRISTON, Providence, R. I.	
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JAMES T. Shotwell, New York, New York	
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2416 Tracy Place, N.W., Zone 8	Hobart 1723
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NEW YORK OFFICE

405 West 117th Street, New York 27, N. Y.

(Telephone, UNiversity 4-1850)

PARIS OFFICE

173 Boulevard Saint-Germain, Paris VI, France

(Telephone, Littré 88.50)

must by now have been brutally confirmed by events as the dictatorship consolidated itself by its own inherent means.

None of this is said to impugn the attitude of these two reporters or to suggest that their report is politically colored. They attempted to be even-handed and hard-headed. Their object, they say, was to write a book that would not appeal to special pleaders on either side, but simply to report what we say and heard. Unfortunately, they did not see or hear enough or understand enough of what they did see and hear. They have illustrated in the process what a gross misjudgment it is to identify the Communist movement, as such, with the revolutionary impulses of the Chinese people. They have shown us how much we still have to learn about the nature of the Communist power mechanism.

Investigation of Certain Educational and Philanthropic Foundations

SPEECH

OF

HON. E. E. COX

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 1, 1951

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced a resolution to create a special committee to conduct a full and complete investigation and study of educational and philanthropic foundations and other comparable organizations which are exempt from Federal income taxation, to determine which such foundations are using their resources for purposes other than the purposes for which they were established, and, specifically, to determine which such foundations and organizations are using their resources for un-American and subversive activities or for purposes not in the interest or tradition of the United States.

The resolution is not intended to raise suspicion against all foundations. Those that have restricted themselves to health, medical research, and popular culture have, as a rule, carried on in admirable fashion. In this class there might be mentioned the Kellogg Foundation, the Duke Endowment, the Hayden Foundation, the Mellon Trust, the Falk Foundation, the Donner Foundation, the Milbank Fund, the Commonwealth Fund, and many others; but of those that have operated in the fields of social reform and international relations, many have brought down upon themselves harsh and just condemnation.

To be specific let me give you a few examples of what I am talking about.

The Negro poet, Langston Hughes, author of the poem, Good-by Christ, which urges Jesus to "beat it on away from here now" and to "make way for—Marx, Communist Lenin, Peasant Stalin, Worker Me," last heard of as a "poet in residence" at the Rockefeller supported University of Chicago, was the recipient of a Guggenheim fellowship in 1935, and of fellowships from the Rosenwald Fund in 1931 and 1941. In 1946 he received a grant from the National Institute of Arts and Letters.

When Hans Eisler, brother of the top Soviet Agent Gerhardt Eisler, was about to be expelled from the United States because he was a Communist, Dr. Alvin S. Johnson, then director of the New School for Social Research, intervened and persuaded James L. Houghteling, then Commissioner of the Bureau of Immigration, to let Eisler remain in the United States in order that he might engage him as a teacher in his New School for Social Research. He then secured a grant of $20,160 from the Rockefeller Foundation to defray the costs of a music study project to be conducted by Eisler at the New School. All of this was done with the full knowledge that Eisler was a Communist and in this country to spread the doctrine of communism.

The writer, Louis Adamic, a member of or sponsor for 38 Communist organizations, and whose entire literary life has been given to propagandizing for Communist Russia—and more recently Communist Yugoslavia—has worked the various foundations for continuous subsidies. At one time he was given a fellowship by the Guggenheim Foundation worth $2,500. He received a grant-in-aid from the Rockefeller Foundation in 1937. Later, in 1940, he obtained a grant-in-aid from the Carnegie Corp. to enable him to write his book, From Many Lands. In 1942 he was given two additional grants-in-aid by the Carnegie Corp. to write Two Way Passage and What's Your Name?

Through his Communist friends in the information-education branches of the Army in wartime, Adamic was able to arrange for the distribution of 50,000 copies of his book Native's Return among enlisted men. This book was distinctly pro-Russian.

The Public Affairs Committee, supported by the Sloan Foundation, was the publisher of another of Adamic's books, America and the Refugees.

A grant of $110,000 was made by the Rockefeller Foundation in 1947 to Cornell University to conduct a study of "civil liberties and the control of subversive activities." The administration of this grant was then turned over to Prof. Walter F. Gellhorn, of Columbia University, who has himself been the subject of investigation by the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives. Professor Gellhorn's qualifications to investigate subversive activities are high-lighted by the fact that he is a member of the National Lawyers Guild and the International Juridical Association. It will be recalled that the Un-American Activities Committee has branded the National Lawyers Guild as the "legal bulwark of the Communist Party" and as "an agent of a foreign principal hostile to the interests of the United States." Attention should also be called to the fact that a committee of the California Legislature described the International Juridical Association as an organization which has specialized in the defense of individual Communists or of the Communist Party itself. It has followed the Communist Party line without deviation.

Gellhorn has also been affiliated with the Open Road, an activity headed by the millionaire Communist, Frederick Vanderbilt Field, and has outspokenly demanded the abolition of the Un-American Activities Committee.

The Rockefeller Foundation, whose funds have been used to finance individuals and organizations whose business it has been to get communism into the private and public schools of the country, to talk down America and to play up Russia, must take its share of the blame for the swing of the professors and students in China to communism during the years preceding the successful Red revolution in China. For two generations, the Rockefeller Foundation played a guiding role in higher education in China. Over a period of 32 years $45,000,000 of Rockefeller money was expended in China, most of it going to Chinese institutions of higher learning. If the Rockefeller fund spenders had had even an elementary conception of what was going on among the Chinese teachers and students, they would have taken steps to halt the stampede of the Chinese colleges to communism. When the crisis of the Chinese Revolution came it was the student and teacher element, educated largely with Rockefeller money, who were the backbone of the Red success. Our boys are now suffering and dying in Korea, in part, because Rockefeller money encouraged trends in the Chinese colleges and schools which swung China's intelligentsia to communism.

Again the Rockefeller Foundation, in 1944, made a grant of half a million dollars for the translation and publication in this country of Soviet books. The executive head of the organization which received this grant, the American Council of Learned Societies, was the head of the committee which raised funds for the defense of John S. Service when he was revealed in 1945 as a purveyor of information to the Amerasia spy ring.

Owen Lattimore, who played such an important part in the betrayal of China and the delivery of the mainland of that country into the hands of the Communists, is a past master in extracting money from the various foundations. The Walter Hines Page School of International Relations, which he heads, regularly milks the foundations. For instance, in 1949, the Carnegie Corp. gave Lattimore's school $75,000.

Guggenheim money was used to spread radicalism throughout the country to an extent not excelled by any other foundation. Among those with Red records who have received Guggenheim fellowships are the following: Louis Adamic, Newton Arvin, Peggy Bacon, Carleton Beals, Albert Bein, Alvah Bessie, Marc Blitzstein, Kenneth Burke, Harriet Buckmaster, Jack Conroy, Aaron Copland, Adolph Dehn, Angner Enters, Kenneth Fearing, Hallie Flanagan, Mordecai Gorelik, William Gropper, Albert Halper, Josephine Herbst, Granville Hicks, Abram L. Harris, Maurice Hindus, Langston Hughes, Rolfe Humphries, Joe Jones, Otto Klineberg, Owen Lattimore, Douglas S. Moore, Carey McWilliams, Lewis Mumford, Alexander, North, Max Nomad, Saul K. Padover, Nathaniel Peffer, Bernard Reiss, Earl Robinson, Isidor Schneider, Harry Slochower, Maxwell S. Stewart, Tom Tippett, Genevieve Taggard, Charles R. Walker, Edmund Wilson, Richard Wright and William E. Zeuch.

The resources of the Rosenwald Fund, now finally exhausted, were disbursed irresponsibility to aid organizations which made a profession of stirring up class and race dissension throughout the South. Among leading Communists and Communist fronters who received fellowships from the fund were Langston Hughes, W. E. B. DuBois, Claude McKay, Clark Foreman, James Dombrowski, Ira de A. Reid, Lilliam Smith, Shirley Graham, Pearl Primus, Horace Clayton, and John P. Davis.

Another notorious situation in the foundation field is the Robert Marshall Foundation. This fund, it has been revealed by the inquiries of the Un-American Activities Committee, is devoted almost exclusively to the aid and subsidy of organizations working for communism in America. One of its trustees, and the dominating figure in the foundation, George Marshall, recently served a prison sentence for refusing to divulge information to the Committee on Un-American Activities concerning the Communist-front Civil Right Congress, of which he is chairman.

The Robert Marshall Foundation, in a period of 2 years, allocated approximately $100,000 to a group of organizations all of which have been cited by the Un-American Activities Committee as Communist fronts, including the American Youth Congress, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, the National Negro Congress, and the Southern Negro Youth Congress, which have been listed by the Department of Justice as subversive and Communist.

Mr. Speaker, these instances are only a few examples, among many of the tragic misuse of foundation money. Over a comparatively short period of time, the foundations have become a powerful and unregulated factor in our national life, enjoying Federal subsidy through tax exemption. The Sloane Foundation, which has since changed its policy and is now being careful not to have any more of its funds used for un-American purposes, has recently estimated the annual spending of the foundations in America as $100,000,000 per year. This huge amount, if administered irresponsibly, can do an incalculable amount of harm in misguiding American public opinion. There are disquieting evidences that at least a few of the foundations have permitted themselves to be infiltrated by men and women who are disloyal to our American way of life. They should be investigated and exposed to the pitiless light of publicity, and appropriate legislation should be framed to correct the present disquieting situation.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I submit that the resolution is deserving of the serious consideration of those who fear for the safety of our country.

July 12, 1951

Dear Joe:

This is the first day of my vacation and almost literally my first opportunity to catch up with months of belated correspondence. The main purpose of this is to say that I have read with some considerable care not only your letter, but relevant passages in Freda Utley's "The China Story". I think you should have sued for a few million dollars and thereby increase the funds of the Endowment. I send you my best salute and I look forward to seeing you again in the autumn.

As ever yours,

E. R. Murrow

(Dictated but not signed by Mr. Murrow)

SP

Mr. Joseph E. Johnson
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
405 West 117th Street
New York 27, New York

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE
405 WEST 117TH STREET, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

JOSEPH E. JOHNSON
PRESIDENT

57

May 31, 1951

To the Trustees
of the Carnegie Endowment -

I enclose for your information a copy of a letter which I am today sending to the Henry Regnery Company concerning a serious libel about me which appears in the book "The China Story" by Freda Utley recently published by that company.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph E. Johnson

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

405 WEST 117TH STREET, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

JOSEPH E. JOHNSON
PRESIDENT

May 31, 1951

Henry Regnery Company
20 West Jackson Boulevard
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Sirs:

In "The China Story," by Freda Utley, recently published by your Company, there appears on page 121 the following passage:

"It is here important to call attention to the subtle maneuvering that enabled one member of the Communist sympathizing cabal in Washington and New York to replace another whenever suspicions were aroused. When, for instance, a leakage of top secret information was traced to the Division of International Security Affairs (whose function was to service the United States representatives in the United Nations), its chief, Joseph E. Johnson, resigned. Johnson had formerly been Alger Hiss's top assistant at the State Department. He was subsequently to be appointed to the post Hiss held when he was indicted for perjury - president of the Carnegie Foundation (sic!) for International Peace. Meanwhile, Dean Rusk, thanks perhaps to his former association with Hiss and Johnson, became Under Secretary of State.

"Dean Rusk and Joseph E. Johnson may be wholly free from any Communist sympathies, but it is a curious fact that neither has ever questioned the bona fides of the Chinese Communists. Moreover, Dean Rusk has proved that he must be classified among the dupes of the Chinese Communists. For on June 14, 1950, he told the World Affairs Council Conference of the University of Pennsylvania, that the Chinese 'Revolution' is 'not Russian in essence' and 'does not aim at dictatorship.'"

This passage is false and misleading, both in its supposed statement of facts and in the innuendoes created therefrom.

To give one example, the statement that I resigned as Chief of the Division of International Security Affairs when "a leakage of top secret information was traced to the Division" is entirely untrue. So far as I know, no leakage of top secret information was ever traced to the Division. Furthermore, I never resigned as Chief of the Division but instead, in May, 1947, was promoted to the newly created Policy Planning Staff of the Department of State. The following August (1947),

I resigned from the Department of State to return to the faculty of Williams College. In this connection, when I left the Department the Acting Secretary of State, Mr. Robert A. Lovett, wrote me as follows:

> "Although we have been aware that your services were available only temporarily to the Department while you were on leave from the faculty of Williams College, it is with reluctance that I accept your resignation as an officer of the Department of State and a member of the Policy Planning Staff.
>
> "During your five years with the Department of State you have served with ability and distinction. You have made a genuine contribution to the work of the Department during those years, both in Washington and in the international conferences you have attended.
>
> "I am grateful for your offer of future assistance and you may be sure that we shall take advantage of that offer.
>
> "The good wishes of your associates here go with you as you return to Williams College."

My election as President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace was as successor to Dr. James T. Shotwell and was in no way whatever connected with Mr. Hiss.

The statement that I have never "questioned the bona fides of the Chinese Communists" is curious. Being no expert on China and never having been directly concerned with China policy during my five years connected with the Department of State, I have had little occasion to speak publicly about the Chinese Communists. I believe, however, and have so stated on several occasions, that the men in control of the Chinese People's Republic are true Communists and not "agrarian reformers." As for Communism in general, I abhor it and all that it stands for. I should find it impossible knowingly to associate myself with any organization or group which accepts or endorses the totalitarian, anti-democratic concepts of Soviet Communism or the ruthless dictatorship of the Kremlin,

Among many statements which I have made about Communism were the following, included in a speech I gave on February 17, 1951 (the full text of this speech, delivered before the Thirteenth Annual National Farm Institute in Des Moines, Iowa, appears in "Our Part in Building a Free World" published by the Agricultural Department of the Des Moines Chamber of Commerce):

> "What are the aims and objectives of the men in the Kremlin? I cannot give a detailed answer, but I have reached the conclusion - and this is not new or unique - that they want somewhere, some way, some time, to dominate the world and to destroy what they call 'bourgeois' capitalistic society. We know so little about what is

going on behind the iron curtain that we can't even be sure on this point, but it seems to me to be true . . .

"There is one thing about Soviet policy, however, that I think can be straightened out now. During the last five years many of us in the West have been confused by the feeling that perhaps our own errors and our own unwillingness to meet the Soviet Union 'half way' have been at least partly responsible for Soviet activities. There is little evidence to support that feeling, but much to support a statement made by Barbara Ward in her book, 'Policy for the West.' She said, 'The Western Powers can . . . deplore Soviet hostility. They can fear it, they can seek to understand it, they can look for ways of deflecting it. But there is one thing they cannot do - they cannot take any blame for it. It is self-caused and self-sustained and even if the years since the war had been one long record of Western acceptance, compliance and accommodation, the hostility of the Soviet world would have remained as intense as it is. For one thing only assuages it - the certainty of total control.'

"It follows from what I have said about the Soviet Union that the Russians will scorn conciliatory attitudes, scorn proposals for compromise, scorn attempts to reach agreement, considering these to be signs of weakness unless they stem from a position of strength."

As you will see from the above, the statements concerning me in Miss Utley's book constitute a serious libel. I will expect to hear from you shortly.

Very truly yours,

s JOSEPH E. JOHNSON

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE
405 WEST 117TH STREET, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

JOSEPH E. JOHNSON
PRESIDENT

June 19, 1951

To the Trustees
of the Carnegie Endowment -

With further reference to my communication of May 31, I am sending herewith for your confidential information a copy of a letter which I received from the Henry Regnery Company under date of June 8, with the enclosure thereto, and a copy of my reply. As far as I am concerned, this closes the matter as, on advice of counsel, I shall not sue.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph E. Johnson

June 19, 1951

Mr. Henry Regnery, President
Henry Regnery Company
20 West Jackson Boulevard
Chicago 4, Illinois

Dear Sir:

I have your letter of June 8. The revised text which you submit represents a substantial improvement over the former text in that it eliminates a number of untrue statements concerning me. Since, however, I do not approve of the tenor of this text and did not furnish all of the supposed facts, I do not wish a footnote.

Very truly yours,

(signed) JOSEPH E. JOHNSON

HENRY REGNERY COMPANY - PUBLISHERS
20 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago 4, Illinois - WEbster 9-3854

June 8, 1951

Mr. Joseph E. Johnson
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
405 West 117th Street
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

This is in answer to your letter of May 31st.

It was our purpose in publishing THE CHINA STORY to bring out the facts which led to the debacle in China and the Far East, in the hope that such a presentation would lead to clarification of the issues involved, and to the alleviation, as far as possible, of the situation. This major objective should not be obscured by any unnecessary factual controversies.

Miss Utley has therefore rewritten, for the next and future editions of the book, the two paragraphs to which you object. A copy of the revision is enclosed.

If you wish, we will add a footnote that the references to you have been altered to conform to facts furnished by you.

Sincerely yours,

(signed) HENRY REGNERY

Henry Regnery, President

Regnary--China Story--Corrections for p. 121, from line 7 to end

It is important here to call attention to the manner in which the members of the "progressive" group in Washington and New York managed to replace each other in important positions inside and outside the Administration. For instance, after Alger Hiss resigned from the State Department to become Director of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Dean Acheson recommended Dean Rusk to take Hiss' place as Director of the Office of Special Political Affairs. Rusk had formerly served under Joseph E. Johnson who, as Chief of the Division of International Security Affairs, under the Special Political Affairs Office, had been chief assistant to Alger Hiss. In 1949, Rusk stepped higher up the ladder of preferment, becoming First Assistant, and then Deputy Under Secretary of State. Today Johnson, who resigned from the State Department in 1947 to return to teaching at Williams College, holds the position with the Carnegie Endowment held by Alger Hiss when he was indicted for perjury.

Dean Rusk may be wholly free of any Communist sympathies, but he has proved that he must be classed among the dupes of the Chinese Communists. Not even Mao Tse-tung or Stalin ever ventured to give such a clean bill of health to the Chinese Communists as he. On June 14, 1950, Dean Rusk told the World Affairs Council Conference of the University of Pennsylvania, that the Chinese "Revolution" is "not Russian in essence" and "does not aim at dictatorship." He went further than almost any other State Department official in his desire to represent the Chinese Communists as good liberals who follow the American ideal. For he said that "the Revolution in China" is comparable "to the American revolt against the British."

N. B. Reset the first 6 lines of p. 121 to make 7, if these two new paragraphs are 1 line short.

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EDWARD R MURROW,CBS

IT IS MY PLEASURE TO INFORM YOU THAT AT ANNUAL MEETING
BOARD OF TRUSTEES CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE
TODAY YOU WERE ELECTED TO MEMBERSHIP ON BOARD I UNDERSTAND
YOU HAVE ALREADY INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO SERVE
THEREFORE WELCOME YOU AS NEW MEMBER THIS ORGANIZATION MR JOSEPH JOHNSON
PRESIDENT WILL COMMUNICATE WITH YOU SHORTLY

JOHN FOSTER DULLES CHAIRMAN OF BOARD CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT
FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

906P..

Confidential

810

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE
(Incorporated, New York, 1929-1930)

MEMBERS OF THE CORPORATION

ANNUAL MEETING

May 10, 1951

- - - - - - - - - -

The annual meeting of members of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace was held at 10:00 a.m., Thursday, May 10, 1951, at the Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, pursuant to due notice.

Mr. John Foster Dulles, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the corporation, acted as Chairman and Mr. Leslie Paffrath, the Secretary of the corporation, kept the minutes of the meeting.

Upon calling of the roll, the following members, constituting a quorum, were present:

David P. Barrows
Harvey H. Bundy
W. W. Chapin
Ben M. Cherrington
John W. Davis
John Foster Dulles
George A. Finch
Joseph E. Johnson
Otto L. Nelson, Jr.
David Rockefeller
W. J. Schieffelin, Jr.
James T. Shotwell
Harper Sibley
Thomas J. Watson
W. W. Waymack

All absent members had communicated their regrets. Mr. Henry M. Wriston, absent because of illness, had designated a proxy. There were also present the following: Mr. George R. Thomson, Assistant Treasurer; Mr. S. Pearce Browning, Jr. of Sullivan & Cromwell, General Counsel; Mr. Charles Lowe, Administrative Assistant.

The Chairman presented the report of the Committee on Nominations, containing recommendations for the election of individuals to fill existing vacancies in the Board of Trustees. The Chairman pointed out, as set forth in the report of the Committee on Nominations, that it was not only necessary to elect nine Trustees to serve for a term of three years but also, because of the resignations of Messrs. Watson and Catlin, to elect two Trustees to serve for terms of two years and, because of the resignations of Messrs. Davis and Wadsworth, to elect two Trustees to serve for terms of one year.

After discussion, upon motion duly made, seconded and unanimously carried, it was

> Resolved, That the report of the Committee on Nominations is hereby approved and that the following individuals are reëlected as Trustees of the Endowment to serve for three year terms:
>
> Mr. Harvey H. Bundy
> Mr. W. W. Chapin
> Mr. Ben M. Cherrington
> Mr. John Foster Dulles
> General Dwight D. Eisenhower
> Mr. Otto L. Nelson, Jr.
>
> and that the following individuals are elected members of the corporation and are also elected as Trustees to serve for three year terms:
>
> To succeed Mr. Francis P. Gaines -- Mr. Frederick S. Dunn
> " " Mr. Peter Molyneaux -- Mr. Ellmore C. Patterson
> " " Dr. James T. Shotwell -- Mr. O. Frederick Nolde
>
> and that the following individuals are elected members of the corporation and are also elected as Trustees to serve for two year terms:
>
> To succeed Mr. Thomas J. Watson -- Miss Margaret Clapp
> " " Mr. Daniel K. Catlin -- Mr. Edward R. Murrow
>
> and that the following individuals are elected members of the

corporation and are also elected as Trustees to serve for one year terms:

To succeed Mr. John W. Davis -- Mr. Lee A. DuBridge
" " Mr. Eliot Wadsworth -- Mr. David L. Cole

Mr. Thomas J. Watson, in explaining that he had submitted his resignation as Trustee in advance of the time when, through drawing by class, he would have retired and become an Honorary Trustee, stressed that this action reflected no lessening of his interest in the work of the Carnegie Endowment. He stated that he would always remain available to assist the Endowment's work. Mr. John W. Davis, who had become the first Honorary Trustee in December of 1950, and Dr. James T. Shotwell, President Emeritus, who was to become an Honorary Trustee at the close of the meeting, concurred in the attitude expressed by Mr. Watson. The Chairman expressed appreciation for the past contribution of those who were becoming Honorary Trustees, including the service rendered by Mr. Daniel Catlin and Mr. Eliot Wadsworth who had also tendered their resignations as Trustees, thus becoming Honorary Trustees at the close of the meeting. The Chairman added the hope that all the Honorary Trustees would continue to give counsel, highly valued by the Endowment.

The Report of the Finance Committee was made by the Acting Chairman, Mr. Harper Sibley. It revealed, in a summarization of security holdings as of March 31, 1951, that the estimated yield of holdings based on book value was 4.63% and estimated yield based on market value was 4.00%. Figures were computed to include a Building Fund investment in U.S. Treasury Bills of $200,952. Total income from investments, approximately $520,000, represents the highest in several years and is based

largely on extra dividends on common stocks. Since June 30, 1950, sales have taken place in a number of preferred stocks and a small percentage of selected common stocks. These transactions resulted in a net gain of $390,053, which gain has been applied as an addition to the Endowment's capital funds.

The Report was accepted and ordered filed.

The Chairman expressed the Endowment's appreciation for the work of Mr. Harper Sibley who had served as Acting Chairman of the Finance Committee during the illness which had limited Mr. Arthur A. Ballantine's activity as Chairman of this Committee and had later resulted in Mr. Ballantine's resignation as a Trustee and member.

The Report of the Trustees to the members, submitted in accordance with Article X, Section 1, of the Constitution and By-Laws, was presented, accepted and ordered filed.

There being no further business to come before the meeting, it then adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

Leslie Paffrath, Secretary

INSTITUTE OF
INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION
INCORPORATED
2 WEST 45TH STREET, NEW YORK 19, N. Y. · MURRAY HILL 7-0630 · CABLE ADDRESS "INTERED"

August 5, 1948

Answered by phone

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

The enclosed statement has been drafted to be used when presenting the Institute's case to corporations. Will you be good enough to review this material critically and to let us have your comments and any suggestions you may wish to make for revisions or changes?

Larry expects to begin intensive work with corporations early in September. It will be very helpful to have your comments on this presentation material which we hope to make as sound and convincing as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Don

Donald J. Shank
Vice President

Enclosure

PROPOSED STATEMENT FOR CORPORATIONS

Because your company has a substantial interest in the stability and expansion of foreign trade, and more specifically because your particular aims can be served directly and profitably, we believe you will wish to consider these brief facts about the program of the Institute of International Education:

1. The function of the Institute -- fostering and directing the interchange of students on the college and university level -- is recognized by governments, educators and industrialists alike as a time-tried and vital road toward the stability of better international understanding.

2. The present status of the Institute -- unique in that there is no other parallel instrumentality -- is that of an organization with 29 years of experience, but which has now been reconstituted and reorganized, from board to staff, in order to handle a new task of unprecedented size and significance.

3. The new task of the Institute -- on top of its regular service -- is to administer substantially all of the program of the Fulbright Act, and to care for the mounting load of servicing qualified foreign students seeking further technical training here in the United States.

4. The financing of this new task -- over and beyond the income of the Institute from all other sources, private and governmental -- offers your company an opportunity both to be of general service in the cause of international education and to further its own legitimate aims in a way that is economical and demonstrably effective.

As you will find by glancing through the accompanying data, the Institute of

International Education was founded in 1919, has since effected the competitive award of 8,868 scholarships, has serviced over 300,000 students and professors, and is today the sole agency dealing with all countries, and all fields of learning, on the function of student interchange.

You will note too that its board and staff have been reorganized, and that its staff now numbers 65 highly trained specialists, operating at the headquarters here in New York, and at offices in Washington.

But the facts of greatest interest to you, in all likelihood, are those pertaining to the program for industry.

Here is the Plan

On competitive awards, and after careful screening both by affiliated scholarly bodies abroad and by our own State Department, the Institute is now bringing to the United States carefully selected foreign students to study in American colleges and universities on scholarships and fellowships. These awards give the most qualified students an opportunity to spend a year or two in American institutions receiving technical academic training. At the completion of this formal education, we now propose to make these students available for practical training in the methods of interested industrial corporations. You will be able to train a foreign national in your methods after he has received years of technical education.

The plan here proposed should be of special interest to you for, among others, the following reasons:

1. The foreign nationals trained by your corporation will be advanced technical students.
2. They will have received, at no cost to you, the finest professional education our American educational institutions can offer.

3. They will have had a year or more to adjust to life in the United States before going to your corporation. This is of the utmost importance since time and effort are saved during a training period if the young man or woman understands and is able to use the English language, is familiar with the American scene and has adjusted to American habits of work, professional relations, business methods, and American products. If the foreign national spends a year in a college or university the adjustment is made before your organization becomes interested in him.
4. The expenses of getting the foreign national to the United States and back to his own country will not be paid by your organization.
5. Upon return to his native country the foreign national will not only have become familiar with the products of American industry, but will be technically qualified to serve in your organization.

Method of Operation

The Institute, for the last 29 years, has worked with American colleges and universities in conducting an exchange of students between our country and the rest of the world. To assure the success of these exchanges, screening committees have been established in many countries. By making the awards competitive, and by maintaining high standards, it has been possible to build our exchange program so that in 1948 approximately 1,000 foreign students were enrolled in this country through the efforts of our organization. These students have been awarded scholarships and fellowships in 214 outstanding American institutions of higher education.

Under the proposed plan, the Institute would continue to place students on scholarships, but at the termination of their academic training would then arrange with your corporation for a period of practical training for those persons in whom you may be interested.

Services of the Institute

Under the proposed plan our organization would render the following services:

1. Arrange for the screening and selection of properly qualified candidates to come to this country for academic training.
2. Arrange with the American colleges and universities for the advanced academic training of the foreign students.
3. Arrange for the transportation of the foreign national to and from the United States.
4. Assist in the legal arrangements with Immigration and Naturalization Service on visa matters, with the Armed Services on matters pertaining to the draft, and other problems which may arise.
5. Insure students for health and accident protection.
6. Supervise the student while he is studying at a college or university.
7. Arrange for orientation courses or special English courses where necessary.
8. Make available to your organization lists of all foreign students in technical fields of interest to your organization.
9. Notify your organization of the students under the auspices of the Institute who may be of interest to you and arrange for training in your organization whenever you and a particular student are interested.

The Industrial Organizations' Part

What you Gain: You will have trained a highly competent foreign national in the methods of your own organization. In many cases this person will be available for employment by you in his native land. In other cases, the person trained by you will be in a position to use your products, knowing their value from personal experience.

By participating in this program you are not only serving the immediate purposes of your stockholders, but also playing a part in helping to bring about economic stability and world peace.

What You Give: We are not unmindful of the fact that even though your organization gains by training foreign nationals in your methods, you are also giving in terms of the training opportunity for the trainee, and the time and effort needed in supervising the activities of the persons you train. You are also giving the foreign trainee an experience of what American industrialists and American laborers are like. Such an experience is really the only lasting way of assuring understanding — by doing together.

Your organization gives in many intangible ways, as mentioned above. We would also ask for tangible participation in the form of contributions to make it possible for this work to continue. The Institute of International Education feels that the benefits derived by your corporation from this plan, both directly and indirectly, are such that contributions could be justified in terms of furthering the purposes of your organization in training future employees, in influencing persons and organizations which will use your product, and in terms of good will in this country and abroad.

Finances

From 1923 to 1947, the Institute was financed almost entirely by the Carnegie Corporation, which since 1939 has increased its annual grants to the Institute from $60,000 to a present level of $150,000.

Meanwhile, in the fall of 1947, the Rockefeller Foundation also came to the support of the Institute by making a two-year grant of $50,000 a year, terminating September 30, 1949.

As the five year budget estimates show (appendix, page 4), the Institute's requirements for free operating funds, excluding fees for services, should be increased from the present level of $224,645 in 1947-48 to an optimum level of $430,000 in 1951-52.

In submitting the total operating budget for the years 1947-48 and 1948-49, the Institute would stress two points, namely: (1) that the critical need has to do primarily with free funds for operating purposes only; and (2) that fees for specific services rendered, while part of the gross picture, do not help carry the Institute's general financial load any more than grants for special projects can solve the general overhead costs of a college or university. The Institute now (1947-48) has six different contracts with various agencies of the United States Government for which it will receive $74,702 in fees this year. Under arrangements with private organizations such as the American Field Service, British Summer Schools, the Brazilian National Service of Industrial Apprenticeship (SENAI), and other organizations, it will receive an additional $70,195 for carrying out specified services. These fees pay the actual costs of the specific services rendered and that is all.

It will be noted, incidentally, that, like any personal service organization, the Institute's costs are largely for personnel -- competent and devoted people in sufficient numbers to carry the load.

> Whether the Institute can take on the additional load it is now being pressed to assume will depend for the most part on whether funds can be made available to attract and hold additional staff of the calibre to meet the Institute's standards.

While adequate administrative funds are the Institute's main concern, it also needs modest free scholarship funds. These would be used as cement in the piecing together process of scholarship funds provided by others. Today, the Institute

has no such funds. It hopes to build up a free scholarship fund to $150,000 per year in 1951-52 given by industrial concerns and individuals.

Why Corporations are Asked to Help

Because of the long-range implications of its program, the Institute hopes that a number of corporations will feel disposed to support student interchange consistently, as a matter of long-range policy.

More immediately, however, the urgent pressures on the Institute for expanded service have created an emergency situation.

We therefore seek a grant on these four grounds:

1. The Institute itself is a time-tested yet newly revised organization: non-competitive, voluntary, and amply responsible.

2. The Institute enjoys the confidence of universities, scientific societies, and governments — both here and overseas.

3. A contribution to the Institute lays no one open to duplicate solicitation for the same function. No other organization is now engaged solely in effecting the interchange of students, and no other organization is in the position of the Institute, as a dynamic intermediary serving educational institutions, scientific societies, and governmental bodies in many lands. It is literally a unique organization, now making a unique request for additional support.

4. The Institute should not depend for support on merely two or three sources, any more than it should serve merely a few colleges and universities. The universal program, we believe, merits universal backing.

Reason for Early Action

How far the Institute can go in meeting the mounting demands for its services depends on the solution of the immediate problem and of the problem of the next five years.

The Institute lacks $17,400 for 1947-48, $86,750 for 1948-49, and $230,000 for 1949-50. In all, this total amount of $334,150 — beyond all current support and in effect a stabilization fund to permit the Institute's orderly expansion — constitutes the immediate problem.

There will remain, of course, a long-range problem for the years to follow, the exact nature of which can be disclosed only by the course of events. The gist of the matter is that the Institute can move no further without responsible assurances soon that $334,150 will be available in the amounts and at the times indicated. Therein lies the urgency for early action.

Subscription Procedure

Preferably, the Institute would welcome a grant covering a period of several years, so that the officers and trustees could better plan how to develop program and broaden the constituency of support. Support for a shorter period, however, would be genuinely welcomed and appreciated.

Checks or securities should be made payable to "Institute of International Education, Inc." Payments on subscriptions may be made at any time in full, or at intervals convenient to the donor.

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Institute of International Education
2 West 45 St., New York 19, New York

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DRAFT

I. What it's all about

Out of the war came a realization by our people of how little we know of other lands. And judging by the number who want to come here, it had the same effect elsewhere. People all over the world are agreeing that so long as they speak to one another only through textbooks, they cannot understand each other and without understanding peace is a will-o-the-wish.

We invite the responsible citizen to consider:

1. That the least tortuous and least costly road to understanding is through the interchange of young people; of college and university students.
2. That the Institute is the ideal instrument to operate and broaden the international exchange of students, because in 29 years it has acquired the necessary experience, knowledge and staff for this task.
3. That our leading foundations and business institutions have a vital stake in the Institute's program; the foundations because of a common vision; the business world because trade and investment thrive best where there live large numbers of persons who have lived among us and learned our techniques and methods.

The following pages are the brief odyssey of the moving, vibrant human story of what has come to be known as the "student interchange" movement. It will tell of the Institute's role, its achievements and frustrations, its plans and dreams for the future, its past and current financing. It will tell what needs to be done in the next five years to make it a going operation that is unique in the United States.

II. Learning through living, studying, and teaching in other lands.

International relations basically are human relations. They have always been human relations, but today the airplane and the radio have made the peoples of other lands our neighbors just as much as those who live down the street. They may have a different language and wear more colorful costumes and they may have different religious and political beliefs but none the less they are our neighbors.

Just as we get to know our next door neighbors not by writing them letters but by talking to them over the back fence and inviting them to our homes, so in the world of today where space has shrunk we don't get to know our overseas neighbors by reading books. We get to know them by living among them and their living among us. No matter how different their politics and their culture may be from ours, when peoples of different countries are together and live under the same roof custom-made strains disappear. If we are ever to have understanding, foreigners and their lands must cease to be mere textbook memories.

Educators and psychologists agree that youth is the period when we learn most rapidly and most accurately; youth learns more rapidly because youth is the period of physical and intellectual growth; youth learns more accurately because it does not bring prejudices and preconceptions to learning and perhaps most important of all, youth has hope.

One of the greatest learning experiences that youth can have is to live and study in another country. The general consensus is that the period of maximum advantage is during the latter years of college and especially during the years of graduate work. By this time, young men and women have developed root in their own cultural tradition so are not blown hither and yon by every cultural wind but still have fresh, open minds curious and eager to learn what their good sense tells them is correct.

Ironically enough, the evils of war brought into existence the first large scale exchange of students between the U.S. and a foreign country. The cause was the Boxer Rebellion and the country, of course, China. Our country wisely returned to China the indemnities we received to provide fellowships for Chinese students to study in the United States. More than _____ Chinese students came to the United States on Boxer Indemnity funds, the last only in 1945. They are the most informed and understanding group in China -- influential in education, commerce, industry and public affairs.

History is repeating itself -- this time on a global scale. With the enactment of the Fulbright Act, monies derived from the sale of surplus war material to foreign countries are to be used to provide scholarships for our students to study in those countries. A portion of the funds will provide travel money for foreign students to come to the United States. It is the largest scholarship operation ever undertaken anywhere. It may involve the expenditure of as much as $250,000,000. It should have incalculable effects in spreading knowledge. It is not accident that the Institute of International Education was requested to administer the student grant program of the Fulbright Act.

III. <u>The Institute of International Education</u>

A. <u>What does it do?</u>

The Institute grew out of the holocaust of World War I. Responsible educators in many lands felt a need to establish machinery for facilitating the interchange of persons. In the United States, Dr. Stephen Duggan launched the Institute of International Education in 1919, with generous financial assistance provided by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

The Institute is a voluntary non-profit organization formed under the laws of New York for private membership corporation. Its policies are determined by a Board of Trustees composed of leaders in education, public affairs and business. Its policies are executed by a staff of 60 persons with headquarters at

2 West 45 Street, New York City, and a branch office at 1530 P Street, N.W. Washington 5, D. C. It enjoys a tax exempt status.

The Institute was established as a central service agency to help the interchange of students and scholars and that remains its main purpose. It helps foreign students, teachers and professors to come to the United States and it helps our students, teachers and professors to go to other countries. It does this by providing them information about where they can study or teach, what the requirements are, how much it costs, and essential data on shipping, visas, innoculations, etc. It stipulates colleges and universities and a host of private organizations to provide scholarship funds for foreign students. It acts as the intermediary between such groups and qualified foreign students approved by responsible cooperating groups abroad. It helps our professors going abroad to get in touch with their foreign colleagues. It does the same for foreign professors coming here and besides arranges conferences and lectures for them at our colleges and universities. It assists in the establishment of summer schools abroad especially suited for the needs of the American student and it does the same for foreign students in the United States. Twenty years ago it helped to develop on-the-job training which was revived during the war and is now so sought after by young men of foreign lands who want to learn our industrial techniques. It has given guidance to the Junior Year Abroad groups, acting as chairman of their Council. It conducts an annual conference in the United States of college and university administrators concerned with student interchange. It has a series of publications which are veritable aid kits to all those concerned with international education. Its student handbooks guide him abroad and in the U.S. and its News Bulletin bids fair to become the indispensable trade journal of this field.

B. <u>What is its record?</u>

1. During the last 23 years, 8,868 scholarships and fellowships have been awarded through the good offices of the Institute. These scholarships and fellowships were given by over 600 different colleges, universities and

cooperating organizations. They have an estimated cash value of $6,190,000. For purpose of comparison, the Commonwealth Fund sponsored 411 fellows during 16 years, the Rockefeller Foundation approximately 8,000 during 30 years, and the Rhodes Trust during years.

2. Since 1919, the Institute has sponsored speaking trips of 309 scholars and men of affiars from foreign countries. These speakers have come from 35 countries and they have spoken to 8,710 different audiences from one end of the country to the other. (Should a few names be mentioned?)

3. Judging from the volume of requests for information, the word has spread far and wide that the Institute knows the answers.

Last year the Institute received 30,000 letters alone requesting information and advice. Currently, every week brings 673 letter requests, telephone calls, and personal visits from scholars and students.

4. With increasing frequency, governments and organizations here and abroad have turned to the Institute to handle programs sponsored by them. For instance

(a) Beginning in 1941 and continuing down to date, the Institute has administered the Latin American student grant program of the U.S. government. This is a cooperative program uder which the colleges and universities provide at least tuition and the Government the balance, with the Institute acting as coordinator putting together the combinations. The government and private funds have made it possible for 2,005 Latin American students to study on scholarships in this country in the last eight years.

(b) For many years, several foreign governments and the Institute have carried on a reciprocal scholarship exchange. These foreign countries offer scholarships through the Institute to our students, in exchange for scholarship which the Institute secures from our colleges and universities and organizations for foreign students. These countries include France, Italy, Switzerland, Austria,

Hungary, Czechoslovakia, the Netherlands, and Germany before the war.

The exchange with France has always been one of the most flourishing. Under it 1,015 of our students have gone to France and 511 French students have come to this country on scholarships. Last year there were 41 of our students in France and 101 French students here.

(c) Since the war several governments have sent large numbers of their students on Government scholarships to the United States. Some of these requested the Institute to undertake the responsibility for placing their students in the institutions where they could best get instruction in the subjects that they were pursuing. For instance, the Institute has placed 39 Burmese students. Other Governments with which it has or expects to have similar arrangements are Afghanistan, Belgium, Brazil, Iraq and Turkey.

(d) Like foreign Governments, foreign organizations have asked the Institute to place their specialists, students or trainees where they can best pursue their particular studies or training. Good examples are:

Institute of Research in Industry and Agriculture, Belgium, which sends research specialists.

Turkish Sugar Refining Association and the Brazil Textile Manufacturer's Association, which send young men for special work in sugar refining and textiles.

(e) There are many United States organizations too which use the Institute facilities either to secure the candidates for fellowships they provide, to place scholarship recipients or to counsel them while they are in the United States. A few examples will illustrate the variety of these organizations.

/ (1) Religious. The National Catholic Welfare Conference and the National Catholic Education Association formerly secured candidates from foreign countries for the scholarships offered by Catholic colleges and universities. They have given this service up and have recommended to these institutions that they get their candidates through the Institute.

2 ~~a~~) Professional. The American Foundation for Pharmaceutical Education has requested the Institute to submit candidates for scholarships it is offering to foreign students for the academic year 1948-49.

3 ~~a~~) Foundation. The Kellogg Foundation has the assistance of the Institute in administering a scholarship program for Latin American

Our Government cooperated in this program by providing travel grants.

4 ~~a~~) Educational Cultural Societies. The American-Scandinavian Foundation and the Institute have recently agreed that the Institute will endeavor to secure scholarships from our colleges and universities for candidates selected by the foreign affiliates of the American-Scandinavian Foundation.

5 ~~a~~) Labor. The Institute helped in the selection and arrangements for five American trade unionists to study at Ruskin College, Oxford, on scholarships provided by Sir Robert Mayer.

6 ~~a~~) Women. Several of the State federations of the General Federation of Women's Clubs raise funds for scholarships for foreign students and the Institute secures and places their candidates for them.

7 ~~a~~) Men. Several of the local Rotary Clubs follow the same procedures. One of them, at Schenectady, N.Y., is providing the maintence expenses for the first German student to come to this country since the war.

8 ~~a~~) General. The American Field Service which operated ambulances in both wars turns its attention to raising scholarship funds in times of peace. It too receives its candidates from the Institute and the Institute places the recipients and counsels them while here. During the years of this relationship, the American Field Service has awarded scholarships with the collaboration of the Institute.

9 The most recent request for cooperation came from the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The Institute has agreed to be responsible for the placement and the counselling of UNESCO fellows who come to this country. The first two are Czech scholars, one studying sugar chemistry at and the other at who came on fellowships provided to UNESCO by the American Chemical Society. UNESCO has plans to send twenty to thirty more fellows to the United States during the coming months.

C. How has the Institute been supported?

no indent

This is a simple answer - which also serves to explain why today the Institute must broaden the basis of its support.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace provided the funds to establish the Institute and the Carnegie Corporation has provided almost exclusively the funds to maintain the Institute. The Carnegie Corporation grants have been as follows:

192 - 193	$60,000	per annum
193 - 194	50,000	" "
194 - 1945	60,000	" "
1945 - 1947	100,000	" "
1947 - 1949	150,000	" "

In the fall of 1947, the Rockefeller Foundation gave a two year grant, terminating September 30, 1949, of $50,000 per annum. For the fiscal year 1947-48, the Carnegie and the Rockefeller Foundations are furnishing the Institute a combined total of $200,000 per annum and this will continue until September 30, 1949. The total Institute general budget this fiscal year is $226,000.

The Institute receives fees for the performance of stipulated

services under contract. It has six different contracts with various agencies of the United States Government for which it will receive $65,000 in fees this year. Under arrangements with private organizations it will receive an additional $ for carrying out specified services.

The fees received for the performance of services do not help to carry the general financial load of the Institute because the Institute, being a non-profit agency, asks only what it actually costs to perform additional services.

IV. What the Institute is being called on to do today

Two wars are now behind us. As a man who doubles his strength after an operation, the Institute has emerged stronger to meet the challenge which current events hurl at all practical idealists. Not even the Institute is staggered by the host of those turning to it for assistance in developing the interchange of persons. It is as though there was a sudden rush to make up for the lost time of centuries.

To be specific,

A. Information and Advice

Eighty per cent of the students in international interchange pay their own way. They have no scholarship aid. But this 80% gets only 20% of the counseling assistance - advice on where to study, what the requirements for admission are, etc. They need this sort of advice just as much as the scholarship students do. A student at the wrong institution or at the right institution but in the wrong courses is a misfit, whether he has a scholarship or is meeting his own expenses. He is wasting his own time and the time of his professors and possibly the time of his classmates.

The possibility of becoming a misfit is heightened where a student leaves his own country to study in another. First of all, there is the difference in educational systems. No two countries have the same so transfer to another country immediately presents questions as to equivalence - is the instruction in mathematics in country A equal in content and thoroughness to that in country B? Evaluation is very difficult. All too often foreign students come here expecting to secure a Masters degree in one year and find they must go to our college and take a year or two of preparatory work even before they are permitted to enter Graduate School.

Then there is the problem of language. Without a working knowledge of the language of instruction, a student might better be at home. He can't understand, he gets behind in his work, he develops a feeling of frustration, he can't adequately function. On the whole, foreign students coming here speak better

English than most Americans who go to a foreign country to study.

Finally, there are personality traits which make it difficult, if not impossible, for some students to adjust successfully to another environment.

So the student who crosses a border to study is taking a real chance!

The Institute is trying to minimize this risk by helping any student, whether seeking a scholarship or not, to get in the right niche goes abroad to study or comes here. It tries to furnish the answers to "where should I study hydraulic engineering under desert conditions?" Or, "what are the requirements to be admitted for a degree at the School of International Studies at Geneva?"

The Institute is hard pressed to do this job. In the last year, its incoming first-class mail has increased 120%. We have engaged in no publicity or broadcast, but the word has spread around that the Institute has the answers. A large part of this flood of mail is inquiries. Every day brings around 200 letters, many of which require some research to answer.

The greater part of this inquiry flood is from U. S. students. The war gave many of them, veteran and civilian, a burning desire to study in foreign countries. They want to study some particular subject but they also want to learn more about a particular culture of the contemporary world. The motive that moves them is not religion, or knowledge, or truth, so much as a desire to understand.

To do the job properly requires three things:

(1) A superior catalog and reference service

(2) Adequate publications

(3) More staff

Essential to any information service is a first class organization of data. This means a library of all pertinent written materials and a catalog of gleanings from letters, conversations, scraps picked up here and there. Reports of students and about students by their professors often furnish the sort of "inside dope" that inquirers are after.

Then there should be a well considered list of publications on subjects of frequent inquiry. Illustrations of the kinds of information counselors of students want was the request of the last Conference of Foreign Student Advisers. This meeting expressed the hope that the Institute could publish

(1) "Information regarding aspects of higher education in the United States of interest to foreign students".

(2) "Information regarding scholarships and fellowships available to foreign students".

(3) "Information regarding educational programs of foreign governments in the United States".

(4) "Information regarding agencies for and methods of evaluation of credentials of foreign students".

More staff is needed to man the library and reference service to prepare the publications and to answer the mail, telephone and personal inquiries.

The information service is the core of the Institute operation. Without it, it is futile to attempt placement of foreign students at our institution.

B. Placement

More and more frequently, the Institute is being asked to undertake the placement of non-scholarship persons in much the same way that it now places scholarship students. These requests come from several sources.

(1) Some colleges and universities would like to say that they will admit only students cleared through the Institute selection processes. They want the

foreign non-scholarship student to go through the machinery established by the Institute to insure good selection of scholarship students. For them the Institute label means quality.

(2) Some foreign governments and organizations who want to assure that their sponsored students get to the institutions where these students can best obtain what they were sent here to study.

(3) Then there are requests for the placement of advanced specialists who come to study and observe, to work alongside some outstanding scientist or engineer rather than to matriculate and take regular courses. This is what the Institute has agreed to do for UNESCO.

(4) Then the Institute is continuously being asked to place young men in industry for practical on-the-job training. These young men are of two kinds:

a) University students who want to see the application of what they have been learning. They are not as advanced as the specialists previously described. Most of them are between twenty (2) and thirty (30) years of age.

b) Apprentice trainees who want to become skilled technicians. At the present time the Institute can give no assistance to apprentice trainees, and to university trainees only in special instances where they come here on scholarships awarded through the Institute.

At the same time that the Institute is getting these requests for placement of non-scholarship students, specialists and trainees, it is receiving requests for assistance in securing scholarships from parts of the world with which it previously had little to do. For instance, India, Siam, and the Philippines, Iraq, Iran, and Egypt,and many of the colonies of Africa. These areas would like the Institute to process their applications for scholarships just the way it has done for the European countries.

Wise placement, whether for scholarship or non-scholarship students, is so indispensable to a satisfactory experience for foreign students, specialists, or trainees and there being no other general organization capable of doing it, the Institute considers it must expand its service to provide it to all, irrespective of country.

C. Professors and Lecturers

1. The Institute has always helped U. S. professors and teachers to get in touch with their colleagues in other countries and vice versa.

Today the Institute is receiving increasing requests of this character, especially from U. S. scholars going abroad for the first time.

The importance of getting persons together of like interest is obvious. It can mean the difference between high class tourism and an exciting intellectual adventure.

2. The Institute has also made arrangements for the top flight scholars, writers, public officials and men of affairs to come to this country and give lectures or conduct seminars before college and university groups.

The Institute has introduced some notable figures to this country and before a community previously neglected by the commercial lecture bureaus. It considers that this general pioneering of the college and university campus is over. Indeed, the pendulum has swung from one extreme to the other. It formerly was not easy to persuade European scholars and scientists to undertake the rigors of a lecture circuit. Now it is the other way. They besiege the Institute to arrange such trips for them.

Since there are a number of non-profit organizations that are today ready to perform approximately the same service that the Institute has rendered, the Institute has decided to curtail its former work with lecturers and pioneer in another aspect of the speaking field.

There are many institutions in this country whose finances do not permit them to pay even the modest fees necessary to get first-class men. These institutions are scattered all over the country, or at the "grass roots", and are located precisely in the areas of greatest provincialism and nationalism where education for international understanding is most needed.

The Institute would like each year to persuade two or three top figures in university circles, in industry or labor relations, in journalism or public affairs to spend several days, even a week, on a college campus at the grass roots. The educational value from exposing the faculty and student body and townspeople to a first class intellect could be far reaching. The expenses of such persons would be underwritten by the Institute which would ask these institutions to pay what they could. Since income would not equal expenditures, the Institute would be called upon under its guarantee to make up the difference.

B. Services to and group projects with other organizations.

One of the most heartening aspects of student and scholar interchange is the number and variety of voluntary agencies that are working in some part of the student interchange field. They fall under these headings:

Academic - (especially admissions officers and foreign and student advisers)

Community - service and men's and women's clubs

Bi-national - (organizations to encourage cultural exchange with one or more countries or with an area)

Professional and technical

Religious

Student

These organizations as a group are in a position to touch nearly

every aspect of the experience of a foreign student while in the United States. No two organizations are at present rendering identical services. Some have rather extensive funds and staff, consequently a wide range of activities; others have access to program funds but no staff to administer these funds; still others are interested in the exchange of persons as affecting their particular professional interest but have no staff to administer the funds.

If the interests and activities of all these groups can be coordinated so as to bring their combined weight to bear on helping the foreign student in the United States, they will have taken a long step towards helpin him to maximize his study opportunity here. Working separately, each makes a contribution, but working together their combined total becomes formidable.

The Institute has been asked to undertake this role of stimulator and coordinator. At two post-war conferences of foreign student advisers and co-operating agencies, the Institute was asked to assume the leadership to bring about a more constructive, more numerous, interchange with as much active participation by voluntary organization as possible.

A good start has been made along this line. The number of organizations whose cooperation the Institute has enlisted has increased in four years from _____ to _____.

But the possibilities have only been scratched. There are many organizations whose interests could be aroused by developing plans and projects for their cooperation but they must be shown precisely the ways in which they can help. General cultivation ends at some point in presenting specific, carefully prepared proposals.

Those now engaged in helping the foreign student in the United States expect the Institute to carry forward the enlistment of the services of others, with resources to contribute. They expect the Institute to perform this pump-priming function. Funds expended on this job go a long ways.

E. Scholarships

The request most frequently heard at the Institute is for scholarship

aid. It comes from United States and foreign students alike. It is continuous, insistent, and increasing.

The Fulbright Act will provide generous financial aid to enable well-prepared United States students carry on their studies in most countries of Western Europe and some in Central and Eastern Europe, the Near East and the Far East.

There is nothing comparable to help well qualified foreign students to study in the United States. Operations under the recently passed Smith-Mundt Act could provide scholarship funds but the Congress has not yet defined its intentions in this regard. If the Government's supplementary Latin American scholarship program is any criterion, the Smith-Mundt scholarship operation will be small compared to the need which daily grows larger because of the dollar exchange shortage. Government after Government which maintained students here has been obliged to cut back their programs and some to eliminate totally any dollar allocations for this purpose.

Indeed, the need for scholarship aid for foreign students is more acute today than any time since the end of the first World War. The foreign student population in the United States which reached an all time high of about 20,000 this academic year (1947-1948) will drop sharply unless additional scholarship aid is forthcoming.

1. The Institute's role in scholarships has been described. It is one of master craftsmanship in combining funds from various sources to build up scholarships of adequate proportions. A typical scholarship may involve a grant of tuition from a university with an average value of $_____, a grant of maintenance from a woman's club, or a fraternity with an average value of $_____ and a travel grant from the United States or foreign governments with an average value of $_____. This combination with a total value of $_____ is what the Institute puts together.

Although there are numerous sources of scholarship funds the situation

too often arises when an adequate combination cannot be assembled. The component parts don't fit together. For instance, it might be that the university where the student wants to study is unable to give any more tuition grants or that there are no funds available for travel whose mounting cost is today one of the main obstacles to educational exchange.

Every year there are scholarship pieces of the total jig saw puzzle that cannot be used for lack of a small amount of supplementary funds to piece them out when other funds are not available. The total estimated value of scholarships awarded under Institute auspices last year may be estimated at $_____. If the Institute had another $_____ it probably could have awarded a further $_____ worth of scholarships. These figures bring out dramatically how a small amount of "free funds" will make viable a much larger amount of funds which already exist but which cannot be effectively utilized.

2. There are some parts of the world where special scholarship funds have been set up. For most countries, there are no such special funds and students from those countries compete for scholarship aid on the open market with students from other parts of the world as well as with United States students. This competition is stiff and the winners generally come from industrialized countries with good educational facilities. The colonial areas and the underdeveloped countries don't fare so well because their educational standards are lower. Some do not offer any university training of any kind. These are the very areas most in need of trained personnel if they are to improve their education and public health and develop their resources so as to support a higher level of life.

The Institute would like to have a small scholarship fund to be used to bring to this country promising young men and women for graduate training in fields such as agriculture, education, engineering, public health and public administration. It would select those who have exhausted educational possibilities at home and in addition have secure positions to which they can

return and put to use their new knowledge. The need for training educators is especially important since without improved educators advances in other fields are exceedingly difficult.

3. On-the-job training is a field of growing educational interest to countries seeking to industrialize themselves because industrialization depends upon technicians who can understand and operate machines.

There are few funds available for supporting young men while they are carrying on industrial training here. There are some United States companies with world wide operations that provide maintenance but the number of opportunities they provide is small compared to the demand.

The Institute is convinced that free funds for this purpose would go a long ways since it could use them to provide on-the-job training for students who had already come here on other scholarships for regular academic training and who wanted practical experience. It would also use a part of scholarship funds set aside for this purpose to assist younger men of apprentice age who want to train themselves to be skilled technicians.

Just a word about the administration of scholarships.

To an outsider, the scholarship operation looks simple. The student is selected, he comes, he studies, he goes home. To an insider, the operation is lengthy, detailed, and time consuming.

Good scholarship administration is principally a matter of good selection. Experience shows that in the selection of foreign students, the most important stage is the initial operation overseas. There the wheat must be screened from the chaff. This is not simply a matter of studying applications. It requires personal interviews to determine academic qualifications. It requires personal interviews to test knowledge of English. It requires medical examinations.

To perform this responsible work, the Institute has the voluntary assistance of committees, cultural institutes, individuals and governments in _____ countries. These arrangements exist in all the Latin American countries, in most of the Western and Central European countries and in some countries of the

Near East and Far East.

In these days of increasing specialization, wise placement of advanced students is becoming more and more difficult. The advice of experts is necessary. The Institute has always called upon specialists but recently it has formalized relationships with more than a dozen professional societies whereby it receives their counsel as to where advanced graduate students in their respective fields should study. These arrangements are giving splendid results.

V. What additional financial support does the Institute need to perform the increased services?

The timing and extent of the fund-raising plan adopted by the Institute's Board of Trustees is shown in the following table, in which the figures for "total budget" includes both administrative expenses and supplementary scholarships, and in which "present income" includes the two grants from the Carnegie Corporation and the grant from the Rockefeller Foundation (all three of which expire September 30, 1949).

Year	Total Budget*	Present Income	Net Goal
1947-1948	$ 251,000	$ 206,000	$ 45,000
1948-1949	340,000	206,000	134,000
1949-1950	410,000	6,000	404,000
1950-1951	480,000	6,000	474,000
1951-1952	580,000	6,000	574,000
		Net total	$1,631,000

*Exclusive of fees received for performance of contractural services.

The funds are to be of two kinds - general administrative and scholarship.

The general administrative budget (exclusive of fees for the performance of specified contractural services) is to be more than trebled - from $131,000 to $430,000.

An annual recurring scholarship budget of increasing amounts is to be raised reaching $150,000 in the fifth year.

The following table sets forth the Institute's financial program:

	Administrative	Scholarship	Total
1946-1947* (actual)	$ 131,000	0	$ 131,000

Five Year Program

1947-1948	$ 226,000	$ 25,000	$ 251,000
1948-1949	290,000	50,000	340,000
1949-1950	335,000	75,000	410,000
1950-1951	380,000	100,000	480,000
1951-1952	430,000	150,000	580,000

*Institute fiscal year, October 1 - September 30.

For the present fiscal year 1947-1948, the Board of Trustees has raised the following funds:

	Needed	Raised	Balance to be raised
Administrative	$ 226,000	$ 206,000	$ 20,000
Scholarship	25,000	0	25,000

Thus, there remains a total balance to be contributed this fiscal year of $45,000.

Thanks are in order to the Carnegie Corporation and the Rockefeller Foundation which have both given the Institute grants of $50,000 a year for a two year period ending September 30, 1949. The reasons why these foundations give these grants are set forth in letters, copies reproduced in Exhibit _____. These grants provide the Institute a two year period during which to organize and conduct a fund raising program that will build up a new constituency to pick

up when their two grants terminate September 30, 1949.

The following table shows how the increased administrative funds would be applied by salary categories. Approximately 70% of the Institute budget goes into salaries, the remaining 30% covering such items as space, printing, postage, telephone and telegraph, supplies and equipment, and travel.

Complete financial details may be found in Exhibit _____.

VI. Reasons why the Institute turns, first of all, to the Foundations and Corporations for support.

The next five years is the critical period of Institute growth. It can be erratic growth by fits and starts or it can be planned orderly development. To a large extent the decisions will depend upon whether the Institute can raise funds now that will enable it to plan such an orderly development. This means seeking support from those in a position to commit themselves for several years ahead. Only foundations and industrial concerns are financially strong enough to make such commitments. Since the amounts being sought by the Institute are modest, no one foundation or industrial corporation need an amount the commitment of which involves substantial risk in future years.

There is another reason for turning to foundations and industrial corporations.

At the end of the war, the Institute was suddenly catapulted into a situation that placed a terrific strain on its resources. Since it had never built up a popular constituency of financial supporters, it would have been futile to turn to individuals whose interest had never been aroused and expect any substantial return. The Institute does expect during its five year program to build up a popular constituency throughout the country which will largely support it through individual contributions during the years to come. However, it will take time to translate this solidly founded belief into substantial contributions. It will take two or three years of cultivating the ground before a harvest can be reaped.

The Institute must plead its case first with the thoughtful giver - the foundation and the large industrial corporation.

There are many foundations dedicated to advancing knowledge and understanding whose benefactions indicate an interest and belief in the interchange of students and scholars.

There are also large industrial corporations which have already shown an interest in the kind of work the Institute is performing. To them support of the Institute offers a tangible quid pro quo.

a) It provides them students or industrial trainees who have been approved by screening arrangements in _____ countries. These arrangements assure that those recommended are fully qualified.

b) It furnishes the opportunity of securing for on-the-job training students already here on regular scholarships; or, of much greater importance of planning with the Institute joint study - industrial training projects in which the industrial concerns would only have to bear the maintenance stipend of the industrial training part. The cost of the academic training would be borne by the combination of colleges, universities, organizations and govand governments that make so many other opportunities possible under Institute auspices.

VII. Reasons why foundations and corporations may act with confidence on the Institute's support.

Organizations, like individuals, must present character references. The Institute merits the confidence of foundations and corporations because:

a) Its _____ trustees are outstanding representatives of education and business as well as persons who represent community interest in the Institute's work. Exhibit _____ is a list of the trustees of the Institute with their identification.

b) The Institute is a time tested organization, both here and abroad. It is proven stewardship. Over the years it has accumulated the material and spiritual tools to do its work. It has been fortunate in building up a nucleus of staff which has been at the job from ten to twenty years. With proven techniques and an experienced staff the Institute has the knowledge and morale indispensable to a collective operation of this character.

c) The interchange of persons is a big idea and there exist many organizations in the United States that share in its implementation. The Institute's role

is to combine many parts into a whole.

Even so, the interchange of persons is only one method to effect the interchange of ideas and to create understanding among peoples but it may well be the most effective over the long pull.

d) The Institute has the support of educators, businessmen, and our own Government. Their testimony is included in Exhibit _____.

e) A contribution to the Institute lays no one open to duplicate solicitation for the same function since no other organization performs this same function.

VIII. Reasons for early action.

The need for additional funds is both today and tomorrow but if this need cannot be made today, tomorrow may be too late.

The Institute lacks $45,000 of reaching the 1947-1948 goal. This should not be difficult to raise.

The Institute needs an additional $89,000 for 1948-1949 and this amount should not be difficult to raise.

But beginning with 1949-1950, the Institute will have considerable funds to raise since the two year grants from the Carnegie and the Rockefeller foundations will have expired as of September 30, 1949. If these fairly substantial amounts are to be raised two, three and four years from now, the groundwork must be laid today through obtaining a series of terminable grants from foundations and corporations that will carry the Institute through this five year period to the day when it will have built up a wide constituency of individuals who believe in it and are ready to support it.

IX. Subscription Procedure.

Checks or securities should be made payable to "Institute of International Education, Inc.". Payments on subscriptions may be made at any time in full, or at intervals convenient to the donor.

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION
1 East 67th Street, New York 21, N. Y.

A newsletter of the world-wide exchange of students, technical trainees, and leaders in government and business

Houston Business Men to Send U.S. Students Abroad

Three hundred Houstonians have given their support to a scholarship fund to send young Texans abroad to study. At fund-raising dinner held by IIE's Southwest Office in December, they heard diplomats and educators speak on the need for educational exchange for world peace and better trade relations.

Co-chairmen of the dinner were Leonard F. McCollum, President of the Continental Oil Company, and Robert E. Smith, independent oil producer. Sponsors of the dinner included Jesse H. Jones, the Gulf Refining Company, Humble Oil and Refining Company, and the Texas Company.

Eisenhower Exchange Scholarships Set Up

Thomas McCabe, of Scott Paper Company, Heads Board of Directors for New International Study Fellowships Given to President for Birthday Gift

Competition for the new Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships closes March 15. Names of the first twenty winners of the international scholarships established in honor of the President should be announced by May 5. The Institute will serve as a consultant for this program.

Chairman of the Board of Directors for the Eisenhower fellowships is Thomas B. McCabe, President of the Scott Paper Company. S. C. Allyn, President of the National Cash Register Company will be in charge of selection; Clarence Francis, Chairman of General Foods Corporation is Program committee chairman, and Thomas J. Watson, Jr., President of International Business Machines, heads the finance committee.

Designed to help the U. S. and other nations pool practical knowledge, the fellowship program will enable outstanding potential leaders to study abroad in the field of their countries' greatest need.

The first year's program will include both men and women, from 25 to 40 years of age, from the United States and other countries. There will be twenty grants—six to Americans and fourteen to nationals of foreign countries—during the first year beginning September 1954. The eventual goal of the program is 100 grants annually. The fields in which awards will be made include government, business, agriculture, engineering, and communications. Preference will be given to promising candidates in "fields in which their countries' needs are most urgent."

The awards, a birthday present from the American people to the President, have been described as a "businesslike application" of the President's statement of American principles: "To allow all nations to devote their energies and resources to the great and good tasks of healing the war's wounds, of clothing and feeding and housing the needy, of perfecting a just political life, of enjoying the fruits of their own toil."

INDIAN DIPLOMATS, R. K. Kapur, first secretary of the Indian Embassy, and Gaganvihari L. Mehta, Indian ambassador, talk with Dr. Jan van Roijen, Netherlands ambassador, at international scholarship fund dinner in Houston.

Business Firms Contribute To Work of the Institute

An increasing number of business firms are giving their support to exchange of persons projects by contributing to the Institute. Thirty-four firms are currently supporting IIE:

- American Chicle Company
- American Express Company
- American & Foreign Power Company, Inc.
- American President Lines
- Ammann & Whitney
- Anaconda Copper Mining Company
- Arabian-American Oil Company
- Borg-Warner Corporation
- Braniff International Airways
- Combustion Engineering-Superheater, Inc.
- Continental Can Company
- Crown Zellerbach Corporation
- Fairbanks, Morse, and Company
- Farrell Lines, Inc.
- Gemex Company
- General Electric Company
- Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company
- Heckethorn Manufacturing & Supply Company
- International Business Machines Corporation
- Metals and Controls Corporation
- National Cash Register Company
- Pan American World Airways System
- Reserve Mining Corporation
- Silver Engineering Works, Inc.
- Socony-Vacuum Oil Company
- Speidel Corporation
- E. R. Squibb and Sons
- Standard Oil of California
- Standard-Vacuum Oil Company
- Steuben Glass, Inc.
- Levi Strauss & Company
- Time, Inc.
- Woodward & Lothrop
- Wright Travel, Inc.

Thirteen Grants for Study In Latin America Awarded

Winners of thirteen fellowships to Latin America have just been announced. The awards are given under the program of the Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations. IIE screens candidates for these awards for the Department of State.

Among the fellowship holders is Alfred De Leo of Everett, Mass., who is studying Guatemala's capital market in relation to its economic development program. Other winners are in Spanish language and literature, geography and economics.

ELLIOT JOFFA, Nigerian economics major at New York University, confers with Professor Richard A. Girard on draft of his thesis on Nigeria's government finances.

U.S. Medical Team to Train Syrians in Hospital Project

A six-man medical team from the U.S. will spend two years in Damascus on a Ford Foundation project which the Institute is administering. Assigned to a government hospital scheduled to open this month are a surgeon, a hospital administrator and assistant, a ward nurse supervisor, an operating room nurse supervisor, and an anesthetist.

Purpose of the project is to help train Syrian personnel in the use of modern hospital equipment and in the operation of this new hospital. The Ford Foundation is sponsoring the team in cooperation with the Syrian government. Beginning on a small scale with fifty patients, the program will enlarge as staff is trained.

African Student in U.S. Studies Nigerian Finance

A candidate for a master's degree at New York University, Elliot A. Joffa of Nigeria is writing a thesis on the government finances of Nigeria. Mr. Joffa is the first African student to come to the U. S. under Institute sponsorship. Recipient of a scholarship from Ohio Wesleyan University, he completed four years of undergraduate work there. He has a tuition scholarship from N.Y.U. for graduate work there.

Mr. Joffa plans to return to Nigeria to enter government service. Like other Nigerian students in the U. S., he is guided in his American studies by Liaison Officer of the British Embassy, who keeps him informed of job opportunities at home.

U.S. Economists to Aid in Pakistan Development Plan

To assist the Economic Planning Board of the Government of Pakistan in the preparation of a five-year development plan, an international team of eight experts will go to Pakistan in March.

Economists with experience in industrial, financial, and agricultural matters and engineers specializing in irrigation, dam building and power fields will participate in the Ford Foundation project.

The program will be directed by David E. Bell of the Graduate School of Public Administration at Harvard. IIE is cooperating with Mr. Bell and the Ford Foundation in administering the project.

Italian Audiences Enjoy Opera by Fulbrighters

Two thousand Italians have discovered that there are Americans with musical talent. This fall seven Fulbright scholars from the United States sang Puccini's "La Boheme" at the Experimental Opera Theater in Spoleto, Italy, and drew repeated *bravos*.

The Fulbrighters are the first Americans ever to study at the Experimental Opera theater, which is sponsored by the Italian government for the training of a small, carefully selected group of young Italian opera singers. The Americans studied there through special arrangement.

AMERICAN MUSIC STUDENTS, in Italy on U. S. Government scholarships, drew very favorable reviews for performance of "La Boheme."

SWISS JOURNALIST Friedrich Luchsinger, held a fellowship at Yale in 1951, is now co-editor, *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, Foreign Affairs Department. On his exchange grant, his purpose was "to learn as much as possible about American institutions and life."

Standard-Vacuum Awards Study Grants to Japanese

Establishing a new fellowship program, the Standard-Vacuum Oil Company's Japan Division will sponsor the first Standard-Vacuum Exchange Fellows for the year 1954-55. Under IIE auspices, two Japanese will come each year on full-expense grants to take advanced degrees in U. S. universities.

The new program was developed by Jerome Davis, General Manager of the company's Japan Division, who is a member of the Institute's bi-national selection committee in Tokyo.

U.S. College Debate Team Tours Indian Universities

In the first exchange of college debaters between the U. S. and India, two American students are completing a three-month tour of Indian colleges and universities. George Phillips of the University of Illinois and Harland Randolph, senior class president at Ohio State University have debated with Indian students on topics ranging from free trade to the role of women in the world today.

The debate exchange program has also brought the first two Indian debaters to the U. S. It is sponsored by the Institute in cooperation with the Speech Association of America and the Government of India.

Survey Shows Exchange "Alumni" Put International Experience to Work After Return to Home Lands

A large percentage of the alumni of IIE's exchange programs — the 6,000 Americans who have held scholarships for study abroad and the 16,000 foreign citizens who have studied or trained in the U. S. on grants since 1919—are making use of their special international experience in later years.

A recent survey of these 22,000 persons shows that the opportunity to study abroad often has a decisive effect on a young person, both in his choice of career and in his understanding of world problems after returning home.

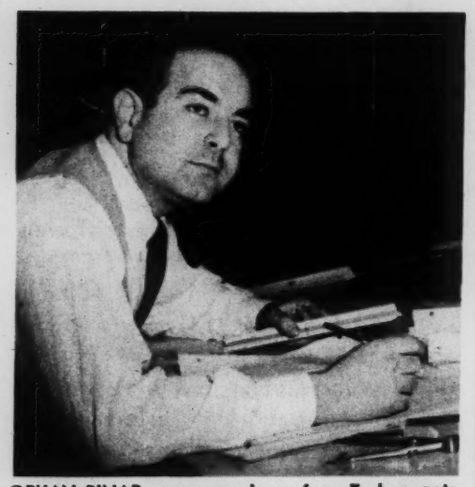
Among the alumni who replied to the questionnaire was Max Kohnstamm, Dutch exchange student in 1939 at the American University, Washington, D. C. Now Secretary of the High Authority of the European Coal and Steel Community, Mr. Kohnstamm wrote "I consider no part of my studies so important and so helpful for the work I am now doing as the year which I spent in the U. S. ... I wish every person called upon to serve the United States of Europe could have the tremendous opportunity which I had in getting personally acquainted with the political and economic structure of the U. S. A."

U.S. alumnus Monroe Spaght, Executive Vice President of Shell Oil Company, studied at the University of Leipzig through IIE in 1931. He considers "the year of study in Germany very valuable in introducing me to the science research and technology in Europe."

British alumnus Anthony Wedgwood Benn has been a Member of Parliament since 1950. Mr. Benn came to the U.S. in 1948 with the Oxford University debating team which debated at sixty American colleges. Commenting on his experience in the U.S., he says, "However good the books one reads may be; however conscientiously one watches foreign newspapers or periodicals, there can never be a substitute for personal contact."

Other alumni are active in such diverse fields as labor relations in India, agricultural extension service work in Italy, cancer research in France. Many are in education, journalism, and public administration.

ROCKEFELLER, HOLLAND MEET TOKYO GOVERNOR during his six-week U.S. visit. Kenneth Holland (left), President of the Institute of International Education, and John D. Rockefeller III, who is President of the Japan Society, talk with Seiichiro Yasui, Governor of Tokyo Metropolis, and Mrs. Yasui at a reception in New York. Governor Yasui came to the U.S. with twenty-seven other Japanese mayors and Chamber of Commerce executives to attend the Pacific Coast Mayors Conference in Seattle. The group traveled across the country on a study-tour through a grant from the Ford Foundation.



ORHAN PINAR, young engineer from Turkey, gets practical experience in construction with New York firm. Mr. Pinar holds a Fulbright Travel Grant from the U.S. Government, and studied at the University of Illinois before working as a practical trainee.

Turkish Engineer Helps Design Jersey Parkway

After a year of study at the University of Illinois, Orhan Pinar of Turkey is designing bridges for De Leuw and Brill, Engineers and Architects. The firm is designing a section of the Garden State Parkway in New Jersey, and Mr. Pinar has worked on bridge designs for this project.

At the completion of his training period with the New York firm, he will return to Turkey to work as a construction engineer there. Turkey has embarked on an expanded program of highway construction, with three times as many roads built during the last three years as in the preceding twenty year period.

Experts from Spain Will Study American Methods

New Program Enables Spanish Technicians to Train in the United States

In the first private exchange of specialists the Institute has arranged with Spain since 1939, a surgeon, a food technologist, and a highway engineer arrived in New York late in January.

Dr. Manuel Hidalgo Huerta, Chief of Clinic at the Hospital Provincial in Madrid, will spend six months studying surgical problems of portal hypertension at Massachusetts General Hospital, Johns Hopkins, and New York Presbyterian Hospital.

Mr. Javier de Salas Lang, food technologist, will study at the University of California during the spring semester, and will spend the summer months acquainting himself with some of the technological and economic problems of the American wine industry.

Highway engineer Jesus Gil de la Serna will make a three-month on-the-spot study of American highways and airports. This practical training period has been planned with the assistance of the Highway Research Board, an affiliate of the National Research Council.

Under the Institute-administered Spanish exchange program, nine Spanish students enrolled in U.S. colleges last fall, and five Americans took up studies in Spanish universities. This program will continue in the coming year.

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February 16, 1948

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

Within the last few days the Institute has been requested by the State Department to "cooperate" with it in certain intelligence operations. This is a matter on which I feel the need of Executive Committee advice. The next regular meeting would not come until Wednesday, March 17, which is a full month away, and I don't think that this matter can pend that long. My recommendation is Wednesday, March 3, in order to give time for consideration of the attached memorandum which I will send out if you approve.

At this same meeting I would also like to take up a proposal submitted to the Carnegie Corporation for the establishment of a Foreign Education Evaluation Board to evaluate credentials of foreign students. Several colleges and universities which were approached about this matter by the promoters of the project replied "Why doesn't the Institute do this?". This is another matter on which I feel the Executive Committee should advise. I will draw up a memorandum on this on my way to Washington this afternoon and circulate it along with the other one. Would you want to have a look at it before it goes out?

I will be back Thursday and would appreciate word from you by that time.

Sincerely yours,

Larry

Laurence Duggan

Enclosure

cc- Arthur W. Packard

(Draft)

SECRET

February 16, 1948

TO: Executive Committee

FROM: Laurence Duggan

Subject: Furnishing of Information to the Central Intelligence Service, Department of State.

I. Background

The Institute has recently been approached by the State Department with a request that it furnish intelligence data or access to intelligence data. The State Department has been informed that its request will be referred to the Executive Committee of the Institute for its consideration.

a) The State Department first requested that the Institute turn over to it the applications of unsuccessful foreign candidates for scholarships to study in the United States.
The Institute sometimes returns these applications to the respective screening groups, but usually it keeps them for a number of years and then destroys them.

no

b) The State Department later enlarged this request by asking that it be given access to the current information received from abroad on general political and economic questions. The State Department is especially interested in the required reports from U. S. scholarship students in foreign countries under Institute auspices.

yes

Two reports are required from each student, the first at the end of the first semester and the second at the end of the academic year. These reports are not only informative but frequently give penetrating judgments with regard to political and social trends.

II. Discussion.

During the war the Institute gave unrestricted access to its files to investigators from various Government agencies (War and Navy, F.B.I.). Once the war was over, these agencies ceased coming to the Institute. After a lapse of more than two years the State Department has recently approached us.

The State Department appears to be sensitive to the fact that the Institute is a non-political organization, dedicated to increasing understanding among peoples and that the cooperation requested of it might not fit in with the Institute's policies.

III. Recommendation.

a) That the State Department not be given the files of unsuccessful foreign candidates for scholarships, but that it be furnished the file of any such candidate specifically named by it.

b) That the State Department not be given access to the Institute's files for the purpose of gathering general information.

I do not think that we should refuse to give to our Government identifying information such as the file about a named individual; but I feel it would be prejudicial to the Institute to become party to the general process of government intelligence except in time of great

national emergency. I do not think that we are in that position at the moment.

If it should become known that the Institute was collaborating on intelligence with the United States Government or even if the Institute became suspect, it would probably make impossible the continuance of effective operations with countries in some parts of the world in this regard. The Board of Trustees, at the special meeting last June, established a policy of developing the interchange of students, teachers and professors with all countries of the world and especially with those of different ideology.

Even if it did not become known outside that the Institute was being used by the Intelligence Services of the State Department, I fear that the effect on the staff would not be at all beneficial and might undermine the quality of work being performed. The staff is very jealous of the essential integrity of the Institute's activities and is not favorable to providing any more information to the Government than that contained in my recommendation.

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

Founders: Stephen P. Duggan, Nicholas Murray Butler, Elihu Root.

Organized: 1919.

Principal sources of finance:

(a) Carnegie Endowment for International Peace supported the Institute, in the main, for the first 15 years of its existence. U.S.A. a substantial contributor since 1943.

(b) Finances at present:

Principal Sources of IIE Income*
1949-1954

(All Figures Approximate)

	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
Government	$120,000	$250,000	$580,000	$490,000	$550,000	$560,000
3 Foundations**	230,000	240,000	230,000	230,000	180,000	230,000
Other	70,000	70,000	100,000	150,000	200,000	180,000
Ford	--	--	2,500	340,000	425,000	590,000

Stated objectives: "To develop mutually helpful relations between the United States and foreign countries through educational agencies" (1928)

To use educational means to "overcome the great

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* Source: 2/19/54 Historical Review.

** Carnegie, Rockefeller and Commonwealth.

ignorance of the civilization and problems of foreign countries that the [first world] war disclosed as existing, and a similar ignorance of American civilization that existed in foreign countries" (1938)

"To encourage cultural relations among different nations regardless of their forms of government or ways of life." (1939; 1954).

Government affiliations:

1938--At State Department request, instituted campaign to counteract Nazi propaganda in South American countries.

War Period--Made files accessible to State Department for information as to personnel placed by Institute. Similar information refused to State Department in post-war years.

Administered Government scholarship programs under:

Contracts with U.S. Army

Smith-Mundt Act

Fulbright Act

Mutual Security Agency

Technical Cooperation Administration

In post-war years, U.S. Government has been one of principal sources of funds handled by the Institute.

Trustees (1935-1952):

Arthur S. Adams	1950-1953
Raymond B. Allen	1950-1954
Frank Altschul	1948-1954
Frank Aydelotte	1925-1942

L. H. Baekeland	1923-1943
Edward W. Barrett	1948-1950
William W. Bishop	1931-1946
Sarah G. Blanding	1947-1952
Dudley B. Bonsal	1949-1954
Lindsay Bradford	1947-1953
Thomas E. Braniff	1951-1953
Ralph J. Bunche	1950-1952
Erwin C. Canham	1948-1952
Samuel P. Capen	1925-1946
Harry J. Carman	1942-1952
William G. Carr	1950-1953
Everett N. Case	1950-1952
J. McKeen Cattell	1930-1940
Joseph P. Chamberlain	1933-1949
Arthur H. Compton	1948-1953
John S. Dickey	1947-1950
Laurence Duggan	1946-1948
Stephen Duggan	1920-1950
Stephen Duggan, Jr.	1950-1953
John Foster Dulles	1931-1947
Frederick S. Dunn	1950-1952
Milton Eisenhower	1951-1953
Livingston Farrand	1928-1940
Virginia Gildersleeve	1927-1949
Kenneth Holland	1950-1954
Arthur A. Houghton, Jr.	1951-1954
Bryn J. Hovde	1947-1951
Walter A. Jessup	1935-1945
Alvin Johnson	1929-1947
Walter Kotschnig	1947-1952
Thomas W. Lamont	1932-1947
Waldo G. Leland	1941-1949
Samuel A. Lewisohn	1947-1953
Benjamin E. Mays	1948-1954
Leonard McCollum	1949-1954
J. Hillis Miller	1948-1952
John Bassett Moore	1920-1946
Mrs. Maurice T. Moore	1948-1953
Paul Monroe	1920-1947
Henry Morgenthau	1920-1947
Edward R. Murrow	1931-1952
William A. Neilson	1941-1946
James M. Nicely	1947-1953
C. Lathrop Peck	1928-1939
Arthur W. Packard	1931-1950
Henry S. Pritchett	1920-1939
Philip Reed	1947-1950
Dorsey Richardson	1948-1953

Mrs. Henry Potter Russell	1950-1952
Leland Rex Robinson	1951-1953
Michael Ross	1948-1951
William F. Russell	1932-1940
Eustace Seligman	1951-1954
G. Howland Shaw	1946-1948
George N. Shuster	1948-1949, 1951-1954
Walter A. Siders	1930-1938
Robert G. Sproul	1949-1950
Mark Starr	1948-1952
George D. Stoddard	1948-1952
Jack Strauss	1949-1950
Ordway Tead	1948-1954
Juan Trippe	1947-1954
Eliot Wadsworth	1931-1936
Mary E. Woolley	1920-1947
George F. Zook	1947-1950

ERM connection:

Trustee, 1931 to date.

Assistant Director, 1931 to .

Member Executive Committee (Dates?).

Member, Advisory Council for Summer Session of the Anglo-American Institute of the First Moscow University Summer School, 1933-1935.

Statistics on Exchanges*
1919-1954

Foreign Professors and Specialists to U.S.A.	1,977
Foreign Students to U.S.A.	18,875
American Professors Abroad	54**
American Students Abroad	8,839
Total, 1919-1954	29,745
Total, 1945-1954	21,116

* Source: 2/19/54 Historical Review.

** Only in years 1919-1924.

ANGLO-AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF THE FIRST MOSCOW UNIVERSITY

Dates of connection: 1934-1935.

Origins: Experimental session of 25 persons at the American Summer School in Russia in 1933, under auspices of Zorbaugh (NYU), Kulp (Teachers' College, Columbia U.), Sellins (reputedly of NYU). Based on success of this venture, Soviet educational authorities organized Anglo-American Institute to offer regular instruction in English-Speaking summer courses. (IIE Summer School Announcement).

History: Operated summer session in 1934, with approximately 150 American students and teachers in Moscow for three weeks of courses accompanied and followed by Soviet-conducted tours. Session scheduled for 1935, but cancelled on or immediately prior to commencement by Soviet authorities. IIE thereafter severed connections with the Anglo-American Section. Arrangements satisfactory to the students, but not under auspices of the Institute, were made by the Soviets for the 200-odd students, who had then already arrived in the U.S.S.R. (See 16th Annual Report of the Director, 10/1/35, p. 11.)

Relation of ERM: Member of "Advisory Council" with Counts, Heber (Advisors), W. W. Charters, H. W. Chase, John Dewey, Stephen Duggan, Hallie Flanagan, F. P. Graham, R. M. Hutchins, Charles H. Judd, I. L. Kandel, Robert L. Kelly, John

A. Kingsbury, Susan M. Kingsbury, Paul Klapper, Charles R. Mann, W. A. Neilson, H. W. Odum, W. F. Russell, H. W. Tyler, E. H. Welkins, F. W. Withers. T. Woody, H. W. Zorbaugh.

Institute files indicate that ERM handled funds in connection with the summer school to the extent of transmitting them to Sellins, the active manager of the program.

Contemporaneous publicity: Editorial comment in Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph (Hearst) in issue for February 18, 1935, attacked the summer school for fostering revolution, etc. No indication that this contributed in any way to cancellation of the 1935 session.

Nature of Summer Session in 1934 (see Report for the Institute):

Inclusive dates: July 20 to August 15 (3-1/2 weeks), followed by tours.

Sessions were followed by Soviet-conducted excursions to various institutions, as: galleries, museums, schools, clinics, with accent on sociology and education.

Courses announced in Institute publicity were:

Comparative Art & Literature in U.S.S.R.
Elementary Education in U.S.S.R.
Secondary & Higher Education in U.S.S.R.
Experimental Educational Programs in U.S.S.R.
Institutional Changes in the Soviet Union
Social Backgrounds of Communist Society
Political Economics of the Construction Period
Psychological Research in the Soviet Union
Advanced Russian Phonetics & Grammar
Seminar in Soviet Social & Cultural Life
Crime and Punishment in the Soviet Union

Declared purposes of Summer Session:

". . . a means of furthering cultural contacts between American, English and Russian teachers and students."

". . . to provide foreign visitors to Soviet Russia with the academic facilities and programs necessary for serious study and research; . . . to publish material on Soviet educational, social and cultural movements for the information and use of educators and students in all English speaking countries . . . ."

"The spirit of the Anglo-American Institute is that of the true Soviet school. In its student organizations and student control of all physical and academic problems, the visitor to the institute will be enabled to see the workings of a Soviet University. Cultural and social activities will be provided for through the cooperation of Russian student bodies . . . In view of the imminence of the recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States, added importance attaches to an international education venture of this sort which seeks to further develop a more intimate contact between the students and educators of both countries."

Financial support: Tuition: $20 per course, with registration fee of $2.50, payable to Anglo-American Institute, First Moscow University, 545 Fifth Avenue, N.Y.C. (Address of "Intourist").

Not clear from available Institute files that passage money, living expenses, etc., were paid by individuals. This was evidently the case, however, from a letter by Stephen Duggan to Skvirsky, 9/18/34, commenting on aspects of the 1934 session in which he said (p. 2) that he considered Intourist (official Soviet travel agency in this country) to be "a mere profit making scheme of the ordinary capitalistic kind, viz.:

they want to get the biggest return for the least possible outlay."

No indication exists that the Soviet Government underwrote the Summer School's finances in any way, or contributed any funds to the Institute. It did evidently bear some expenses, as the salary of a liaison man between the University officials and the student group. See Duggan letter, p. 4.

Position of Intourist: Official Soviet travel agency for foreign countries.

Evidently acted as clearing house for visa matters, passages, etc. (Cf., IPR hearings, pp. 5161, 5162, 5191).

See note above as to Duggan's view of Intourist as an ordinary "capitalistic" venture by the Soviets.

Position of VOKS: Per Duggan letter of 9/18/34 to Skvirsky, VOKS was directly responsible for physical accommodations of Summer School registrants and was one of the Soviet agencies with which summer school authorities (Sellins, and, to at least an extent, Duggan) dealt.

Told name means "Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries" (IPR report, p. 20). Aim was (a) importation of literature, (b) exportation of literature, (c) invitation of students, artists, etc., from other countries to U.S.S.R. Per testimony before McCarran Committee, it checked persons

thoroughly and obtained NKVD clearance before inviting him, then would send tickets, etc. (IPR report, p. 37). Described (ibid.) as "cover organization" for getting information to Soviet intelligence and "sending infiltration of ideas and selling Communist ideas to the West."

Per report of Secretary General of IPR, 12/20-31/34, at that time VOKS represented 218 institutions and societies in the U.S.S.R. in the establishment of relationships with similar organizations elsewhere; furnished facilities to foreign students; "arranged for the American Institute which was held in Moscow last summer" (IPR Hearings, p. 4505; Report, p. 37).

Per the McCarran Committee (IPR report, p. 149), Carter, in 1937, said that Vox, in charge of all arrangements for visiting U.S.S.R., worked closely with the secret police; that Smirnov, its president, said it was important that social opinions and interests of "important Americans" be known to it.

Per E. C. Carter (IPR Report, p. 175), in 1937 VOKS paid all Carter's expenses from Vladivostok to Moscow on a trip in 1937--"thus in fact adding several hundred dollars to" the IPR treasury.

<u>Contemporaneous Institute programs with other countries</u> (see Institute Report for 10/1/35):

<u>Summer Schools</u>:

The Institute was accepting registrations, in 1935,

for foreign summer schools in five countries: England, Austria, France, Germany and Switzerland.

Other Programs:

The Institute placed, for 1935-36, fellowship and scholarship students in Austria, China, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Spain and Switzerland. Only one student (out of a total of 200) was placed in Spain. Two Spanish students (out of a total of 159) were placed by the Institute in U.S. institutions. No exchanges were effected with Russia.

Total Russian Students in U.S.

Tabulation by Institute shows following figures for Russian students and total foreign students in U.S. in years 1923-1935:

	Russian	Total
1923-24	391	6,984
1925-26	515	6,960
1926-27	340	7,541
1928-29	501	9,685
1930-31	473	9,961
1931-32	417	8,688
1932-33	327	6,894
1933-34	169	5,805
1934-35	152	5,887

Russian attitude toward Institute:

Per Duggan letter of 9/18/34, difficulties in relations with Soviet officials during 1934 session were not due to any hostility or apparent suspicion on the Russians' part,

but to plain inefficiency among them. Relations were sufficiently uneasy so that Duggan was prepared to sever IIE connection with the Anglo-American Institute if student reports on the 1934 session were generally unfavorable. It was not cancelled on this ground, and plans went forward for a 1935 session.

Per Institute's 16th Annual Report of the Director, cancellation of the 1935 session was effected by the Russians, after the arrival of some 200 American students, on the ground that the English-speaking professors had been requisitioned for government work.

In 1946, the U.S. Department of State requested the Institute to make a survey of colleges and universities in the U.S. to determine if there existed any interest in U.S.-Soviet exchanges of students, professors and specialists. A favorable response was obtained, but the Soviet government, when approached by the State Department, indicated it was not prepared even to discuss the matter (see Vol. XXIV, No. 9, pp. 18-19, of IIE News Bulletin, 6/1/49).

In 1948, the Communist press attacked the Institute and Stephen Duggan, E. R. Murrow, Foster Dulles, Thomas Lamont and Virginia Gildersleeve, as trustees, in an article entitled "The High Aims of Mr. Duggan", printed in Uchitelskaya Gazeta ("Teacher's Gazette"), No. 5, dated January 30, 1948. The

Institute was described as "the centre of international propaganda for American reaction, the nursery of a special detachment of American residents in all parts of the globe . . . a monopoly American Institution for international pedagogic relations, for training legal 'pedagogic' spies and informers and for establishing an 'American Column' in every country." A full translation (summary?) is attached.

Endorsements By Prominent People: *

"The United States Government has also endeavored to foster such educational interchange in every way possible. The cooperation and assistance which it has received in this program from the Institute, and from the colleges and universities of this country, have been deeply appreciated. I am sure that the plan of the Institute for expanding its services will increase its rich experience in educational exchange and further benefit this country in its cultural relations with other nations."--Harry S. Truman.

"In these troubleddays, the far-sighted policy of international education has become a firm foundation on which will ultimately rest the peace for which all the world is so earnestly yearning. I can assure you of my very best wishes and my full cooperation in the great achievements that lie ahead for the Institute of International Education."--Dwight D. Eisenhower.

"Further development of the Institute should be of distinct advantage to the perpetuation of the ideals of UNESCO."--Robert Hutchins.

"The Institute in reaching its thirtieth anniversary as a private organization which has so long recognized and fulfilled its obligation, deserves the thanks of the citizens of the U. S. and a deep appreciation of the services your Institute has rendered."--Eleanor Roosevelt.

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* Source: IIE pamphlet published in December, 1948, used for Institute publicity.

Form B

Whole copy

QUESTIONNAIRE

SUBMITTED BY THE

Select Committee of the House of Representatives

OF THE

Congress of the United States

Created by House Resolution 561,

Eighty-second Congress, Second Session,

To Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations

and Comparable Organizations

E. E. Cox, Georgia, *Chairman*

BROOKS HAYS, Arkansas
DONALD L. O'TOOLE, New York
AIME J. FORAND, Rhode Island
RICHARD M. SIMPSON, Pennsylvania
ANGIER L. GOODWIN, Massachusetts
B. CARROLL REECE, Tennessee

STATEMENT AND INSTRUCTIONS

House Resolution 561 of the Eighty-second Congress, Second Session, authorized and directed the Select Committee created by the resolution "to conduct a full and complete investigation and study of educational and philanthropic foundations and other comparable organizations which are exempt from Federal income taxation to determine which such foundations and organizations are using their resources for purposes other than the purposes for which they were established, and especially to determine which such foundations and organizations are using their resources for un-American and subversive activities or for purposes not in the interest or tradition of the United States," and to report the results of its investigation and study by January 1, 1953, together with such recommendations as are, by the Committee, deemed advisable. The resolution invested the Committee with the power to compel the attendance of witnesses and the production of records by subpoena.

This questionnaire is submitted by the Committee to enable it to gather information pertinent to its investigation. The Committee expects that the questionnaire will supply in large part the data which can otherwise be obtained only by subpoenaing witnesses and records. You can assist the Committee by making full, frank, and direct answers to the questions herewith submitted to you and returning the questionnaire as quickly as possible in accordance with the following instructions:

1. Return TWO (2) copies of the completed questionnaire to the COMMITTEE ON FOUNDATIONS—104 HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C., WITHIN TEN DAYS AFTER RECEIPT.

2. Answers should be prepared so that they are carefully keyed to the section and question number of each section. No particular form other than reference to section and question number need be observed. However, in order to avoid confusion and expedite processing, it is requested that the answers to each section should begin on a page separate from those on which answers to another section have been given. In other words, when beginning answers to any section, please use a sheet of paper on which no other answers have been made.

3. The committee places a higher premium on clarity and substance than on style and form; on speed of completion rather than on niceties of phrase. Write as much or as little as is deemed necessary to answer the questions. The committee wishes your best thinking but will appreciate such brevity and compression as is consonant with clear exposition.

4. Please use one side only of regular 8½ by 11 letter-size paper for your answers, double-spaced and numbered serially at the top irrespective of section, with the name of your organization at the top of each page.

If you have any questions, you may communicate directly with Mr. Harold M. Keele, Counsel for the Committee, or with his staff, at the offices of the Committee—104 HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C.—Telephone NAtional 3120, Extensions 2243 and 2244.

E. E. Cox

E. E. Cox, M. C.
Chairman

7-8 DJS-PGP

SECTION A

A–1. What is the name of your organization?

A–2. What is its legal nature, i. e., a trust, a corporation, or other type of association?

A–3. If a corporation, in what State is it incorporated and by what State agency?

A–4. Where is its principal office located, and what is its correct address?

A–5. When was it chartered or otherwise organized?

A–6. Is it the outgrowth or continuation of a form of predecessor organization, or the result of a merger? Explain.

A–7. (*a*) Has it been declared exempt from taxation under section 101 (6) or any other section of the Internal Revenue Code by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue? If so, when was such exemption granted?

(*b*) Has its exemption ever been removed, suspended, or challenged by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue? If so, state when and the circumstances thereof.

A–8. If it is in the nature of a trust, is it permitted deductions for charitable and related contributions as provided by section 162 of the Internal Revenue Code?

A–9. Give the names, addresses (business or mailing), and terms of all trustees, members of your board of directors, or members of your governing body since 1935 or since the inception of your organization, whichever is the later.

AMD

A–10. Is any of your trustees, members of your board of directors, members of your governing body, or executive officers also a trustee, director, or officer of any other tax-exempt organization; of any corporation or other business organization related directly or indirectly to your organization? If so, explain in detail.

AB & guest, Bd.

A–11. List the names and addresses of the principal executive officers of your organization.

A–12. Do you have an endowment fund? Lindsey –

A–13. If your answer to question 12 is in the affirmative, answer questions 14, 15, 16, and 17.

A–14. What was the amount of your original endowment and in what manner was it granted to your organization?

A–15. What capital additions over $10,000 in amount have you received since your original endowment and from what sources?

A–16. Is your endowment fund perpetual or is it expendable on an optional or determined liquidating basis? Explain.

A–17. What is the amount of your present endowment?

A–18. 1952 What sources of income, other than from an endowment fund, has your organization? JSH

A–19. List all gifts, grants, loans, contributions, or other sources of income for the years 1937–1951, showing the name of the donor, grantor, person, firm, or corporation making each gift, grant, loan, or contribution, the amount thereof and the year received. Since 1948-5

Auditors statement

Dan Hindman

A–20. Attach a balance sheet indicating the amounts of your assets, liabilities, and net worth as of the close of your last fiscal year.

Hurl

A–21. What was your average gross income for the years 1946–1951, both years inclusive?

Hirlwall

See how complete our records are! (1948-51) Since

1. Indiv.
2. Fdn.
3. Corp.

SECTION A

A–1. What is the name of your organization?

A–2. What is its legal nature, i. e., a trust, a corporation, or other type of association?

A–3. If a corporation, in what State is it incorporated and by what State agency?

A–4. Where is its principal office located, and what is its correct address?

A–5. When was it chartered or otherwise organized?

A–6. Is it the outgrowth or continuation of a form of predecessor organization, or the result of a merger? Explain.

A–7. (a) Has it been declared exempt from taxation under section 101 (6), or any other section of the Internal Revenue Code by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue? If so, when was such exemption granted?

(b) Has its exemption ever been removed, suspended, or challenged by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue? If so, state when and the circumstances thereof.

A–8. If it is in the nature of a trust, is it permitted deductions for charitable and related contributions as provided by section 162 of the Internal Revenue Code?

A–9. Give the names, addresses (business or mailing), and terms of all trustees, members of your board of directors, or members of your governing body since 1933 or since the incorporation of your organization, whichever is the later.

A–10. Is any of your trustees, members of your board of directors, members of your governing body, or executive officers also a trustee, director, or officer of any other tax-exempt organization; of any corporation or other business organization related directly or indirectly to your organization? If so, explain in detail.

A–11. List the names and addresses of the principal executive officers of your organization.

A–12. Do you have an endowment fund?

A–13. If your answer to question 12 is in the affirmative, answer questions 14, 15, 16, and 17.

A–14. What was the amount of your original endowment and in what manner was it granted to your organization?

A–15. What capital additions over $10,000 in amount have you received since your original endowment and from what sources?

A–16. Is your endowment fund perpetual or is it expendable on an optional or determined liquidating basis? Explain.

A–17. What is the amount of your present endowment?

A–18. What sources of income, other than from an endowment fund, has your organization?

A–19. List all gifts, grants, loans, contributions, or other sources of income for the years 1957–1961, showing the name of the donor, grantor, person, firm, or corporation making each gift, grant, loan, or contribution, the amount thereof and the year received.

A–20. Attach a balance sheet indicating the amounts of your assets, liabilities, and net worth as of the close of your last fiscal year.

A–21. What was your average gross income for the years 1958–1961, inclusive?

SECTION B

B–1. What is the purpose or purposes for which your organization was created as defined by your charter or other instrument creating your organization?

B–2. State the activities which your organization considers permissible under the purpose or purposes stated in your answer to question 1.

B–3. Who determines whether the funds of your organization are being spent within the limitations set forth in your answers to questions 1 and 2?

B–4. Who determines what gifts, grants, loans, contributions, or expenditures are to be made by your organization?

B–5. On what are the determinations specified in question 4 based?

B–6. With whom do proposals submitted to the person, persons, or group named in your answer to question 4 for gifts, grants, loans, contributions, and expenditures originate?

B–7. Is any individual or group of individuals charged with the duty of originating and developing plans, programs, and proposals for the distribution of your funds?

B–8. If the answer to question 7 is in the affirmative, state the names and positions of such persons.

B–9. Was an investigation of each individual named or specified in your answers to questions 3, 4, 7, and 8 made into his or her background and qualifications before he or she was elected, appointed, employed, or otherwise entrusted with his or her duties or responsibilities?

B–10. If the answer to question 9 is in the affirmative, give details as to the nature of such investigations, the manner in which they were conducted, and by whom.

B–11. If the answer to question 9 is in the affirmative, state when such investigations were first instituted.

B–12. If the answer to question 9 is in the affirmative, state the reasons for making such investigations, whether there has been any change in the policy of your organization in relation thereto, and, if so, the date and reasons therefor.

B–13. If the answer to question 9 is in the affirmative, state whether the results of such investigations were reduced to writing or if any memoranda were made in connection therewith.

B–14. If the answer to question 13 is in the affirmative, state whether such writings or memoranda (*a*) were extant as of January 1951, (*b*) are extant now, and (*c*) if extant, the person, firm, corporation, or organization in whose possession or custody they are.

B–15. If the answer to question 9 is in the affirmative, state whether any such investigation revealed any person hired or employed by or affiliated with your organization who at the time of the investigation had or prior thereto had had any affiliations with communist front organizations.

B–16. If the answer to question 15 is in the affirmative, state the name or names of such person or persons.

B–17. If the answer to question 9 is in the negative, state whether such investigations were ever considered or discussed by your organization or the trustees, board of directors, or officers thereof, and, if so, by whom and the basis of any decision reached in connection therewith.

B–18. If the answer to question 15 is in the affirmative, state what action was taken by your organization with reference to such person or persons.

B–19. What steps, if any, have been or are being taken to prevent infiltration of your organization by subversive persons?

B–20. If the answer to question 19 is in the negative, state whether you think it necessary or advisable to initiate procedures to prevent possible infiltration of subversives into your organization; and, if so, whether you intend to do so and the general routine of the intended procedures.

SECTION B

B-1. What is the purpose or purposes for which your organization was created as defined by your charter or other instrument creating your organization?

B-2. State the activities which your organization considers permissible under the purpose or purposes stated in your answer to question 1.

B-3. Who determines whether the funds of your organization are being spent within the limitations set forth in your answers to questions 1 and 2?

B-4. Who determines what gifts, grants, loans, contributions, or expenditures are to be made by your organization?

B-5. On what are the determinations specified in question 4 based?

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B-7. Is any individual or group of individuals charged with the duty of originating and developing plans, programs, and proposals for the distribution of your funds?

B-8. If the answer to question 7 is in the affirmative, state the names and positions of such persons.

B-9. Was an investigation of each individual named or specified in your answers to questions 3, 4, 7, and 8 made into his or her background and qualifications before he or she was elected, appointed, employed, or otherwise entrusted with his or her duties or responsibilities?

B-10. If the answer to question 9 is in the affirmative, give details as to the nature of such investigations, the manner in which they were conducted, and by whom.

B-11. If the answer to question 9 is in the affirmative, state when such investigations were first instituted.

B-12. If the answer to question 9 is in the affirmative, state the reasons for making such investigations, whether there has been any change in the policy of your organization in relation thereto, and, if so, the date and reasons therefor.

B-13. If the answer to question 9 is in the affirmative, state whether the results of such investigations were reduced to writing or if any memoranda were made in connection therewith.

B-14. If the answer to question 13 is in the affirmative, state whether such writings or memoranda (a) were extant as of January 1951, (b) are extant now, and (c) if extant, the person, firm, corporation, or organization in whose possession or custody they are.

B-15. If the answer to question 9 is in the affirmative, state whether any such investigation revealed any person hired or employed by or affiliated with your organization who at the time of the investigation had or prior thereto had had any affiliations with communist front organizations.

B-16. If the answer to question 15 is in the affirmative, state the name or names of such person or persons.

B-17. If the answer to question 9 is in the negative, state whether such investigations were ever considered or discussed by your organization or the trustees, board of directors, or officers thereof, and, if so, by whom and the basis of any decision reached in connection therewith.

B-18. If the answer to question 15 is in the affirmative, state what action was taken by your organization with reference to such person or persons.

B-19. What steps, if any, have been or are being taken to prevent infiltration of your organization by subversive persons?

B-20. If the answer to question 19 is in the negative, state whether you think it necessary or advisable to initiate procedures to prevent possible infiltration of subversives into your organization; and, if so, whether you intend to do so and the general routine of the intended procedures.

SECTION C

C–1. Have any gifts, grants, loans, contributions, or expenditures been made by your organization which were not in accordance with the purpose or purposes defined by the instrument establishing or creating your organization or the permissible activities of your organization set forth in your answers to questions 1 and 2 of section B?

C–2. If the answer to question 1 is in the affirmative, list the amount, recipient, date, and nature of such gift, grant, loan, contribution, or expenditure.

C–3. Does your organization follow up gifts, grants, loans, or contributions made by it to other agencies, foundations, institutions, or groups by investigation to determine the ultimate disposition of such moneys?

C–4. Has any gift, grant, loan, or contribution been made by you to another agency, foundation, organization, institution, or group which in turn made or makes gifts, grants, loans, contributions, or expenditures which are not permissible under your charter or instrument establishing your organization?

C–5. If the answer to question 4 is in the affirmative, list the amount, recipient, date, and nature of each such gift, grant, loan, contribution, or expenditure and the reasons for the making thereof.

C–6. In the making of gifts, grants, loans, contributions, or other expenditures does your organization consult with any other organizations such as the United States Government, educational groups, religious groups, labor groups, veterans' societies, patriotic societies, foreign governments, other foreign agencies? If so, explain.

C–7. List those institutions, operating agencies, publications, specific projects, individuals, foundations, and other groups which have received aid from your organization and the amounts and years and nature of such aid since 1935. (NOTE.—(*a*) If your filing system is so set up, it is desired that the lists be made up in alphabetical order. (*b*) Lists that are included as sections of published works will be accepted in fulfillment of 7 above.)

Orientation Fees

SECTION C

C-1. Have any gifts, grants, loans, contributions, or expenditures been made by your organization which were not in accordance with the purpose of purposes defined by the instrument establishing or creating your organization or the permissible activities of your organization set forth in your answers to questions 1 and 2 of section B?

C-2. If the answer to question 1 is in the affirmative, list the amount, recipient, date, and nature of such gift, grant, loan, contribution, or expenditure.

C-3. Does your organization follow up gifts, grants, loans, or contributions made by it to other agencies, foundations, institutions, or groups by investigation to determine the ultimate disposition of such moneys?

C-4. Has any gift, grant, loan, or contribution been made by you to another agency, foundation, organization, institution, or group which in turn made or makes gifts, grants, loans, contributions, or expenditures which are not permissible under your charter or instrument establishing your organization?

C-5. If the answer to question 4 is in the affirmative, list the amount, recipient, date, and nature of each such gift, grant, loan, contribution, or expenditure and the reasons for the making thereof.

C-6. In the making of gifts, grants, loans, contributions, or other expenditures does your organization consult with any other organizations such as the United States Government, educational groups, religious groups, labor groups, veterans' societies, patriotic societies, foreign governments, other foreign agencies? If so, explain.

C-7. List those institutions, operating agencies, publications, specific projects, individuals, foundations, and other groups which have received aid from your organization and the amounts and years and nature of such aid since 1933. (NOTE.—(a) If your filing system is so set up, it is desired that the lists be made up in alphabetical order. (b) Lists that are included as sections of published works will be accepted in fulfillment of 7 above.)

SECTION D

D–1. State your definition and your understanding of the meaning of the term "subversive" as that term is commonly used in public print today as applied to the activities of an individual, group of individuals, an association, organization, or an institution in relation to the Government of the United States.

D–2. Does your organization make any attempt to determine whether the immediate or eventual recipient (whether an individual, group of individuals, association, institution, or organization) of any grant, gift, loan, contribution, or expenditure made by your organization has been or is "subversive," as you have defined that term in answer to question 1, in advance of and/or after making such grant, gift, loan, contribution, or expenditure?

D–3. If the answer to question 2 is in the affirmative, state the nature of such attempted determination, how made, by whom, whether the results thereof are reduced to writing, and, if so, whether they are extant and where?

D–4. If the answer to question 2 is in the affirmative, state when such attempts were first initiated and why; also state whether such attempts have been made sporadically or whether such is established policy, and if the latter, when such policy was established.

D–5. If the answer to question 2 is in the negative, state whether such attempts were ever considered or discussed by your organization, its trustees, directors, or officers, and if so, by whom and the basis of any decision reached in connection therewith.

D–6. Does your organization check immediate, intermediary, or eventual recipients of grants, gifts, loans, or contributions from your organization against the list of subversive and related organizations prepared by the Attorney General of the United States?*

D–7. If your answer to question 6 is in the affirmative, state whether such listing of an organization by the Attorney General of the United States influences you in the making or withholding of grants, gifts, loans, contributions, or expenditures either directly or indirectly to organizations so listed.

D–8. If your answer to question 6 is in the negative, state the reasons therefor fully.

D–9. Do you consider it your duty or responsibility to consider the possible effects of grants, gifts, loans, or contributions to organizations which have been so listed by the Attorney General of the United States? Yes, we do!

D–10. Has your organization made any grants, gifts, loans, contributions, or expenditures either directly or indirectly through other organizations to any organization so listed by the Attorney General of the United States or to any individual, group of individuals, institution, or organization considered "subversive" as you have defined that term in answer to question 1? No!

D–11. If your answer to question 10 is in the affirmative, list the recipient and date of each such grant, gift, loan, contribution, or expenditure and the amount and nature thereof.

D–12. If your answer to question 10 is in the affirmative, state whether you knew such organization had been so listed by the Attorney General or was considered "subversive" at the time you made such grant, gift, loan, contribution, or expenditure.

D–13. If your answer to questions 10 and 12 are both in the affirmative, state your reasons for making such grant, gift, loan, contribution, or expenditure.

D–14. Has your organization made any grant, gift, loan, contribution, or expenditure directly or indirectly to any individual, group of individuals, organization, or institution which grant, gift, loan, contribution, or expenditure or recipient has been criticized or cited by the Un-American Activities Committee of the United States House of Representatives or the Subcommittee on Internal Security of the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate?

D–15. If your answer to question 14 is in the affirmative, list the recipient and date of each such grant, gift, loan, contribution, or expenditure and the amount and nature thereof.

*List of organizations designated by the Attorney General as within Executive Order No. 9835 according to the classification of Section 3, Part III, of the Executive Order.

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INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

SCHEDULE A

A-1 Institute of International Education, Inc.

A-2 A membership corporation not authorized to issue any shares of capital stock.

A-3 A New York corporation incorporated by the Department of State, State of New York. (Copy of certificate attached as Appendix I)

A-4 Its principal office is located at 1 East 67th Street, Borough of Manhattan, New York 21, New York.

A-5 It was organized in February 1919 and was incorporated February 25, 1920.

A-6 No.

A-7 (a) Yes, January 30, 1945 (copy of letter of notification attached as Appendix II).

(b) No.

A-8 No. The Institute is not a trust.

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

A-9 Trustees from 1935 - 1952

	Tenure
Dr. Arthur S. Adams President, American Council on Education 1785 Massachusetts Avenue Washington 6, D. C.	1950 - 1953
Dr. Raymond B. Allen Chancellor, University of California at Los Angeles Los Angeles, California	1950 - 1954
Mr. Frank Altschul 750 Fifth Avenue New York, New York	1948 - 1954
Dr. Frank Aydelotte 88 Battle Road Princeton, New Jersey	1925 - 1942
*Dr. L. H. Baekeland	1923 - 1943
Mr. Edward W. Barrett 137 Madison Avenue New York 16, New York	1948 - 1950
Dr. William W. Bishop 733 Oakland Avenue Ann Arbor, Michigan	1931 - 1946
President Sarah G. Blanding Vassar College Poughkeepsie, New York	1947 - 1952
Mr. Dudley B. Bonsal Curtis, Mallet-Prevost, Colt & Mosle 63 Wall Street New York 5, New York	1949 - 1954
Mr. Lindsay Bradford President, City Bank Farmers Trust Company 22 William Street New York, New York	1947 - 1953
Mr. Thomas E. Braniff President, Braniff International Airways Love Field Dallas, Texas	1951 - 1953

*Deceased

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

	Terms
Dr. Ralph J. Bunche Director, Department of Trusteeship United Nations New York, New York	1950 - 1952
Mr. Erwin D. Canham Editor, Christian Science Monitor 1 Norway Street Boston, Massachusetts	1948 - 1952
*Dr. Samuel P. Capen	1925 - 1946
Dr. Harry J. Carman Columbia College, Columbia University New York 27, New York	1942 - 1952
Dr. William G. Carr Executive Secretary, National Education Association 1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W. Washington 6, D. C.	1950 - 1953
Dr. Everett N. Case President, Colgate University Hamilton, New York	1950 - 1952
*Dr. J. McKeen Cattell	1930 - 1940
*Dr. Joseph P. Chamberlain	1933 - 1949
Dr. Arthur H. Compton Chancellor, Washington University St. Louis, Missouri	1948 - 1953
President John S. Dickey Dartmouth College Hanover, New Hampshire	1947 - 1950
*Mr. Laurence Duggan	1946 - 1948
*Dr. Stephen Duggan	1920 - 1950
Mr. Stephen P. Duggan, Jr. Simpson, Thacher and Bartlett 120 Broadway New York 5, New York	1950 - 1953
Mr. John Foster Dulles 72 East 91 Street New York, New York	1931 - 1947

*Deceased

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

	Tenure
Dr. Frederick S. Dunn Director, Institute of International Studies Princeton University Princeton, New Jersey	1950 - 1952
Dr. Milton Eisenhower President, Pennsylvania State College State College, Pennsylvania	1951 - 1953
*Dr. Livingston Farrand	1928 - 1940
Miss Virginia Gildersleeve Bedford Village, New York	1927 - 1949
Mr. Kenneth Holland, President Institute of International Education 1 East 67 Street New York 21, New York	1950 - 1954
Mr. Arthur A. Houghton, Jr. President, Steuben Glass, Inc. 718 Fifth Avenue New York, New York	1951 - 1954
Dr. Bryn J. Hovde 5825 Darlington Road Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	1947 - 1951
*Dr. Walter A. Jessup	1935 - 1945
Dr. Alvin Johnson 6840 Eastern Avenue, N.W. Washington, D. C.	1929 - 1947
Dr. Walter Kotschnig Chief, Division U.N. Economic and Social Affairs Department of State Washington, D. C.	1947 - 1952
*Mr. Thomas W. Lamont, Sr.	1932 - 1947
Dr. Waldo G. Leland 2122 Washington Street Newton Lower Falls 62, Massachusetts	1941 - 1949
Mrs. Samuel A. Lothrop 45 East 82d Avenue New York, New York	1947 - 1953
President Benjamin E. Mays Morehouse College Atlanta, Georgia	1948 - 1954

*Deceased

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

Terms

Mr. Leonard McCollum..... 1949 - 1954
President, Continental Oil Company
Houston, Texas

President J. Hillis Miller..... 1948 - 1952
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida

*Judge John Bassett Moore..... 1920 - 1946

Mrs. Maurice T. Moore..... 1948 - 1953
1000 Park Avenue
New York 28, New York

*Dr. Paul Monroe..... 1920 - 1947

*Mr. Henry Morgenthau, Sr..... 1920 - 1947

Mr. Edward R. Murrow..... 1951 - 1952
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

*Dr. William A. Neilson..... 1941 - 1946

Mr. James M. Nicely..... 1947 - 1953
Vice President, First National Bank
2 Wall Street
New York, New York

*Mr. C. Lathrop Pack..... 1928 - 1939

Mr. Arthur W. Packard..... 1931 - 1950
Director, Bowman Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

*Dr. Henry S. Pritchett..... 1920 - 1939

Mr. Philip Reed..... 1947 - 1950
Chairman of the Board, International General
Electric Corporation
570 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York

Mr. Dorsey Richardson..... 1948 - 1953
Vice President, Lehman Corporation
1 South William Street
New York 4, New York

*Deceased

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

Terms

Mrs. Henry Potter Russell..... 1950 - 1952
555 Eucalyptus Drive
Burlingame, California

Dr. Leland Rex Robinson..... 1951 - 1953
Bishop's Service
76 Beaver Street
New York, New York

Mr. Michael Ross..... 1948 - 1951
Congress of Industrial Organizations
718 Jackson Place
Washington, D. C.

Dr. William F. Russell..... 1932 - 1940
President, Teachers College
Columbia University
New York 27, New York

Mr. Eustace Seligman..... 1951 - 1954
Sullivan & Cromwell
48 Wall Street
New York, New York

Mr. G. Howland Shaw..... 1946 - 1948
2723 N. Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

President George N. Shuster..... 1948 - 1949
Hunter College 1951 - 1954
New York 21, New York

Dr. Walter A. Sidere..... 1930 - 1938
National Education Association
Washington, D. C.

President Robert G. Sproul..... 1949 - 1950
University of California
Berkeley, California

Mr. Mark Starr
International Ladies Garment Workers Union..... 1948 - 1952
1710 Broadway
New York, New York

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

	Tenure
President George D. Stoddard University of Illinois Urbana, Illinois	1948 - 1952
Mr. Jack Straus R. H. Macy & Company New York, New York	1949 - 1950
Mr. Ordway Tead Harper & Bros. 49 East 33 Street New York, New York	1948 - 1954
Mr. Juan Trippe President, Pan American World Airways System. 135 East 42 Street New York, New York	1947 - 1954
Mr. Eliot Wadsworth Department of State Washington, D. C.	1931 - 1936
*Miss Mary E. Woolley	1920 - 1947
*Dr. George F. Zook	1947 - 1950

* Deceased

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

Item 3 Each present trustee has been requested to provide, in writing, information as to whether he is a trustee, director, or officer of any other tax-exempt organization or of any corporation or other business organization related directly or indirectly to the Institute. The following is the information received to date. The responses on other trustees will be transmitted to the Committee as soon as received.

Trustees

Arthur S. Adams
Council on Student Travel (Member, Executive Committee)
Brookings Institution (Member, Board of Trustees)
Working Film Committee, Inc. (Member, Board of Trustees)
Educational Testing Service (Member, Board of Trustees)
Franklin Publications, Inc. (Member, Board of Trustees)
American Council on Education (President)

Dudley B. Bonsal
Ayer Foundation, Inc. (Director and Secretary)

William G. Carr
American Peace Society (Director)
National Education Association (Executive Secretary)

Don't like multiple

Walter H. Eisenberg
(none)

Mrs. Samuel A. Lewisohn
Public Education Association (Chairman, Board of Trustees
Vassar College (Member, Board of Trustees)
Advisory Board on Vocational Education (Member, Board of Trustees)
National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools (Member, Board of Trustees)

Mrs. Maurice E. Moore
(Vice Chairman, Board of Trustees, Institute of International Education)
Wellesley College (Trustee)
YWCA National Board (Board member)
United Service Organization National Board (Board member)
China Institute in America (Trustee and Vice Chairman)
United Service to China (Vice Chairman of the Board)
Aid Refugee Chinese Intellectuals (Vice Chairman of the Board)

Dorsey Richardson
Episcopal Investment Fund of the (Episcopal) Diocese of New Jersey (Trustee)
The Johns Hopkins Fund (Member of National Executive Committee)
The National Association of Investment Companies (Member, Executive Committee)
Dorothea Van Dyke Relief Association (Trustee)

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

A-10 Executive Officers

Kenneth Holland, President

Federation de L'Alliance Francaise (Member of the Board of Directors)
American Society for Friendship with Switzerland (Member of the Board)
Germanistic Society of America (Board of Directors)
Greater N. Y. Council for Foreign Students (Member of Executive Committee)
Foundation for Youth and Student Affairs (Board of Directors)

Donald J. Shank, Executive Vice President

National Association of Foreign Student Advisors (Member, Executive Board)

A-11 Kenneth Holland, President
Business address: 1 East 67th Street, New York 21, New York
home address: 28 Avon Road, Bronxville, New York

Donald J. Shank, Executive Vice President and Secretary
Business address: 1 East 67th Street, New York 21, New York
home address: 41 Walworth Avenue, Scarsdale, New York

John D. Wilson, Vice President and Assistant Treasurer
Business address: 1 East 67th Street, New York 21, New York
home address: 10 Alden Place, Bronxville, New York

A-12 The Institute has no endowment to cover administrative expenses. In connection with its program funds, the Institute has been left a small endowment, the income from which supports one scholarship.

A-13 See A-14, A-15, A-16, A-17

A-14 Original amount of endowment Lennora Lindsley Scholarship Fund was $[illegible]. It was granted in the form of both cash and securities, with stipulation that income from it be used for a specific scholarship purpose.

A-15 No capital additions have been made since original endowment.

A-16 The Endowment fund for the scholarship under reference is perpetual.

A-17 The Institute has no endowment for administrative purposes. The amount of the scholarship endowment is $[illegible].

A-10 Trustees (Cont'd.)

Raymond B. Allen
- Carnegie Fund for the Advancement of Teaching (Trustee)
- Educational Testing Service (Trustee)
- University of California at Los Angeles (Trustee)
- Transportation Association of America (Director, Trustee)

Sarah Gibson Blanding
- The Edward W. Hazen Foundation (Trustee)
- Fund for Adult Education (Director)
- Committee for Economic Development (Trustee)

Lindsay Bradford
- American Academy in Rome (Trustee and Treasurer)
- American Hospital of Istanbul
- Barnard College (Trustee)
- Carnegie Institution of Washington (Trustee and Vice Chairman of Board)
- Community Service Society (Trustee)
- Europe Relief Fund (Manager)
- Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York (Director)
- Miriam Osborn Memorial Home (Trustee)
- New York Foundation (Trustee)
- New York-USO Defense Fund, Inc. (Director)

Harry J. Carman
- Bard College (Trustee)
- Atlanta University (Trustee)
- Barnard College (Trustee)
- New York State Citizens Council (Director)
- Manhattanville Neighborhood Community Center (Director
- Negro Scholarship and Service Fund (Director)
- John Hay Whitney Foundation (Officer)

Arthur Holly Compton
- Washington University (Chancellor)
- College of Wooster (Chairman, Board of Trustees)
- Smithsonian Institution (Regent)
- American Association for Advancement of Science (Vice President)
- National Conference of Christians and Jews (Board of Directors)
- World Brotherhood (General Chairman)
- St. Louis Symphony (Board of Directors)
- St. Louis Metropolitan YMCA (Board of Directors)
- Jefferson National Expansion Memorial (Board of Trustees)
- St. Louis Convention and Publicity Bureau (Director)
- Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (Trustee)

Stephen P. Duggan, Jr.
- Phillips Exeter Academy (Trustee)
- Dalton Schools, Inc. (Trustee)
- New School for Social Research (Trustee)
- Storm King School (Trustee)
- 110th Street Community Center, Inc. (President and Director)
- Russian Student Fund Inc. (Director)

Trustees (Cont'd.)

Arthur A. Houghton, Jr.
- The American Federation of Arts (Trustee)
- The Corning Museum of Glass, (Vice President, Trustee)
- Foundation for Youth and Student Affairs (President, Director)
- French Institute in the United States (Trustee)
- The Hammond-Harwood House, Assn. Inc. (Director)
- International Institute of American Civilization, Inc. (Trustee)
- Keats-Shelley Association of America (Vice President and Director)
- The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Trustee)
- National Council for Historic Sites & Buildings (Member, Executive Board)
- The New York Public Library (Trustee)
- Queen Anne's County Free Library (Trustee)
- Parsons School of Design (Trustee)
- The Philharmonic-Symphony Society of New York (Director
- The Pierpont Morgan Library (Trustee)
- St. John's College (Trustee)
- The Shakespeare Association of America, Inc. (President, Director)
- Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities (Director)
- Wye Parish (Member of the Vestry)

Benjamin E. Mays
- Morehouse College (Trustee)
- National YMCA (Board Member)
- Southern Area YMCA (Board Member)
- National Association for Advancement of Colored People (Board Member)
- Southern Regional Council (Board Member)
- National Council of Teachers of Christ in USA (Board Member)

Joseph Hillis Miller
- Jacksonville Branch, Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta (Director)
- Southern Regional Education (Board of Control Member)
- Southeastern Conference (Vice President)
- Florida State Chamber of Commerce (Director)
- Gainesville Boys Club (Director)

Edward R. Murrow
- Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (Trustee)
- Ford Foundation Board on Overseas Training and Research (Member)
- The Correspondents Fund of the Overseas Press Club of America (Vice President)

James H. Nicely
- University of Chicago (Trustee)
- American University of Beirut (Trustee and Vice President)
- Chapin School, Ltd. (Trustee)
- Corporation of the Brick Presbyterian Church in the City of New York (President, Board of Trustees)
- Union Settlement Association (Director and Vice President)
- Teachers Insurance & Annuity Ass'n. (Trustee)

Trustees (Cont'd)

Leland Rex Robinson
- The Irwin Foundation (Vice President and Director)
- Phi Beta Kappa Associates (Trustee)
- Empire State Foundation of Independent Liberal Arts Colleges (Trustee)
- American Bureau for Medical Aid to China (Director
- American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service (Treasurer and Director)
- Economists National Committee on Monetary Policies (Vice President)
- Knox College (Trustee and Chairman of the Board)

Mrs. Henry Potter Russell
- World Affairs Council of Northern California (Director)
- San Francisco Museum of Art (Director)
- Mills College (Trustee)
- Katharine Branson School (Trustee)
- San Francisco Foundation (Trustee)
- United Defense Fund, San Francisco, (Director)
- Committee for a Free Asia (Director)
- California Academy of Science (Trustee)

Rastus Seligman
- Foreign Policy Association (Trustee and Treasurer)
- The Legal Aid Society (Director and Treasurer)
- American Foundation for the Blind (Director and Secretary)
- American Foundation for Overseas Blind (Director and Secretary)
- National Fund for Medical Education (Trustee)
- Amherst College (Trustee)
- Civil Service Reform Association (Member of Executive Committee & Law Committee)
- The Young Men's Symphony Orchestra of New York (Director)

Mark Starr
- American Labor Education Service (Board Member)
- League for Industrial Democracy (Board Member)
- ILGWU (Staff Member)

George D. Stoddard
- Rand Corporation (Member, Board of Trustees)
- Educational Testing Service (Member, Board of Trustees)

Ordway Tead
- Board of Higher Education (Chairman)
- Board of Trustees-Briarcliff Junior College (Chairman)
- American Institute of Management (Director)
- Harper and Brothers, Publishers (Director)

William G. Carr (Additional information)
- World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession (Secretary-General)

A-10

Trustees (Cont'd.)

Frank Altschul
- Cecile Thaggart Catt Memorial Fund (Trustee)
- China Institute in America (Trustee)
- Committee for Economic Development (Trustee)
- Committee for the Promotion of Advanced Slavic Cultural Studies (Member of Committee)
- Council on Foreign Relations (Vice President and Secretary)
- English Speaking Union (Member of Board of Directors)
- Karl Marx Fund (Trustee)
- National Planning Association (Vice Chairman)
- Stanford Hospital (Member of Executive Committee)
- Woodrow Wilson Foundation (Vice President)
- Yale University (Member of Council and Trustee of Yale Library Associates

George H. Shuster
- Hunter College Student Social, Community, and Religious Clubs Association (Director)

Fund for the Republic, Ford Foundation (Director)

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

A-18 The Institute receives income for two purposes: a) to cover administrative expenses (Administrative Funds), and b) to pay out as scholarships or stipends to grantees under various programs (Program Funds). The sources of these two types of income are as follows:

a) Administrative Funds - The Institute receives grants or gifts for general administrative purposes from foundations, corporations, colleges, and universities and individuals. It also receives funds under Contracts with government agencies to cover specific expenses incurred in administering exchange programs for those agencies. Similarly, it receives funds from other non-governmental organizations to meet expenses of operating programs for them. Finally it receives a small amount of income from publications.

b) Program Funds - The funds which support the scholarships and stipends granted to foreign and American students and specialists in various programs come from a wide variety of sources. In many cases, the funds are paid directly to the recipient by the sponsoring agency with whom the Institute is cooperating and are not actually received and transmitted by the Institute.

Sources of program funds are:

1. Colleges and Universities in the United States and abroad
2. National Fraternities and sororities
3. Service Organizations - Rotary, Lions, etc.
4. Clubs - General Federation of Women's Clubs, Soroptimists, etc.
5. Bi-National Organizations - English-Speaking Union, American-Scandinavian Foundation, etc.
6. United States Government agencies

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH

A-18 7. Other governments

8. Foundations

9. Other agencies - religious, social, cultural

10. Individuals

For further details, see A-19.

A-19 As indicated in A-18 the income of the Institute of International Education is designated for two purposes: Administrative and Program costs. The following is the annual report of income for Administrative and Program funds as presented in the audited financial statements of the Institute. (The statement for the past fiscal year is not yet audited, inasmuch as the annual audit is still underway. However, data from the unaudited statement is presented.) These reports do not include the names of individuals and corporations who have contributed to the general support of the Institute. This information, which involves the compilation of considerable detail, is now being brought together and will be forwarded to the Committee upon completion within the next several weeks.

To complete later

It should be pointed out that the breakdown between Administrative and Program Funds in the statements covering the fiscal years October 1, 1940 - Sept.30, 1941 to October 1, 1947 - September 30, 1948 is not entirely complete. The full amount of income received from government agencies for programs in these years is listed under Program Funds. However, part of this income was used for administering the government programs in questions. Since the Institute did not, in the years referred to, have a consolidated statement showing administrative income from both private and governmental sources, and the preparation of such a consolidated statement would have required substantial clerical labor, funds received from government agencies in these years are listed solely as Program Funds.

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

Statement of Funds Received
October 1, 1936 - September 30, 1937

Administrative Funds

Carnegie Corporation of New York	$60,000.00	
The Rockefeller Foundation	34,100.00	
Legacy from Charles Lathrop Pack	5,000.00	
American Field Service Fellowships	2,500.00	
Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation	1,250.00	
Individual Contributions	1,877.00	
Income from News Bulletin Subscriptions	426.35	
Interest on Saving Banks Accounts	321.71	
Income from Application Forms and Publications	153.70	
Royalties Received	12.40	
Total Administrative Funds		$105,641.16

Program Funds

Art and Archaeology Scholarships	9,000.00	
Carnegie Corporation - Extra - Mural Lectures	13,195.00	
Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst Funds for German Exchange Students	2,258.90	
Bibliotheca Central de Educacao	1,008.68	
Special Student Fund	2,000.00	
Germanistic Society Fellowship	375.00	
Hungarian Aid Fund	186.80	
Carnegie Endowment - Chilean Study and Travel Scholarships	1,000.00	
Foreign Summer Schools	1,045.40	
Exchange Students Group Insurance	4,325.25	
Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst "German Education Today"	37.10	
Sundry Accounts Receivable	5,183.28	
Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars	86.60	
Total Program Funds		$ 39,680.22

TOTAL FUNDS RECEIVED $145,321.38

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

Statement of Funds Received
October 1, 1957 - September 30, 1958

Administrative Funds

Carnegie Corporation of New York	$60,000.00	
American Field Service Fellowships	[illegible]	
Individual Contributions	[illegible]	
Income from News Bulletin Subscriptions	[illegible]	
Interest on Saving Banks Accounts	[illegible]	
Income from Application Forms and Publications	[illegible]	
Royalties Received	[illegible]	
Total Administrative Funds		$[illegible]

Program Funds

American University Union	$22,000.00	
Art and Archaeology Scholarships	[illegible]	
Carnegie Corporation-Extra Rural Lectures	10,670.00	
American University Union-Special	[illegible]	
Proceeds of sale of U.S. Savings Bonds and accrued interest thereon	[illegible]	
Exchange Students Group Insurance	[illegible]	
Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars	182.59	
Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst - Funds for German Exchange Students	[illegible]	
German Education Today	[illegible]	
Joost Zeider Steens Memorial Lectureship	[illegible]	
Carnegie Endowment-Chilean Study and Travel Grants	[illegible]	
Germanistic Society Fellowship	[illegible]	
Foreign Summer Schools	[illegible]	
Hungarian Aid Fund	[illegible]	
National University Library, Cordoba	[illegible]	
Sundry Accounts Receivable	[illegible]	
Total Program Funds		$[illegible]
TOTAL FUNDS RECEIVED		$[illegible]

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

Statement of Funds Received
October 1, 1938 - September 30, 1939

Administrative Funds

Carnegie Corporation of New York	$40,000.00	
War Memorial Fund-American University Union	3,000.00	
American Field Service Fellowships	2,500.00	
Individual Contributions	1,085.00	
Income from Application Forms and Publications	582.07	
Income from News Bulletin Subscriptions	427.08	
Interest on Saving Bank Accounts	114.91	
Royalties Received	8.26	
Total Administrative Funds		$67,717.32

Program Funds

American University Union	$17,800.22	
Art and Archaeology Scholarships	8,400.00	
Carnegie Endowment-Chilean Study and Travel Scholarships	1,000.00	
Germanistic Society Fellowship	750.00	
Handbook for American Students in France	1,000.00	
Jesse Isidor Straus Memorial Lectureship	2,500.00	
Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst	1,099.17	
German Refugee Student Aid Fund	285.00	
Latin American Bureau	250.00	
Czecho-Slovak Student Aid Fund	500.00	
Oficina Bibliografica de la Universidad Nacional de Cordoba	103.91	
Special Student Fund	64.35	
Emergency Committee-Displaced Foreign Scholars	226.21	
Foreign Summer Schools	447.40	
German Education Today	17.85	
Committee in Aid of Refugee Scholars from Spain	1,394.60	
Exchange Students Group Insurance	3,099.24	
Sundry Accounts Receivable and Accounts Payable	4,765.32	
Total Program Funds		$43,605.27
TOTAL FUNDS RECEIVED		$111,322.59

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

Statement of Funds Received
October 1, 1939-September 30, 1940

Administrative Funds

Carnegie Corporation of New York	$60,000.00	
American Field Service Fellowships	1,675.00	
American University Union - Contributions	1,375.00	
Individual Contributions	920.00	
Income from News Bulletin Subscriptions	464.44	
Royalties Received	25.65	
Income from Application Forms and Publications	17.25	
Total Administrative Funds		$64,677.34

Program Funds

American University Union	$16,375.00	
Carnegie Endowment - Chilean Study and Travel Scholarships	1,000.00	
Latin American Bureau	2,500.00	
Czecho-Slovak Student Aid Fund	600.00	
Czecho-Slovak Student Loan Fund	642.50	
Germanistic Society Fellowship	375.00	
Calvin Rice Memorial Scholarship	500.00	
Anaconda Fellowship	1,500.00	
Mene Grande Oil Company Fellowships	2,000.00	
National City Bank Latin American Fellowship	1,000.00	
University of Western Australia Fellowship	959.45	
Oficina Bibliografica de la Universidad Nacional de Cordoba	252.40	
Committee in Aid of Refugee Scholars from Spain	144.34	
Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars	247.87	
Peru Summer School	6,205.00	
"German Education Today"	.70	
Exchange Students' Group Insurance	1,652.61	
Sundry Accounts Receivable and Accounts Payable	3,455.15	
Total Program Funds		$39,389.80
TOTAL FUNDS RECEIVED		$104,067.14

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

Statement of Funds Received
October 1, 1940 - September 30, 1941

Administrative Funds

Carnegie Corporation of New York	$ 60,000.00	
American Field Service Fellowships for French Universities, Inc.	1,125.00	
American University Union - Contributions	935.00	
Income from News Bulletin Subscriptions	418.15	
Royalties Received	5.03	
Individual Contributions	750.00	
Income from Application Forms and Publications	6.00	
Total Administrative Funds		$ 63,239.18

Program Funds

American University Union	18,337.00	
United States of America - Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs		
Contract ND Car - 16 Paragraph (a)	500.00	
(b)	7,500.00	
Guide Book for Latin American Students in the United States	1,000.00	
University of San Marcos Summer School	10,695.93	
Peru Summer School	6,350.00	
Canadian Fellowship	1,800.00	
Anaconda Fellowship	1,500.00	
Thomas J. Watson Fellowship	1,000.00	
Carnegie Endowment - Chilean Study and Travel Scholarships	1,000.00	
Czecho-Slovak Student Loan Fund	900.00	
Czecho-Slovak Student Aid Fund	65.00	
Germanistic Society Fellowships	750.00	
French Students Aid	824.79	
Iranian Student Revolving Loan Fund	406.10	
National City Bank - Latin American Fellowship	661.50	
Calvin Rice Memorial Scholarship	500.00	
University of Western Australia Fellowships	159.89	
Chile Exploration Company Fellowship	500.00	
Latin American Bureau	30.00	
Oficina Bibliografica de la Universidad Nacional de Cordoba, Cordoba, Argentina	302.12	
Exchange Students Group Insurance	3,002.50	
International Student Committee	1,151.53	
Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars	437.56	
Sundry Accounts Receivable and Accounts Payable	7,868.64	
Total Program Funds		$ 67,242.56
TOTAL FUNDS RECEIVED		$130,481.74

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

Statement of Funds Received
October 1, 1941 - September 30, 1942

Administrative Funds		
Carnegie Corporation of New York	$60,000.00	
American Field Service Fellowships for French Universities, Inc.	875.00	
Individual Contributions	874.00	
Income from News Bulletin Subscriptions	320.25	
Royalties Received	17.10	
Income from Application Forms and Publications	3.44	
TOTAL ADMINISTRATIVE FUNDS		$62,190.79
Program Funds		
Note Payable - Guaranty Trust Company	10,000.00	
American University Union	15,326.40	
Reserve for Bonus - Mrs. Dalton	750.00	
United States of America-Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs	154,776.85	
Carnegie Corporation		
Extramural Lectures	744.72	
Canadian Fellowship	1,500.00	
Hector Morrison	1,000.00	
Charles Morgan	4,916.78	
Winter "Summer Schools" Students' Funds	16,478.00	
Germanistic Society of America Fellowship	1,125.00	
Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars	554.65	
Oficina Bibliografica de la Universidad Nacional de Cordoba	144.08	
Chilean Study and Travel Grants	1,000.00	
Italy America Society	415.00	
Carmen Orchard	500.00	
Prince Hubertus zu Loewenstein	500.56	
Czecho Slovak Student Loan Fund	10.00	
Turkish Government		
Students	6,658.56	
Administration	1,250.00	
Instituto Brasil Estados Unidos	2,000.00	
International Student Committee	225.00	
Reserve for Czech Refugee Student Transportation	350.00	
Ladies Home Journal "Emblem of the Americas" Scholarship	1,601.60	
Greek Student Fund	250.00	
Iranian Student Revolving Loan Fund	250.00	
Inter-American Music Committee Scholarship	450.00	
Southern Education and Charitable Trust Fellowship	2,000.00	
Accounts Receivable and Payable	4,209.57	
Group Insurance Premiums	4,281.05	
Accident - War Risk Insurance Premiums	1,245.25	
Student Fund - Riverside Church	100.00	
TOTAL PROGRAM FUNDS		$235,174.67
TOTAL FUNDS RECEIVED		**$297,365.46**

Statement of Funds Received
October 1, 1942 - September 30, 1943

Administrative Funds

Carnegie Corporation of New York	$80,000.00	
Individual Contributions	625.00	
Income From News Bulletin Subscriptions	336.45	
American Field Service Fellowships for French Universities, Inc.	300.00	
Royalties Received	12.04	
Income From Application Forms and Publications	3.60	
Total Administrative Funds		$81,277.09

Program Funds

Accounts Receivable and Payable	$10,979.41	
War Insurance Premiums	3,616.75	
Assistant - War Risk Insurance Premiums	271.75	
United States of America Coordinator of Interdamerican Affairs	250,716.16	
Defense Supplies Corporation	1,355.00	
Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations		
Department of State	120,000.00	
Turkish Government		
Students	3,005.84	
Administration	2,500.00	
Iranian Student Revolving Loan Fund	500.00	
Rumanian Refugee Scholarships	10,979.55	
Administration	225.00	
Calvin Hill Memorial Fellowship	500.00	
Greek Student Fund	250.00	
Refugee Scholar Fund	9,000.00	
Federal Taxes Withheld	3,[illegible]	
Art Fellowship	4,000.00	
Amherst Fellowship	1,500.00	
New School for Social Research Fellowship	1,000.00	
Counsel and Guidance Loan Fund	570.00	
Carnegie Corporation - Canadian Fellowship	1,500.00	
Guggenheim Society of America Fellowship	750.00	
American University Union	12,000.00	
Ladies Home Journal "Emblem of the Americas" Scholarship Fund	50.00	
Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars	425.51	
International Student Committee Fund	54.00	

Program Funds (Con't)

Inter-American Music Committee Scholarship		
Southern Education and Charitable Trust Fellowship		
Carnegie Corporation - Educational Lectures		
Institute Brasil - Rotsday Building		
Loan - Guaranty Trust Company		
Student Service of America		
Latin American Survey		
French Student Aid Fund		
Czechs Slovak Student Loan Fund	$250.00	
Czechs Slovak Student Aid	35.00	
Sundry	[illegible]	
TOTAL PROGRAM FUNDS		$[illegible].250.74
TOTAL FUNDS RECEIVED		$[illegible].187.82

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

Statement of Funds Received
October 1, 1943 - September 30, 1944

Administrative Funds		
Carnegie Corporation of New York	$60,000.00	
Administration and Supervision of Turkish Government Students in United States	4,185.35	
Income from Home Bulletin Subscriptions	599.19	
American Field Service Fellowships for French Universities, Inc.	500.00	
Individual Contributions	310.00	
American University Union	250.00	
Sundry	48.91	
TOTAL ADMINISTRATIVE FUNDS		$65,893.45
Program Funds		
United States of America		
Department of State - per schedule	$180,861.22	
Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs - per schedule	55,485.04	
American University Union - per schedule		
The Readers Digest Scholarships	22,136.50	
Refugee Scholar Fund	19,010.00	
Student Service of America	2,097.50	
Dr. Herman Bernhardt	3,000.00	
Brazilian Embassy - BASP Students	2,000.00	
Institute Brasil Estados Unidos	2,000.00	
Pilot Club International Fellowship	1,000.00	
Turkish Government-Administration-Supervision of Turkish Government Students in the United States		
Mrs. La Rubio - Art Fellowship		
Southern Education and Charitable Trust Fellowship	1,200.00	
Professor Luis Alberto Sanchez	1,537.90	
Cabaldon Fellowship		
Inter-American Relations Society	985.89	
Inter-American Aviation Training Program	865.00	
Ladies Home Journal "Emblem of American" Scholarship		
Annenberg Fellowship		
New School for Social Research Art Fellowship		
Iranian Student Revolving Loan Fund		
Kappa Kappa Gamma Fraternity Fellowship	800.00	
Germanistic Society of America Fellowship	375.00	
Calvin Rice Memorial Fellowship	400.00	
Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars	310.89	
Loan Fund - Repayments 500-512	465.00	
Loan Fund - Counsel and Guidance Center	658.00	
Dr. Leland Rex Robinson	477.98	
Special Scholar Fund	310.00	
Sundry	501.40	
Federal Taxes Withheld	11,704.45	
Group Insurance Premiums	5,828.01	
Accounts Receivable and Payable	9,061.88	
TOTAL PROGRAM FUNDS		$323,429.12
TOTAL FUNDS RECEIVED		$389,322.57

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

Statement of Funds Received
October 1, 1944--September 30, 1945

Administrative Funds

Carnegie Corporation of New York	$54,000.00	
Individual Contributions	3,130.00	
Income from News Bulletin Subscriptions	695.25	
American Field Service Fellowships for French Universities, Inc.	500.00	
American University Union	250.00	
Application Forms and Publications	95.70	
Sundry	89.25	
TOTAL RECEIPTS		$ [illegible],758.20

Program Funds

[illegible] of America		
Department of State	322,142.40	
Office of Inter-American Affairs	54,001.30	
Interamerican Educational Foundation, Inc.	117,402.72	
American University Union - New Paris Office	5,045.00	
Accounts Receivable and Payable	7,022.00	
Federal Income Taxes Withheld	12,722.24	
Group Insurance Premiums	6,449.00	
Emergency Committee in aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars	120.84	
Calvin Rice Memorial Fellowship	500.00	
Germanistic Society of America Fellowship	750.00	
Anaconda Fellowship	1,200.00	
General Federation of Women's Clubs Fellowship	750.00	
Student Service of America-Administration	2,054.67	
Student Service of America-Special Account	3,615.00	
Account of Dr. Hermann Bernhardt	1,950.00	
Iran American Relations Society-Students' Funds	75.00	
Books for French Cultural Institutions	4,525.50	
Brazilian National Service of Industrial Apprenticeship	18,000.00	
Account of Lorenzo Arenaya	500.00	
Pilot Club International Fellowship	1,000.00	
International Student Committee	5.00	
The Netherland-America Foundation Fellowships	1,300.00	
The Netherland-America Foundation Fellowships-Administration	[illegible]	
Institute Brasil Estados Unidos	999.50	
Student Aid - Helen Fisher	300.00	
Scholarship for Mexican Student	500.00	
Czecho Slovak Student Loan Fund	447.00	
		$602,352.10
TOTAL FUNDS RECEIVED		$ 661,093.30

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

Statement of Funds Received
October 1, 1945 - September 30, 1946

Administrative Funds

Carnegie Corporation of New York	$ 50,000.00	
Individual Contributions	1,100.00	
Greek Committee Fellowships	1,000.00	
Repatriation of Turkish Government Students in the United States	215.00	
American Field Service Fellowships for French Universities, Inc.	1,125.00	
Income from News Bulletin Subscriptions	723.09	
Sundry	78.05	
Total Administrative Funds		$ 54,301.14

Program Funds

United States Government Contracts	401,422.02
Accounts Receivable and Payable	3,007.00
Interest and Dividends	6,642.22
Sundry Miscellaneous Funds	13,007.35
Federal Income Taxes Withheld	15,428.26
Application Fees	542.51
Student Service of America	1,622.69
Young American Student Exchange - Revolving Travel Fund	244.42
Refugee Scholar Fund	322.02
Institute Bowl - Estates United	220.20
Miscellaneous Sundry account of students	1,722.27
Student Aid Fund	721.74
Committee on the Junior Year in France	129.22
Greek Committee Fellowships - Administration	2,000.00
The Honorary Wilgus Welcoming Hospitality Fund	221.27
American National Service of Industrial Apprenticeship	22,000.00
Account of Mr. Jose Iturbi	7,000.00
Fulbright - United States Co-operative Fellowship Program	6,000.00
Commonwealth Society of America Fellowship	375.00
Norwegian Student Emergency Program - Administration	1,250.00
Anderson Fellowship	1,000.00
Account of Lester Armour	600.00
Quota Club International - Fellowship	1,000.00
Account of Mr. Hermann Hardwick	2,000.00
Calvin Shaw Memorial Fellowship	500.00
Phi Kappa Sigma Fraternity Fellowship	500.00
General Federation of Women's Clubs Fellowship	500.00
The Rockefeller Foundation Fellowships	9,720.00
American Field Service Fellowships for French Universities	12,000.00

Balance carried forward on following page.....

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INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

Statement of Funds Received
October 1, 1945 - September 30, 1946

Balance brought forward from first page.....		
American Relief for Prague - Supplementary Grants.	$ [illegible]	
Fulbrightscholarship Fellowships	[illegible]	
Rockefeller Fellowship	[illegible]	
Research by Mature Fellowship	[illegible]	
Kappa Alpha Theta Fraternity Fellowships	[illegible]	
Fulbright Grants	[illegible]	
Greek Students' Funds (Athens College)	[illegible]	
Wrigley Foundation Fellowships	[illegible]	
Shell Chemical Corporation Fellowships	[illegible]	
Sundry	[illegible]	
Total Program Funds	[illegible]	[illegible]
TOTAL FUNDS RECEIVED		[illegible]

B4

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

Statement of Funds Received
October 1, 1946 - September 30, 1947

Administrative Funds

Carnegie Corporation of New York	$100,000.00	
Contributions	1,010.00	
American Field Service Fellowships	1,000.00	
Inter-American Educational Foundation	3,301.20	
Cole Summer School Tuitions and Registration Fees	2,280.00	
Scottish Universities, Tuitions and Registration Fees	800.00	
British Summer Schools, Tuitions and Registration Fees	1,019.72	
Brazilian National Service of Industrial Apprenticeships	1,393.26	
Turkish Sugar Refineries Fellowship	905.61	
Group Insurance Service Fees	823.70	
Miscellaneous	50.00	
News Bulletin Subscriptions	273.30	
Royalties - Chinese Handbook	325.00	
TOTAL ADMINISTRATIVE FUNDS		$113,181.79

Program Funds

United States Government Contracts	$595,060.78
American Field Service Fellowships for French Universities	6,685.78
American Relief For France	
Italo-American Fellowships - Administration	
Italo-American Fellowships	11,820.00
Account - Panayotis Tsiamis	250.00
Mademoiselle - Fellowship for Alice dos Santos Maria	
The Reader's Digest Selecciones Hospitality Fund	
Edgardo De Robert - Fellowship	
Kappa Alpha Theta Fraternity Pan American Fellowship to Maria Cana Reygadas ed Chile	
Adelaide Sinclair Fellowship to Johanna Hudig of Holland	420.00
Greek Students' Funds (Athens College)	
Wadsworth Foundation Fellowships	8,580.00
Shell Chemical Corporation Fellowship	
American Swiss Foundation for Scientific Exchange	2,750.00
Account of Lynia Columbra Dunne	1,000.00
Swiss American Academic Fund	505.00
Fellowship for Guglielmo Jemolo	2,300.00
Turkish Sugar Refineries Project	15,426.75
University of Gothenburg - Service Fees	9.00
University of Stockholm - Service Fees	42.00
University of Stockholm - Advance Registration and Tuition Fees	1,200.00
Ship Program Activity Fees	10,660.50
Ship Program - Administration Expense	
Marriage of British and American Universities	3,200.00
Fellowship for Anna Maria Galot	800.00
Grant to Mr. Chennes Shengun - Turkey	1,400.00
L'Aide Alliee	
English Editions of Chinese Handbook	912.25
Application Forms and Applications	688.16
Rent Paid in Advance	675.05
Federal Income Tax Witheld	20,879.55

Program Funds Con't.

Student Service of America	$ 2,579.26	
Refugee Scholar Fund	1,281.00	
Czecho-Slovak Student Loan Fund	2,000.00	
American University Union - Paris	3,250.00	
Brazilian Embassy - Students sent to U. S. by Departamento Administrative Do Service Publico	19,761.65	
Brazilian National Service of Industrial Apprenticeships (SENAI) - Administration		
Scholarships	43,800.00	
Dr. Jose Luderitz - SENAI	1,884.06	
Life Insurance - U. S. Life Insurance Co.	57.67	
Group Insurance - U. S. Life Insurance Co.	24,749.51	
Panama - United States Co-operative Fellowship Program	1,616.25	
Foreign Student Aid Fund	298.00	
Germanistic Society Fellowship	1,000.00	
Lecturers' Accounts	695.12	
Accounts Receivable and Payable	2,454.99	
Account of Ali Nouri Asphandiary	510.00	
Committee on the Junior Year in France	185.31	
Junior Year Abroad Luncheon	167.85	
Cambridge University Debating Team	2,000.00	
Extramural Lectures		
Oxford Debating Team		
Greek War Relief Fellowships	26,328.91	
Greek War Relief Fellowships - Administration	2,000.00	
Norwegian Embassy - Grant for Student Administrative Expense	3,000.00	
Latin American Bureau	35.00	
Anaconda Fellowship		
Quota Club International - Fellowship		
Dr. Hermann Borchardt Fund	1,590.00	
Gilbrin Memorial Fellowship	250.00	
General Federation of Women's Clubs - Fellowship		
Netherland American Foundation, Inc. - Administration	132.44	
Netherland American Foundation, Inc.	7,777.00	
American Field Service School and College Project		
TOTAL PROGRAM FUNDS		$834,608.24
TOTAL FUNDS RECEIVED		$947,790.03

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION
Statement of Funds Received
October 1, 1947- June 30, 1948

Administrative Funds

U.S. Government Grants:		
Grant GSA-48-2 Placement Service		$22, 212.39
" " Counseling Service		12, 428.78
" " Information and Publication Service		5,586.57
Grant GSA-48-2 Foreign Student Clearing House		5, 300.16
" " Fiscal Service		3,237.26
" 202-324		924.61
" 202-325		507.26
" 202-326		1,626.57
" 202-1120		5, 329.43
" IAEP-6-4		8,082.15
		61,334.88
General Contributions and Grants:		
Carnegie Corporation 1947-48	$75,000.00	
Rockefeller Foundation 1947-48	37,500.00	
Kellogg Foundation	2,500.00	
Carnegie Corporation-Fulbright Act Expansion	17, 141.88	
Program	37,500.00	
General contributions	1,128.52	
	68	170,770.40
Service Fees:		
American Field Service Fellowship	750.00	
IRHEA	300.00	
Group Insurance	944.00	
Turkish Sugar Refineries Project	1,186.19	
British Summer School	4,407.18	
American University Union	250.00	
American Association of Colleges for Teachers Education	450.00	
American Field Service	1,000.00	
Special Ship Project Report	97.00	
SEMLI	750.00	
Ship Program 1947	2,448.28	
Ship Program 1948	2,084.88	
Foreign Student Advisor's Conference	2,471.76	
National Education Association	250.00	
News Bulletin-Subscriptions 1947-48	2,526.68	
		25,673.71
Other Administrative Funds:		
Greek War Relief	1,512.68	
Norwegian Embassy	1,607.21	
Italo-American Fellowship	9.75	
Ministe de Esterr	20.88	3,020.31
TOTAL ADMINISTRATIVE FUNDS:		$261,800.06

Program Funds

U.S. Government Grants:		
Revolving Loan Fund	1,[illegible].01	
GHA-42-2 Emergency Loans and Grants	[illegible].00	
GHA-42-2 Maintenance Grants	[illegible].92	
GHA-42-2 Field Study Grants	1,[illegible].00	
SOC-254 Near East Advanced Professional Students and Trainees	[illegible].50	
SOC-1140 Inter-American Trade Scholarship Program Washington, D.C. Office	5,[illegible].01	
IAEF-G-4 Institute of Inter-American Affairs-Trainees	116, [illegible].49	166,[illegible].50
Other Student Funds:		
Refugee Scholar Fund of the Institute	1,[illegible].50	
Institute Russell-Sotaiee Unidos	1,[illegible].00	
Goethe Selvak Student Loan Fund	1,[illegible].00	
American Relief for Czechoslovakia	2,[illegible].00	
Foreign Students Aid Fund	[illegible].00	
Communistic Society Fellowship	[illegible].00	
Student Service of American	2,[illegible].75	8,368.15
Panama-United States Cooperative Fellowship Program	[illegible].00	
American Field Service Fellowship for French Universities, Inc.	[illegible].00	
Burmese Students	1,[illegible].17	
National Catholic Welfare Conference	5,[illegible].00	
American Scandinavian Foundation	[illegible].00	
Rockefeller Foundation (Grant to Dr. Werner Richter)	[illegible].00	
American Field Service School and College Project	112.[illegible]	
Herbert Sahle Grant for Maria T. Weinmayer	[illegible].00	
Dr. Mary Hitchcock (and others) Grant for A. Rupenstein	200.00	
Robert H. Redoch Gift for the Education of German Students	100.00	
Greek War Relief-Fellowships	66.10	
Amscuda Fellowship	1,[illegible].00	
Dr. Herman Reichard Fund	400.00	
American Society for Friendship with Switzerland	10,[illegible].00	
General Federation of Women's Clubs	5,[illegible].00	
Netherland-American Foundation, Inc.	1,[illegible].00	
Italo-American Fellowships	15, 1[illegible].00	
Ricardo de Robert Fellowship	400.00	
Vatanuli Foundation Fellowship	4,[illegible].00	
Max Ascoli Fund-Fellowship for G. Jemin	1,[illegible].00	
Turkish Sugar Refineries Project	19,7[illegible].32	
Marriage of British and American Universities (Carnegie Corporation)	12.[illegible]	
Seoul Project	36, [illegible]	
American Chemical Society "Unesco Fellowships"	4,[illegible].00	
American-Swiss Foundation for Scientific Exchange	8,[illegible].50	
National Education Association	5,7[illegible].00	
Delta Kappa Gamma	2,[illegible].00	
Association for Childhood Education	[illegible].47	
British Debating Team	100.00	
American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education	450.00	
		184,120.44

Total Program Funds:	$300,000.02
TOTAL FUNDS RECEIVED:	$362,498.90

Note: This statement is for a nine month period only, due to the fact that the fiscal year end was changed from September 30 to June 30 in order to coincide with the fiscal year end of other educational institutions.

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION
Statement of Funds Received
July 1, 1948 - June 30, 1949

Administrative Funds		
U. S. Government Grants:		
Grant SDA-49-1 Placement Service		$ 28,000.00
" " Counsel and Guidance Service		12,000.00
" " Information and Publication Service		3,000.00
" " Program Service		3,000.00
" SDA-[illegible]		1,000.00
" SDA-[illegible]		10,678.26
" [illegible]		4,[illegible]
" SDA-[illegible]		45,[illegible]
" SDA-[illegible]		[illegible]
		119,[illegible]
General Contributions and Grants:		
Carnegie Corporation - Regular	$ 100,000.00	
" - Expansion 1948-49	50,000.00	
Rockefeller Foundation 1948-49	25,000.00	
The Commonwealth Fund	25,000.00	
Contributions - New Foundations	25,000.00	
" - Corporations	2,000.00	
" - Individuals	[illegible]	264,[illegible]
Service Fees:		
American Field Service Fellowships	1,000.00	
IRHEA	[illegible]	
ECEAT	[illegible]	
Turkish Summer Schools 1948	[illegible]	
" 1949	6,[illegible]	
Turkish Study Institutes	[illegible]	
French Investment Fund	1,000.00	
National Education Association	1,[illegible]	
Ship Program 1948-49	[illegible]	
American University Union	[illegible]	
Foreign Student Advisers Conference	[illegible]	
Palestinian Arab Student Loan Fund	[illegible]	
Unesco Fellowships	1,[illegible]	
American Foundation for Pharmaceutical Education Fellowships	[illegible]	
Korean Government	1,000.00	
San Marcos University Summer School	[illegible]	
American Summer Schools	[illegible]	
Alliance French American Association, Inc.	[illegible]	
National Catholic Welfare Conference	[illegible]	
Rockefeller Foundation - Artist Exchange Program	[illegible]	[illegible]
Publications - News Bulletin 1948-49		[illegible]
Other Miscellaneous Income		[illegible]
Total Administrative Funds		$ [illegible]

Statement of Funds Received
July 1, 1948 - June 30, 1949

Foreign Funds	
U. S. Government Grants	
Revolving Loan Fund	$ 1,003.41
Institute of Inter-American Affairs - Trainees	400.00
Student Maintenance Grants	88,500.00
Grants for Harvard Undergrad. Students	8,658.00
	98,561.41
Other Student Funds	
Rotary Service Fund	1,500.00
Institute Scholarships Unlimited	1,998.00
American Relief for Czechoslovakia	500.00
Fellowship Fund for Milk Health Expeditions	205.00
Harold E. Stevens Grant	535.00
Commonwealth Fellowship Fellowships	1,250.00
Amount Fellowships	1,500.00
Mr. Harvard Scholarship	125.00
General Federation of Women's Clubs	2,750.00
National American Foundation, Inc.	6,560.00
Rotary Co Nation Fellowship	500.00
Rotary Club Grant Fellowships	1,400.00
Calvin Bliss Memorial Fellowships	500.00
Wilmott Foundation Fellowships	3,325.00
Italian Students Loan Fund	155.50
Grant to Fanny Bullock	50.00
Turkish Study Exchange Project	30,698.63
Amount for Mr. Mr Tyler	150.52
Amount Field Service	491.00
American Student Society - "Fulbright" Fellowships	4,100.00
Inter-American Center for Medical Exchange and Information, Inc.	1,020.00
National Catholic Welfare Conference	20,000.00
Association for Childhood Education (Mrs. E. Whitehouse)	129.60
National Education Association - Agreement No. 1	522.74
National Education Association - Agreement No. 2	32,000.00
CARE (Committee National Service Industrial Association)	25,498.00
Rockefeller Grant	51.52
Rockefeller Foundation	162.25
American-Scandinavian Foundation for Scientific Exchange and Information	7,695.00
Harvard Field Grant	150.00
Mr. Percy E. Hinchcliff Grant	650.00
Hillsborough Garden Club, Burlingame, California	300.00
Phi Beta Pi Fraternity of Colorado College	256.60
Rockefeller Foundation Grant for John Ladd	4,600.00
Kenyon Kinship Scholarship Fund for French Students	4,000.00
University of Kansas City	150.00
University of Kentucky Scholarship Fund	225.00
American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education	3,012.07
"Fulbright" Fellowships	63,008.00
Rochester Collegiate School Grant	100.00

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

Statement of Funds Received
July 1, 1949 - June 30, 1950

Private Funds (Continued)		
Ben Hunt Foundation, Inc.	$ 5,000.00	
University of Michigan	300.00	
British Debating Team 1949	2,000.71	
Carnegie Trust	2,000.00	
Washington State College	100.00	
Cross Roads Fellowship, Inc.	750.00	
Rockefeller Foundation, Inc. - Grant to Mr. Van Dusen	2,000.00	
Gilbert A. Pulsney Grant	2,000.00	
Mary Hartwell Grant	200.00	
Philadelphia Arts Student Loan Fund	2,750.00	
Edward W. Hazen Foundation	500.00	
Lawrence Rogers Fund	11,797.00	
Ruben Gurevich	50,000.00	
Polish Student Fund	225.75	
American Association of Collegiate Registrars - Dues	1,000.00	
American Middle East Relief, Inc.	100.00	
First Cambridge Debating Team	1,000.00	
Second Cambridge Debating Team	2,100.00	
Oxford Debating Team 1949/50	100.00	
Harvard's Accounts 1949/50	10,000.00	
Total Program Funds		$ 400,750.46
TOTAL FUNDS RECEIVED		$ 525,025.17

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

Statement of Funds Received
July 1, 1949 - June 30, 1950

Administrative Funds		
Contributions:		
Carnegie Corporation:		
Regular		$ 100,000.00
Expansion		50,000.00
Rockefeller Foundation		50,000.00
The Commonwealth Fund		25,000.00
Other Contributions:		
Non Foundations		24,040.00
Corporations		1,300.00
Colleges and Universities		12,950.00
Individuals		3,621.00
		265,911.00
Service Fees:		
American World Service	$ 1,000.00	
IIENGEA	329.12	
British Summer Schools	4,670.00	
CIMAE	1,000.00	
Turkish Sugar Refineries	1,300.50	
National Education Association	4,600.00	
"UNESCO" Fellowships	990.00	
Korean Government	3,110.00	
Artist Exchange Program	2,828.32	
American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education	450.00	
Fulbright-Smith-Mundt Loan Fund	990.00	
Delta Kappa Gamma Society	100.00	
Association Nacional de Industriales	800.00	
Alumni-Franco-French American Association	400.00	
Rome Scholarship Program	450.00	
African Program	881.00	
Administration Leader Program	770.00	
Wyomissing Foundation	400.00	
Insurance Fees	2,895.00	
Insurance Premiums - prior years	163.50	
Miscellaneous Service Fees	34.40	25,924.72
Publications:		
News Bulletin	3,585.23	
Application Forms and Publications	705.99	
"Meet the U. S. A." - English Edition	860.05	5,151.27
Income from Investments		1,432.23
Subtotal		$299,419.22

U. S. Government Funds			
U. S. Army		$ 2,475.00	
1325 Leaders		[illegible]	
2132 Students 1949/50		[illegible]	
1313 Leaders		[illegible]	
2134 Students 1950/51		444,600.00	
State Department			
500-2170 Fulbright	$ 88,[illegible].00		
" Exchanges	[illegible].00		
500-2111 Finland Students	[illegible].00	165,360.00	
500-2112 Germany Students	[illegible].00		
Other Government Agencies			
SAN-986 Latin American Placement Service	16,100.00		
SAN-986 Latin American Counsel and Guidance Service	12,370.00	32,470.00	
RNA British Engineers Program	[illegible].00		[illegible]
Total Administrative Funds			[illegible]

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

Statement of Funds Received
July 1, 1949 - June 30, 1950

Foreign Funds	
U. S. Government Programs	
U. S. Army	
[illegible] Lectures	14,021.14
[illegible] Students 1949/50	101,021.19
[illegible] Lectures	2,021.12
	114,766.35
State Governments	
[illegible] South North Eastern Hemisphere Students	320,000.00
[illegible] Germany Students	400,000.00
	[illegible]
Other Government Agencies	
Revolving Loan Fund	370.00
[illegible] Maintenance Grants	14,000.00
[illegible] Maintenance Grants - Latin America	15,000.00
[illegible] Institute of Inter-American Affairs	121.00
[illegible] British Engineers Program	10,000.00
	39,[illegible]
Total U. S. Government Programs	1,[illegible]
Other Student Funds	
Refugee Scholar Fund	521.07
Guggenheim Society Fellowships	2,500.00
Amerasia Fellowships	1,500.00
American Society for Friendship with Government of New York	5,000.00
Hayes Alpha Theta Fellowships	1,500.00
Calvin W. Rice Memorial Scholarship	500.00
Wenner-Gren Foundation Fellowships	500.00
Shell Chemical Corporation Fellowships	1,500.00
Mr. and Mrs. Arnold Fellowships	2,500.00
British Sugar Refineries Project	21,675.31
American Chemical Society - "UNESCO" Fellowships	1,500.00
"SENAI" (Brazilian National Service Industrial Apprenticeships)	9,599.50
American-Swiss Foundation for Scientific Exchange and Information	11,725.00
Herbert Jahn Grant	100.00
Mary E. Hitchcock Grant	155.00

Other Student Funds (Con't.)

American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education	[illegible]	
"Gyanodaya" Fellowships	[illegible]	
Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars	[illegible]	
Lockwood's Accounts 1948/49	[illegible]	
Hat Exhibition, Inc.	[illegible]	
Greek Club International, Inc. Fellowships	[illegible]	
Gibson Ad Personam Grants	[illegible]	
Philadelphia Student Loan Fund	[illegible]	
The Lawrence Dugan Fund	[illegible]	
Korean Scholarship	[illegible]	
The Viking Fund	[illegible]	
American Association of Scandinavian International Associations	[illegible]	
"Gyanodaya" - National League of American Pen Women	[illegible]	
Miscellaneous Student Expenses	[illegible]	
General Federation of Women's Clubs	[illegible]	
Fulbright Funds for Army Civilian Students	[illegible]	
Rose International Fellowships	[illegible]	
Grace Filkins Memorial Fund, Kinkaan	[illegible]	
Ralph Bunche Grants Fellowships	[illegible]	
Fulbright Debating Team	[illegible]	
Yenchi Military Fellowships	[illegible]	
Alfred Nobel Fellowships	[illegible]	
Wilkinson Grant Scholarship Fund	[illegible]	
Supreme Chapter Phi Beta Kappa	[illegible]	
Marvin Bo Gillian Fund for French Students of Colombia	[illegible]	
Institute of International Education Scholarship Fund	[illegible]	
Grant for Women Teachers	[illegible]	
Student Artists Exchange Program	[illegible]	
First Cambridge Debating Team	[illegible]	
Second Cambridge Debating Team	[illegible]	
Lockwood's Accounts 1949/50	[illegible]	
Oxford Debating Team 1949/50	[illegible]	
National Education Association - Agreement No. 2	[illegible]	
American Debating Team	[illegible]	
Lawrence Kinsley Memorial Scholarship Fund	[illegible]	
Scottish British Universities Debating Team for Fall 1950	[illegible]	
American Council on Education - American Leaders	[illegible]	
TOTAL OTHER STUDENT FUNDS	[illegible]	
TOTAL PROGRAM FUNDS		[illegible]
TOTAL FUNDS RECEIVED		[illegible]

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

Statement of Funds Received
July 1, 1950 - June 30, 1951

Administrative Funds		
Foundations		$ 265,917.73
Colleges and Universities		17,795.00
Individuals		2,976.20
		286,688.93
American Field Service	$ 1,000.00	
IRSIA	300.00	
British Summer Schools	4,670.00	
SEMAI	1,000.00	
Turkish Sugar Refineries	1,312.57	
National Education Association	3,450.00	
"UNESCO" Fellowships	1,450.00	
Korean Government	1,150.00	
Artist Exchange Program	6,283.41	
Palestinian-Arab Loan Fund	450.00	
Atlantique-French American Association	700.00	
Nase Scholarship Program	750.00	
African Program	12,446.00	
ACE-Austrian Leader Program	715.00	
Ford Foundation Project Administration	5,300.00	
Insurance fees	2,500.75	
Miscellaneous service fees	994.19	44,451.95
News Bulletin	3,325.26	
Application forms and publications	678.79	
"Meet the U. S. A." - English Edition	1,511.29	5,515.34
Income from Investments		6,032.37
U. S. Army:		
L125, L133, L144 Leaders	61,778.73	
S130 Students	5,341.50	
S134 Students	59,722.92	
S172 Students	46,000.00	
S173 Students	4,784.00	
TJ148 Teachers	11,091.58	188,718.73
State Department:		
SCC 2441 - Finland Students	6,256.00	
SCC 2442 - Germany Students	57,200.00	
SCC 2912 - General Operating Funds	287,826.00	
SCC 8112 - Nashville Auto School	250.00	351,532.00
NGA British Engineers Program	14,575.00	
SAE 1256 Latin America - Placement Service	12,144.00	
SAE 1256 Latin America - Counsel and Guidance Service	4,232.00	30,951.00
Total Administrative Funds		$ 913,888.32

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

Statement of Funds Received
July 1, 1950 - June 30, 1951

Program Funds	
U. S. Army:	
L125 Leaders	$ 9,650.89
S120 Students	24,025.42
L133 Leaders	95,847.49
S134 Students	722,310.97
L144 Leaders	103,471.27
TJ148 Teachers to Japan	15,879.75
	1,[illegible]
State Department:	
SCC 2170 - Smith-Mundt-Eastern Hemisphere Students	125,514.00
SCC 2441 - Finland Students	120,[illegible].00
SCC 2912 - Finland Students	20,000.00
SCC 2912 - Eastern Hemisphere Students	625,000.00
SCC 2912 - German Student Program	323,[illegible].00
SCC 2912 - Austrian Student Program	120,[illegible].00
SCC 2112 - Nashville Auto School Project	14,[illegible].00
	1,[illegible]
Other Government Agencies:	
Revolving Loan Fund	335.00
[illegible] - Maintenance Grants	15,000.00
ECA British Engineers Program	203,000.00
SAE 1256 Latin-American Program	78,860.00
	297,195.00
Other Student Funds:	
Refugee Scholar Fund	90.00
Anaconda Fellowships	1,500.00
Calvin W. Rice Memorial Scholarship	750.00
Watumull Foundation Fellowships	2,600.00
Turkish Sugar Refineries Project	18,895.76
American Chemical Society - "UNESCO" Fellowships	4,800.00
"SENAI" - (Brazilian National Service Industrial Apprenticeships)	4,582.01
American-Swiss Foundation for Scientific Exchange and Information	9,935.00
Mary B. Kirkbride Grant	150.00
"UNESCO" Fellowships	34,936.00
Palestinian-Arab Student Loan Fund	2,500.00
The Laurence Duggan Fund	11,638.75
American Federation of Soroptimist International Association	6,857.00
Miscellaneous Student Deposits	456.50
General Federation of Women's Clubs-Grant for E. Hussmann	1,000.00
Esso International Fellowships	10,000.00

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

Statement of Funds Received
July 1, 1950 - June 30, 1951

Other Student Funds (continued)		
Wilhelmina Green Scholarship Fund	$ 350.00	
Supreme Chapter P.E.O. Sisterhood	1,900.00	
Marcel de Galliax Fund for French Students at Columbia	331.30	
Grant for German Teachers	78.30	
United Press Associations Scholarships	800.00	
Andre and Bella Mayer French Fellowship	7,000.00	
David Rose Scholarship Fund	4,052.00	
Arts Program	23,000.00	
Fulbright Fellowship Fund	1,786.00	
Davella Mills Foundation Grants	500.00	
American Legion Department of Italy Scholarships	1,200.00	
Anonymous Grant for a British Student	150.00	
Clara Mayer Scholarship Fund	600.00	
Foreign Student Program Emergency Fund	1,000.00	
East African Evaluation Program (Carnegie Corporation)	20,000.00	
Lotte Dickstein Fund	140.00	
German Jewelry Trainees	1,500.00	
E. R. Squibb and Sons Scholarships	5,095.00	
John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation	4,000.00	
Stephen Duggan Memorial Fund	525.00	
Ford Foundation - American Chemical Society	116,000.00	
Ford Foundation - MIT Foreign Student Summer Project	30,000.00	
Ford Foundation - International Farm Youth Exchange Project	70,500.00	
Cambridge Debating Team - Spring 1951	1,[illegible]00.00	
Combined British Universities Debating Team	3,483.50	
Exchange of American and Australian Debating Teams	4,500.00	
Oxford Debating Team - 1951	100.00	
Lecturers' Accounts	4,429.74	
Leonora Lindsley Memorial Scholarship Fund	2,852.70	
National Education Association - Agreement No.2	75,000.00	
American Council on Education - Austrian Leaders	2,271.38	
Institute of International Education Scholarship Fund	148.00	
	496,611.92	
Total Program Funds	$3,440,856.71	3,440,856.71
TOTAL FUNDS RECEIVED		$ 4,354,745.03

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

Statement of Funds Received
July 1, 1951 - June 30, 1952

Administrative Funds

Contributions for Administration:		
Foundations		$576032.27
Colleges and Universities		11185.00
Corporations		6000.00
Individuals		1711.24
		594928.51
Administrative Service Fees:		
Andre and Bella Meyer Fellowships	$2700.00	
Ford Foundation project administration	3700.00	
American Field Service	1000.00	
IREIA	150.00	
EDEAL	1000.00	
Turkish Sugar Refineries	888.88	
Korean Students	100.00	
African program	1850.00	
E.R. Squibb scholarship program	395.00	
Brussells Music Competition	1277.15	
S.E. Asia - Mid-East Young Leaders	7000.00	
British Summer Schools	893.10	
"Unesco" fellowship program	8950.00	
"Unesco" technical assistant program	7350.00	
Rome scholarship program	600.00	
International Arts program	9210.00	
Atlantique - French/American Association	700.00	
University of Vienna - Summer School	300.00	
Miscellaneous service fees	1892.47	5990.00
Publications:		
News Bulletin	1090.23	
Application forms and publications	752.60	
Meet the U.S.A." - English edition	1836.74	
		6668.57
Income from Investments		17238.16
Fees for Administering U.S. Government Program:		
Contracts with U.S.Army:		
L 169 Ryukyuan Leaders (1952-53)	936.35	
Tf 118 Teachers to Japan (1951-53)	10380.00	
S 173 Ryukyuan students (1951-53)	14377.00	
S 172 Japanese students (1951-52)	10828.60	
S 134 American,Japanese,Ryukyuan students (1950-52)	8894.00	
L 125,1133, 1144 Japanese Leaders (1950-52)	13905.92	
Contracts with State Department:		
SOC 1189 P.L. 402 Smith-Mundt and Fulbright students (1952-53)	208055.00	
SOC 1494 German-Austrian students (1952-53)	8442.00	
SOC 2136 Japanese students (1952-53)	37606.00	
SOC 2841 P.L. 865 Finnish students (1950-52)	8576.00	
SOC 2912 P.L. 402 Smith-Mundt and Fulbright students (1950-52)	116948.00	
SOC 3112 Nashville Auto School (1951-52)	250.00	
IIAA-34 Nashville Auto School (1952-53)	500.00	
SOC 2170 P.L.402 Smith-Mundt and Fulbright students (1949-50)	(3500.00)	
	379877.80	

Contracts with Mutual Security Agency:		
British Engineers Program	1847.00	
Total U.S. Government Fees		166659.87
TOTAL ADMINISTRATIVE FUNDS RECEIVED		$172319.11

Trustee Funds

U. S. Army Government Programs:	
U. S. Army:	
2,188 Leaders	$ [illegible]
2 188 Students	[illegible]
1,188 Leaders	[illegible]
2 188 Students	[illegible]
1,184 Leaders	[illegible]
32 148 Teachers to Japan	[illegible]
2 172 Students	[illegible]
2 178 Students	[illegible]
State Department:	
Sec 2102 German Students	[illegible]
Sec 2102 Eastern Europeans	[illegible]
Sec 2112 German Student Program	[illegible]
Sec 2112 American Student Program	[illegible]
Sec 10040 Eastern Europeans	[illegible]
Sec 10040 Finland	[illegible]
Sec 10040 Israelis	[illegible]
Sec 10040 German and Austrian Program	[illegible]
Sec 10040 Northwestern-Fulbright Exchange Plan	1700.00
Other Government Agencies:	
Revolving Loan Fund	[illegible]
ECA British Engineers Program	[illegible]
ECA 1948 Inter-American Program	[illegible]
Ford Foundation:	
American Classical Society	[illegible]
NYU Foreign Student Summer Project	[illegible]
International Farm Youth Exchange Project 1948	[illegible]
International Farm Youth Exchange Project 1949	[illegible]
World Assembly of Youth	[illegible]
Emergency Aid to African Students	[illegible]
National Association of Foreign Student Advis-	[illegible]
Committee of Friendly Relations ors)	[illegible]
Exchange of Professors	[illegible]
YWCA Visitation of Leaders and Staff Workers	[illegible]
International Seminar Program - 1948	[illegible]
Grant for Mr. and Mrs. Mohammed H. Khan	[illegible]
YMCA Leadership Training Program	[illegible]
Indian Agricultural Leaders	[illegible]
Other Student Funds:	
Travel Fund of the Sino-American Student Exchange	
Refugee Scholar Fund	400.00
The Netherlands Benevolent Society of New York Grants	[illegible]
Martin Guy Elkin WUNSC Fellowships	[illegible]
Cooking Class Works Project	1000.00
Wyomissing Foundation, Inc. - Grant for Chinese Review	[illegible]
Germanic Indian Seminar at Cornell University	[illegible]
Aeronautics Society Fellowship	1000.00

Other Student Funds: (continued)

Carnegie South Asian Seminar at the University of Pennsylvania	$ 7500.00
Good Samaritan, Inc. Grant	15000.00
Iowa Federation of Women's Clubs Fellowship	800.00
Amerasia Fellowships	1500.00
Zemba Club	300.00
Calvin W. Rice Memorial Scholarship	750.00
Watumull Foundation Fellowships	600.00
Turkish Sugar Refineries Project	14706.07
Reconnaissance Study in Africa (Carnegie Corporation)	15000.00
Reconnaissance Study in Africa (Carnegie Corporation)	15000.00
American Chemical Society "UNESCO" Fellowships	4000.00
[illegible] (Foundation [illegible] Industrial Apprenticeships)	5612.00
Harvard Summer School International Seminar	5700.00
American-Swiss Foundation for Scientific Exchange and Information	11170.00
"UNESCO" Fellowships	34968.00
General Federation of Women's Clubs	2785.68
Rose International Fellowships	10000.00
Leonora [illegible] Memorial Scholarship Fund	1000.00
Delta Kappa Gamma Fellowships	2000.00
Altrusa International, Inc. Grant	750.00
Supreme Chapter P.E.O. Sisterhood	6000.00
Marcel de Galliax Fund for French Students at Columbia	14.25
Andre and Nelle Mayer French Fellowships	33141.35
Italian Fulbright Alumni Fellowship Fund	850.35
Anonymous Grant for British Student	150.00
Lotte Diskstein Fund	240.00
German Jewelry Trainees Program	4616.00
E. R. Squibb and Sons Scholarships	14101.75
Walter E. Nutz Grant	400.00
"INSIA"	11712.01
Carnegie Corporation - Near Eastern Project at Princeton University	6000.00
French Fulbright Alumni Fellowship Fund	110.00
Waldemar Nordsiqe Grant for a Paraguayan Student	518.00
Soroptimist International Association "UNESCO" Fellowship	3000.00
"UNESCO" Technical Assistance Program	127515.00
Benjamin Wrubis Award	2040.00
Zionist Organization of America Fellowships	2500.00
Delta Kappa Gamma "UNESCO"	3000.00
International Arts Program	52770.00
Readers Digest Foundation, Inc.	500.00
Alpha Xi Delta Fraternity Fellowship	1500.00

Other Student Funds (continued)		
Cambridge Rotating Fund - 1958	$ 100.00	
Cambridge Rotating Fund - Spring 1958	[illegible]	
International Rotating Fund	[illegible]	
Oxford Rotating Fund - 1958	[illegible]	
Lectures' Accounts	[illegible]	
Georgia Corporation - American Scholars to Australia	[illegible]	
Institute of International Education Scholarship Fund	100.00	
Miscellaneous Student Deposits	[illegible]	
Accounts Receivable - Student Funds	[illegible]	
Total Program Funds	$ 4454454.78	
TOTAL FUNDS RESERVED		[illegible]

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION, INC.

Balance Sheet

As of June 30, 1952

Assets

Cash		$714,074.87
U. S. Treasury Bills at cost plus accrued interest (total approximating market)		2,345,690.47
Accrued Fees:		
U.S. Army	$112,839.96	
State Department	57,153.00	
Miscellaneous	[illegible]	
	[illegible]	
Less valuation reserve	[illegible]	176,836.49
Program Funds-unexhausted balances:		
U.S. Army	36,022.37	
State Department	207,068.09	
Miscellaneous	16,762.58	
		259,853.94
Land		225,000.00
Building:		
Cost	175,000.00	
Improvements	[illegible]	
	[illegible]	
Less Reserve for depreciation	[illegible]	255,114.14
Furniture and Fixtures:		
Cost	21,326.55	
Less Reserve for depreciation	2,113.65	19,212.90
Other Accounts and Advances		4,172.81
Lawrence Lindley Scholarship Endowment Fund- (per contra:)		
Cash	119.57	
U.S. Government obligations and marketable securities (quoted market $56,996.81)	59,621.51	
		[illegible]
		[illegible]

Liabilities and Funds

Accounts Payable and Accrued Expenses		$ 64,763.34
Mortgage Payable		300,000.00
Lawrence Lindley Scholarship Endowment Fund (per contra)		59,621.08
Special Professional Association of Foreign Student Advisors		5,899.00
Program Funds-unexpended balances		2,851,311.04
Deferred credits		613,163.33
Operating Funds:		
Building fund	$181,957.66	
General fund - deficit	(15,779.75)	
		166,178.91
		[illegible]

The above statement represents the financial position of the Institute as of June 30, 1952, prior to completion of the audit by the public accountants. The annual audit is now under way.

Balance Sheet
As of June 30, 1952

Assets

Cash		$714,074.07
U. S. Treasury Bills-at cost plus accrued interest (which approximates market)		2,345,690.47
Accrued Fees:		
U.S. Army	$112,539.96	
State Department	[illegible]	
Miscellaneous	[illegible]	
	[illegible]	
Less valuation reserve	[illegible]	176,836.19
Program Funds-unreimbursed balances:		
U.S. Army	36,022.39	
State Department	[illegible]	
Miscellaneous	[illegible]	
		259,853.94
		225,000.00
Land		
Building:		
Cost	175,000.00	
Improvements	[illegible]	
	[illegible]	
Less Reserve for depreciation	[illegible]	255,114.14
Furniture and Fixtures:		
Cost	21,336.55	
Less Reserve for depreciation	[illegible]	
		19,302.90
		4,172.81
Other Accounts and Advances		
Lecturer Lindsley Scholarship Endowment Fund-(per contra:)		
Cash	319.97	
U.S. Government obligations and marketable securities (quoted market $56,996.01)	59,621.51	
		[illegible]
		[illegible]

Liabilities and Funds

Accounts Payable and Accrued Expenses		$ 4,763.34
Mortgage Payable		300,000.00
Lecturer Lindsley Scholarship Endowment Fund (per contra)		59,941.08
Special Fund-National Association of Foreign Student Advisors		5,999.00
Program Funds-unexpended balances		2,801,311.04
Deferred credits		613,363.33
Operating funds:		
Building fund	$181,957.46	
General fund - deficit	(15,778.75)	
		166,178.71
		[illegible]

The above statement represents the financial position of the Institute as of June 30, 1952, prior to completion of the audit by the public accountants. The annual audit is now under way.

Balance Sheet

As of June 30, 1952

Assets

Cash		$714,074.87
U. S. Treasury Bills at cost plus accrued interest (total approximates market)		2,345,690.47
Accrued Fees:		
U.S. Army	$118,839.96	
State Department	57,158.00	
Miscellaneous	[illegible]	
	[illegible]	
Less valuation reserve	[illegible]	176,836.19
Program Funds-unexhausted balances:		
U.S. Army	36,022.39	
State Department	207,088.79	
Miscellaneous	16,742.56	
		259,853.94
		225,000.00
Land		
Buildings:		
Cost	175,000.00	
Improvements	[illegible]	
	[illegible]	
Less Reserve for depreciation	[illegible]	255,414.14
Furniture and Fixtures:		
Cost	21,336.55	
Less Reserve for depreciation	[illegible]	19,302.90
		4,172.81
Other Accounts and Advances		
Lemuel Stanley Scholarship Endowment Fund-(per contra:)		
Cash	329.57	
U.S. Government obligations and negotiable securities (market $56,996.81)	58,621.51	
		[illegible]
		[illegible]

Liabilities and Funds

Accounts Payable and Accrued Expenses		$ 64,763.34
Mortgage Payable		300,000.00
Lemuel Stanley Scholarship Endowment Fund (per contra)		58,621.08
Special Fund-National Association of Foreign Student Advisers		5,000.00
Program Fund-unexhausted balances		2,851,111.84
Endowment funds		613,163.33
Operating Funds:		
Building fund	$181,997.46	
General fund - deficit	(15,175.75)	166,173.71
		[illegible]

The above statement represents the financial position of the Institute as of June 30, 1952, prior to completion of the audit by the public accountants. The annual audit is now under way.

Question: What was your average income for the years 1946-1951, both years inclusive?

Answer:

	Average yearly income
Administrative funds	$ 695,717.00
Program funds	1,430,339.00
Total funds	2,126,056.00

Control Set

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

SECTION B

B-1 The Certificate of Incorporation of the Institute of International Education, Inc. defines its purposes as follows: (See Appendix 1)

> "The purposes for which it is to be formed are to develop international goodwill through educational agencies and otherwise.
>
> "In furtherance and not in limitation of such purposes, the corporation shall have power to arrange for and establish international fellowships and to facilitate the interchange of students and the exchange of professors between institutions of learning in various countries; to hold, manage and promote conferences and conventions on problems of international education; to collect, possess, publish and distribute books, pamphlets and papers on questions connected with international education and the systems of education of various countries; to extend voluntary financial and other voluntary aid or assistance to and cooperate with such universities, colleges, academies, schools, corporations, institutions, associations, societies, organizations and individuals as may be engaged in furthering the purposes above named, and, further, to do any and all things necessary, suitable and proper for the accomplishment of any of the purposes herein set forth, provided the same be not inconsistent with the Laws of the State of New York or the laws under which this corporation is organized; to acquire, by deed, devise, bequest, gift, purchase, lease or otherwise, either absolutely or in trust, any property, real or personal, without limitation, as to amount or value, except as provided by law, and to hold, invest, reinvest, manage, sell, assign, transfer, expend and dispose of any and all of said property or the income thereof."

B-2 In carrying forward the objectives of its charter, the Institute engages in a wide variety of activities to facilitate the interchange of students, teachers, leaders and specialists between the United States and foreign countries. The Institute:

I. Serves as a central information office which answers more than 100,000 individual inquiries regarding international study from students, teachers and institutions and organizations by mail or in person each year and conducts annually with the Committee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students of the YMCA a census of all foreign students in the United States and publishes the results.

II. Arranges or facilitates the placement in American colleges and universities of advanced students from free nations throughout the world. In 1951-52

B-2 this number totaled 2,960 of which 2,600 received some aid from the United States government. In this process, the Institute

a. Secures fellowship and scholarship information from all colleges and universities in the United States certified by the Attorney General for the acceptance of foreign students.

b. Works with business organizations, community groups such as Rotary, women's clubs, church groups, etc. to secure assistance for such students.

c. Screens applications of foreign students received from bi-national selection committees, established in cooperation with the United States government, in some 70 centers throughout the non-Communist world. These applicants have been screened abroad in terms of security, promise of constructive leadership in their own countries, and educational readiness.

d. Submits approved applications to United States colleges and universities and community groups for admission and scholarship aid.

e. Provides and arranges orientation programs to interpret the United States to students upon arrival.

f. Supervises and reports to sponsoring agencies including the Department of the Army, Department of State, Mutual Security Agency and private groups the progress of students.

III. Screens, and, through the national selection committees, nominates to program sponsors about 1,000 United States students each year for educational opportunities in foreign countries, including particularly, the nomination of some 800 Fulbright fellows to the Board of Foreign Scholarships established by the President of the United States. The Institute:

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

B-2

a. Announces scholarship opportunities to 1,015 advisers and committees on American college and university campuses.

b. Secures from the campus committees applications of recommended candidates which are reviewed by the Institute's staff and panels of experts.

c. Nominates candidates to the Board of Foreign Scholarships or to the sponsor which provides the study opportunities.

d. Secures reports on progress of students abroad other than those on the U.S. Fulbright program.

IV. Administers for governmental and private agencies programs for leaders from abroad who come to the United States for educational purposes including industrial trainees, journalists, social workers, chemists, young farmers, etc. Most of the operations listed above (Item II) are included here. It also sponsors the exchange of university debating teams between the United States and other countries as well as the visits of a limited number of lecturers from other nations in American colleges and universities.

V. Encourages the development of community support of such programs through its regional offices in Chicago, Denver, San Francisco and Houston which arrange for hospitality in American homes, visits to local governmental units, Parent-Teachers Associations, farms, church groups, etc. so that foreign visitors have full opportunity to see American life. (Attached as Appendix 3 is a copy of the 33rd Annual Report of the Institute which gives additional information on these matters.)

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B-3 The Institute of International Education has available two basic types of funds:

1. Administrative

2. Program

1. The administrative funds are used for the salaries and expenses of the Institute. The Board of Trustees, acting on the budgets submitted by the Officers of the Institute determine for what purposes the administrative funds shall be used. The Officers of the Institute are responsible for seeing that the funds are used as authorized and report regularly to the Board on how the funds are used.

Most of the funds which the Institute disburses for administrative expenses are given for, and must, therefore, be used in connection with the program or purpose specified by the contractors or donors. These contractors and donors require and receive reports of accomplishments. (An example of such income is that which is received from the Department of the Army for the placement and supervision at accredited educational institutions of Ryukyuan students which the Department of the Army brings to the United States. Another example of a designated administrative grant is the fund from the Ford Foundation for the establishment of regional offices in Chicago, Denver, Houston and San Francisco.) In addition, the Institute receives some administrative funds which are not earmarked for specific purposes and may be used at the discretion of the Board and Officers. These funds under the control of the Board of Trustees and the Officers finance the balance of the budget since the aforementioned designated income is not sufficient for this purpose.

2. Program funds are funds used to make payments to or on behalf of exchangees. These are not the Institute's funds. The Institute has no general program fund at its disposal. Program funds are received from contractors and donors for specific

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B-3

purposes. The Institute accepts only proposals or funds which are consistent with its stated purposes and policies. The Board of Trustees, the Officers of the Institute and the contractor or donor determine whether the program funds are being spent as agreed. The Officers report to both the Board and the contractor or donor.

B-4 The expenditures to be made for the administrative salaries and other administrative costs of the Institute are determined by the Board of Trustees of the Institute when it approves the budget. The day to day determinations are made by the Officers of the Institute under this authorization.

With respect to program funds (defined in B-3), there are three principal categories of determination:

1. Who may receive a grant.
2. What standardized categories of expense the grant may cover
3. How much may be allowed for each standardized category of expense

These categories of determination pertain almost entirely to persons involved in exchange programs between the United States and other countries for a limited period of time. The Institute is one of a number of organizations involved in the determinations. All determinations must be in the applicant's favor before he can participate in the program.

The educational exchangees desiring to participate in the programs under the administration of the Institute can be classified in two groups:

1. <u>United States Government Grantees</u>

   Those being sponsored by the United States Government and who are, therefore, potentially eligible for part or total assistance from United States Government funds.

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2-4 2. Non-government sponsors

Those who are not being sponsored by the United States Government and whose expenses must, therefore, be financed by means of one or more of the following: scholarships or fellowships awarded by accredited colleges or universities; private foundations; non-Communist foreign governments; private groups such as service clubs, women's clubs, churches, corporations, etc.; the applicant's own funds.

In each of the foregoing categories (United States Government and non United States Government), exchanges may be either students (usually advanced graduate students) or leaders and specialists. The determination of awards varies somewhat within each of these categories:

a) Foreign Students selected to study in the United States

Almost every student wishing to study in the United States under programs administered by the Institute must be found acceptable to a bi-national selection committee established in his own country before his application and detailed supporting documents are forwarded to the United States. These selection committees, in most instances, have been established jointly by the Department of State and the Institute. Following this preliminary selection, all successful applicants must be cleared for admission into the United States by appropriate United States Government agencies. (An exception to the foregoing method of selection is the Ryukyuan Student program, administered by the Institute for the Department of the Army. Ryukyuan students are selected by procedures established by the Army).

If the individual is to be the recipient of government funds (e.g. under P.L. 584, 79th Congress, or P.L. 402, 80th Congress) he must also be approved by the representative of the government agency

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

B-4 concerned (usually the Department of State) after selection by the bi-national committee. The United States Government agency which is the contractor to the Institute, submits to the Institute a panel of names which has been approved for grants.

In all cases (government grantees and non-government) the applicants must also be found qualified and acceptable to the Institute for study in the United States. If they are not found qualified or acceptable, the Institute makes no effort to place them at United States educational institutions. In the case of Government grantees, the appropriate agency is, of course, notified if a previously approved candidate is not found to be qualified.

In all cases (government grantees and non-government) where the Institute decides to seek placement in a United States educational institution, the latter institution must itself also approve the applicant for admission before he is brought to the United States.

Finally, in many instances, there may be other cooperating agencies furnishing a part of the funds to finance the student (e.g. a fraternity, a Rotary Club, etc.) and these organizations must also approve the student before an award is finally made. (A student may get a travel award from the United States Government under the Fulbright Act, a tuition scholarship from a university, and room and board from a fraternity. In these circumstances approvals are many.)

The categories of expense for which the successful applicant is considered (e.g. travel, tuition, maintenance, book allowance) are standardized to meet essential requirements. These are agreed to and determined by the agency, organization or donor granting the scholarship aid, in cooperation with the Institute. The amounts under each category of expense are based on studies of moderate

B-4 needs and are also agreed to and specified by the agency, organization, or donor concerned.

The financing of a substantial number of students under non-government programs is not through funds held by the Institute, but by one or more awards made directly by non-governmental sources. In the other cases, the agency, organization or donor transfers to the Institute a sufficient amount of funds in terms of the categories of expenses and allowances in each category which have been agreed upon. The Institute then pays out these amounts, submitting periodic financial reports to the agency or organization concerning the payments made.

b) <u>United States students studying abroad</u>

The majority of students studying abroad under programs with which the Institute is associated are those who receive Fulbright awards from the United States Government under P.L. 584 (79th Congress). In these instances the Institute, acting as the agent of the State Department, makes a preliminary selection of potential recipients of awards through screening of applications by its staff, and through preliminary selections made by a National Selection Committee established by the Institute. Final determination of awards, however, is made by the Board of Foreign Scholarships appointed by the President to direct and supervise the Fulbright program, with assistance from the Department of State. Prior to making its final determination, the Board also receives approval or disapproval of the various recommended candidates from Educational Commissions and Foundations established in each of the countries under P.L. 584. The Institute handles no finances in these instances and makes no determination of the size of the award.

B-4 Under non-United States Government programs for sending United States students abroad, the Institute acts as the agent for other organizations in selecting recipients of awards. Selections are made through the establishment of appropriate selection committees for each program. In all instances the organizations offering scholarships must give final approval to the candidates recommended by the Institute. Except for a single award, the Institute does not pay out funds under any of these programs, nor does the Institute determine the size of the award.

c) Leaders and specialists coming to the United States

The selection of leaders and specialists who are to come to the United States underprograms for which the Institute acts as administrative agent is made by the organization which provides the funds. For example, the Mutual Security Administration selects certain British engineers for advanced training in the United States. After receipt of the names and relevant information concerning the leaders or specialists, the Institute itself approves them in terms of the feasibility of providing the type of educational training program which they require. If appropriate training cannot be provided, the Institute will not accept them and so notifies the sponsoring organization. Likewise, if the leaders or specialists are to be placed in universities, industrial establishments, government laboratories or other organizations for training, these latter organizations must also approve the individual before he undertakes such training. The size of the award which is made to leaders and specialists is usually determined by the agency financing the program. However, the Institute may make recommendations to the agency in this regard. The agency or organization transfers to the Institute a sufficient amount of funds to cover the various categories of expenses

B-4 which have been agreed upon. The Institute than pays out these amounts, submitting periodic financial reports to the agency or organization concerning the payments made.

B-5 To the extent that the Institute influences the determination of who is to receive an award, it considers all relevant information which it is able to obtain in answer to the following questions:

1) Is the individual a good representative of his country?

2) Will the individual utilize the results of the educational experience in improving relations between the country in which he studies and his home country?

3) Will the individual contribute to the future development of his country?

4) Will the individual benefit from the educational experience?

5) How does the individual compare with other candidates with respect to questions 1) to 4) above?

To assist in making these determinations, the Institute secures recommendations from those who have known and worked with the applicant, assurance that the individual has suitable qualifications for studying in the United States (if he is a foreign student) or abroad (if he is an American student), the results of a test in language competence, a physical examination, and in most cases, the results of a personal interview.

As suggested in the answer to B-4, the determination of the amounts of the award is usually based on studies of moderate needs for the category or categories of expense which the award is to cover (e.g., travel, tuition, maintenance, book allowance, etc.) The Institute cooperates with the agency or organization making the award in undertaking such studies if it is requested to do so.

B-6 Proposals originate principally outside the Institute, i.e: with foundations, government agencies, private organizations, etc. Some proposals originate inside the Institute. However, all proposals, regardless of how they originate, are subjected to identical treatment - that is, that the proposals must be consistent with the accepted purposes and policies of the Institute as determined by the Board of Trustees.

Projects originating outside the Institute

As indicated in B-2 and B-5, many different organizations and individuals originate requests for scholarships or projects. The Institute receives thousands of inquiries from individual applicants for fellowships each month. Those of American students are referred by the Institute to the colleges or universities where the students are enrolled. Inquiries from abroad are referred to the Committees on Study and Training in their own countries. On projects involving a number of individual awards, the Institute is usually asked by a governmental or private organization to undertake the sponsorship or administration of the program for which it provides the funds. (For example, the Mutual Security Administration asked the Institute to accept responsibility for the placement in universities and industries of a group of British engineers selected by the MSA authorities and the British Scientific Mission. -Similarly, the Ford Foundation, as indicated in A-39, asked the Institute to supervise the grant which made possible the visit to the United States of selected leaders of the YMCA from various countries. The project was originated by the National Board of the YMCA. In recent years, social fraternities and sororities on many college campuses have initiated programs to assist foreign students and have turned to the Institute and the colleges and universities to implement such programs).

Projects originating within the Institute

The Board, staff and officers of the Institute also originate a few projects for which funds are sought from foundations or individuals. (For example, the Institute has developed a proposal for a comprehensive catalog of all exchanges in recent years).

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B-7 Yes, insofar as the Institute originates and develops programs. As has been shown, the Institute's own funds for programs are limited; most of the funds received by the Institute for disbursement are designated funds for certain categories of persons, or are earmarked for specific agencies by the source from which the funds are received.

A staff Policy Planning Committee has the responsibility for originating and developing plans, programs and proposals for the distribution of funds granted to the Institute over which it has discretion. This Committee also has the responsibility for the review and recommendation to a Board of Review (composed of members of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees of the Institute) of action on the programs which the Institute is asked to administer on behalf of other agencies, such as United States Government agencies or foundations. It also is the staff planning group for programs and proposals for which the Institute will request funds from foundations or other sources (to be used for specific projects involving international exchange of persons).

B-8 <u>Members of the Policy Planning Committee</u>

The Committee is composed entirely of officers and staff of the Institute of International Education. Their names and positions in the Institute are given below:

Kenneth Holland, President
Donald J. Shank, Executive Vice President
John D. Wilson, Operating Vice President
Pearl G. Purcell, Executive Assistant to the President
George Hall, Director, Foreign Student Program
David B. Wallinger, Director, United States Student Program
James A. McNeil, Acting Director, Special Programs
John S. Holliday, Director, Development and Information
Cora DuBois, Director of Research

*<u>Members of the Board of Review</u>

Dudley B. Bonsal
Ralph J. Bunche
Frederick E. Dunn
Kenneth Holland
Mrs. Samuel A. Lewisohn
Mrs. Maurice T. Moore

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B-8 *Members of the Board of Review (cont'd)

Edward R. Murrow
Thomas Gallagher
George Shuster (Chairman)
Mark Ethridge
Sidney Yost

*Please refer to Section A, question A-10 for the titles and positions of those listed as members of the Board of Review.

B-9 Yes, insofar as the backgrounds of employees and members of the Board of Trustees are concerned. However, as pointed out under Sections B-3 and B-4 there are numerous groups and organizations involved in determining the expenditure of funds under the Institute's programs, and those individuals who are not employees or members of the Board of Trustees have not been investigated. (e.g. committees abroad, sponsors, advisory committees on fields of study, etc.)

B-10 The following are the procedures followed in checking into the background, character and abilities of members of the Board of Trustees and officers and staff of the Institute:

Board of Trustees - The Board is a self-perpetuating body whose members are nominated by the Nominating Committee of the Board and are elected by the full membership. Information concerning the backgrounds and character of all members are reviewed, but usually not put into writing. Members of the Board of Trustees are persons of national prominence whose backgrounds and qualifications are available for public inspection.

Officers and Staff - The officers are elected by the Board of Tyustees after a thorough inquiry into their backgrounds. The officers themselves conduct the investigations as outlined below of employees in policy making position. The Personnel Officer conducts the following inquiries, both by mail and by personal calls, of other staff members:

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a) Obtains information from former employers and personal references

b) Checks with individuals who are intimately acquainted with the qualifications of the person concerned.

B-11 It is assumed that the above procedures were followed since the establishment of the Institute in 1919. However, the maintenance of formal personnel records was initiated late in 1947. Prior to that time, the Institute was a small organization and did not maintain a personnel office.

B-12 Yes, there has been a change in policy (See B-11). In 1947, the organization began to expand. A personnel department was established and a formal system of checking references initiated. References are checked to:

1) ensure the employment of staff whose background and training are consistent with the purposes of the Institute's program

2) as a method of securing references on suitability, character, technical and professional competence, and ability of prospective employees.

B-13 With the initiation of the personnel department in late 1947, a system of checking references was initiated. However, it is not until 1948 that formal application forms and a formal procedure for checking on references was generally followed. Results of checking of references of members of the staff have in many instances been reduced to writing. However, until recently there has not been a consistent policy of reducing all such results of checking to writing.

Regarding the Board of Trustees, as stated under B-10 information concerning the backgrounds and character of all members are reviewed, but usually not put into writing since members of the Board are persons of national prominence whose backgrounds and qualifications are available for public inspection.

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B-14 a) Yes, to the extent they are recorded (See B-13)

b) Yes (See B-13)

c) These confidential records are kept at the office of the Institute 1 East 67th Street, New York City.

B-15 No.

B-16 Not applicable

B-17 Not applicable

B-18 Not applicable

B-19 The Institute has taken no special steps other than the investigation of personnel at the time of employment as above stated. The Institute is satisfied on the basis of observation and experience that there is no subversive influence among the members of the Board of Trustees, the officers and the other policy-making personnel of the Institute.

The officers and members of the Board of Trustees are aware of the possibility of such infiltration and are constantly on the alert to discover (or prevent) it with the objective of taking any necessary steps to eliminate such infiltration.

B-20 In view of the answer to question B-19, it is not believed necessary to initiate new procedures to prevent possible infiltration of subversives. However, as a further check, the Institute is obtaining a list of the affiliations of all officers and other policy-making employees with a view to checking these affiliations with such authorized lists of subversive organizations as may be available.

Control copy

SECTION C

C-1. No.

C-2. Not applicable.

C-3. Yes, although grants or contributions to other agencies, foundations, institutions, or groups are a very minor aspect of the Institute's activities.

Acting as agent of the Ford Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation, the Institute disburses funds to certain designated groups or institutions and supervises the administration of the projects for which funds were granted. The Institute, on behalf of the foundations, endeavors to see that the projects are conducted on a reasonably economical basis and in such a manner as to advance the objectives of the foundations. The Institute develops with the grantees a realistic budget, and disburses funds as required by the projects, and through inspection and reports assures itself that the projects are being conducted properly. Periodic reports are made to the Ford Foundation and to the Carnegie Corporation on the operation of the projects on the basis of this follow-up. The reports include summary fiscal reports.

C-4. No.

C-5. Not applicable.

C-6. Yes. As has been explained in Section B 3 to 6, the basic support of the Institute's operations (since it has no independent funds of its own) is the cooperation of hundreds of agencies, colleges, fraternities and sororities, foundations, corporations, and individuals, as well as agencies of the United States government and other governments.

Consultation with these groups is continuous, in order to determine the specific interest of the organization in the exchange program. In this way, for example, the special interest of the cooperating agency in graduate or undergraduate students, or in specific countries of the world, or in support

of certain professional fields, can be met by the Institute as an operating agency. The policies determined by this consultation govern, to a large extent, the awards of scholarships made in the various programs.

In summary, the Institute is now cooperating and consulting on program planning and the making of grants with the following —

— United States Government agencies, such as the Department of State, Department of the Army, Mutual Security Agency, Technical Cooperation Administration. ~~[illegible] the Institute [illegible]~~ as the ~~[illegible]~~

— Foreign governments offering scholarships to Americans, such as Germany, France, Norway, Denmark, Mexico and Brazil.

— More than 400 American colleges and universities which accept Institute foreign students.

— Over 60 national fraternities and 35 sororities which give maintenance scholarships for foreign students.

— Over 1,200 Fulbright advisers on university campuses who interview candidates and forward applications for awards to the Institute.

— More than 200 bi-national, community, and educational organizations offering scholarships, hospitality and other services.

— Nearly 100 industrial and business organizations accepting trainees, specialists, or leaders from other countries for long or short-term experiences.

The most recent listings of these cooperating and consultative groups are to be found on pages 63 to 69 of the attached copy of the 1951 Annual Report of the Institute.

C-7. For the period 1935 to 1952 the Institute estimates that it recommended for, or made awards to, more than 17,000 individuals from the United States and other countries throughout the world. The Institute does not have a

readily available listing of these individuals. A special two-year project has recently been initiated by the Institute to compile lists and to follow up on as many of these individuals as can be located. In answer to the Committee's inquiry, the Institute is prepared to supply the requested information to the fullest extent possible, but this will require several weeks' time and the expenditure of considerable funds for research through the files and special typing assistance. We should appreciate notification as to whether this should be done, and in what form.

While the Institute could prepare lists of the individuals receiving aid, and in most cases the nature and major sources of this assistance, the Institute would find it almost impossible to estimate the exact amount of aid received by each of the 17,000 individuals. For the most part, between 1935-40 the scholarship funds for foreign students came from colleges and universities at which the students were enrolled, from a variety of private organizations in the United States, such as the Federation of Women's Clubs, and from several bi-national organizations, such as the Netherland-American Foundation. Most of the American students received grants from governments, universities, or from some bi-national and American organizations.

In most instances the Institute participated only in the selection and placement of the students and in making arrangements for the awards, and the funds were paid direct to the student. Further, many of the college and university awards were made in terms of the granting of free room, board and tuition, the value of which is difficult to estimate. Since most of these funds did not pass through the Institute's hands, our financial records do not show the amounts received by foreign or American students, nor was this recorded on any other of our permanent records.

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G - 7
(Cont'd) In recent years, many of the students related to the Institute received United States Government grants under the Smith-Mundt Act, the Fulbright Act, various programs of the Department of the Army and other government agencies having exchange programs. It would be possible to produce lists of these students and possibly to determine an average amount of aid various categories of recipients received from the United States Government and to estimate the aid from private sources in this country in those instances where the Institute paid out funds (which of course would not include all instances in which the Institute serves as a facilitating agent). However, even this task would be an undertaking of considerable magnitude.

With regard to American students going abroad under Fulbright grants, the Institute does not determine the size of these awards, nor does it pay out any of the funds. The size of the grants vary from country to country. Complete information may be obtained from the Department of State, which is responsible for the over-all administration of this program.

Under other programs involving American students the grants usually average about $100 a month. Such awards do not include travel. As previously indicated, the Institute does not determine the size of these awards nor does it pay out the funds.

With regard to foreign students who are awarded grants under non-government programs administered by the Institute, it is estimated that the awards in the United States average about $1,050 each. Again the Institute handles very few of these funds. It should be added that this figure is an arithmetic average and does not include awards which may be made to these students by the government in the form of Fulbright Travel Grants. Graduate

C - 7 (Cont'd)

students from other countries receiving grants under the Smith-Mundt Act (P-L-402) receive awards of varying amounts, depending on the tuition costs at the university they are attending, the cost of living in the area, and whether they are obtaining aid from other sources. A "full grant" — one of which is supposed to cover the entire cost of tuition, room, board, book allowance, incidentals and a period of orientation prior to the start of the college year in 1952-53 averaged $2094 (exclusive of any travel awards made in local currencies by the government under the Fulbright Act (P.L.584)). "Partial grants" - those in which other organizations or the individual himself supplemented the Funds provided under the Smith-Mundt Act - averaged $1175 in 1952-53.

C-7

7 - 8 A summary list of appointments under programs in which the Institute has had a varying degree of Administrative responsibility from 1935 to 1951 would include the following number of students, (including specialists and trainees from 1948 on).

Year	American Students	Foreign Students
1935	200	178
1936	198	185
1937	206	191
1938	184	181
1939	184	217
1940	29	181
1941	14	319
1942	51	361
1943	92	416
1944	12	477
1945	25	552
1946	68	972
1947	119	975
1948	161	1,201
1949	755	1,519
1950	748	2,601
1951	924	2,386
	3,968	13,557

Total Placements: ~~17,525~~ 17,443

(These figures include all students, specialists, and trainees through the academic year 1951-52. The Institute does not yet have figures compiled for those currently studying in the United States and abroad in 1952-53. The estimated figures for this year are American students: 1000; foreign students and trainees: 3,000, for a total of approximately 4,000 persons under Institute sponsorship.)

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In addition to awards to individuals under its several programs, the Institute has administered a limited number of grants to other organizations and individuals for the Ford Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation in the past two years. In these instances the Institute receives funds from a foundation and serves merely as the fiscal or supervising agent.

Grants made to the Institute by the Carnegie Corporation for the following projects are listed below, with detailed information concerning their nature:

African Reconnaissance Missions

I. March, April, May, 1951
II. May, June, July, 1952
III. September, October, November, 1952

Amount of Grant

I. $20,000
II. $15,000
III. $15,000

Nature of Grant

Grants to the individuals comprising the teams on Missions I, II and III to enable them to carry out general surveys of economic, social and political conditions in Africa, to help develop a greater body of information about Africa in the United States.

Individuals Receiving Grants

I. Roland A. Young, Professor at Northwestern University
Robert V. Haslead, Professor at Cornell University
Merrill Bennett, Professor at Stanford University
John B. George, Fellow of the Institute of World Affairs
C. W. de Kiewiet, President, University of Rochester

II. Lloyd Reynolds, Professor at Yale University
Karl J. Polanyi, Professor at Yale University
Leonard W.Doob, Professor at Yale University
James Fesler, Professor at Yale University

III. William A. Hance, Professor at Columbia University
Kingsley Davis, Conservation Foundation
Eric Larabee, Harper's Magazine
Sanford Mock, Professor at the University of California

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Student Seminars, 1952-53

I. Seminar on Current Problems in India at the University of Pennsylvania
II. Seminar on Economic Problems of Southeast Asia at Cornell University

Amount of Grant

I. $7,500
II. $7,500

Nature of Grant

Applied to administrative costs of the seminars at the two universities, and for scholarship assistance to the participating students from India and Pakistan. Purpose of the grant is to allow foreign and American students to participate together in the seminars, giving the foreign students an opportunity to see problems of their area as they are viewed here in the United States, and the American students to learn at first hand about the area from residents of the area.

Individuals Receiving Grants

Selected students from India and Pakistan. These students are among those to be listed in the roster of Institute-sponsored students for 1952-53.

Grants to organizations administered by the Institute for the Ford Foundation are listed on the several sheets following.

Number C-7

INSTITUTION RECEIVING GRANT	NAME OF PROJECT	NATURE O
American Chemical Society Amount: 139 --- Period of Grant:	Younger Chemists International Project	Administ followsh 71 chemi tries to national N. Y. C.
American Friends Service Committee	International Seminars	Program, istrativ seminars foreign in the U Asia.
Columbia University	Columbia University-Free University of Berlin Exchange of Professors	Individu able com fessors universit
Conference Board of Associated Research Councils	Fulbright Supplementary Scholarships for Professors and Lecturers	Administ maintena fessors and Sout them to travel g
Experiment in International Living	Community Ambassadors Project	Administ develop in sendi dors" ab Experim

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

OF GRANT	AMOUNT	PERIOD OF GRANT
strative, travel and ship funds to enable ists from 27 coun- to attend Inter- al Chemical Conclave, C.	$139.187.28	4/51 - 8/51
s, travel and admin- ive funds for summer rs for American and s young leaders held U. S., Europe and	30,000.00	4/52-present
dual grants to en- exchanges of pro- s between these ities.	64,500.00	1/52-present
strative grant and nance funds for pro- s from the Near East uth Asia to enable s take up Fulbright grants to the U. S.	90,000.00	3/52-present
strative funds to p community interest ding young "ambassa- abroad as part of the ent's program.	18,200.00	9/52-present

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Number C-7

INSTITUTION RECEIVING GRANT	NAME OF PROJECT	NATURE OF
Massachusetts Institute of Technology	Foreign Student Summer Project	Administra fellowship 77 young 30 countr special s at M. I. T
National Association of Foreign Student Advisers		Administra strengthen Associatio
National Association of Foreign Student Advisers		Renewal of grant.
National 4-H Club Foundation	International Farm Youth Exchange	Fellowship ministrati change of erican far month work periods.
National 4-H Club Foundation	International Farm Youth Exchange Project	Renewal gr and expand
National Social Welfare Assembly, Inc.; Young Adult Council	World Assembly of Youth	Travel fu foreign de Communist held at Co
Young Men's Christian Association, National Board of the	Committee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students	Administra funds for port of ex foreign st eloping lo programs i ties for f

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

F GRANT	AMOUNT	PERIOD OF GRANT
rative, travel and ip funds to enable scientists from ries to attend summer session, T.	$ 12,633.17	4/51 - 9/51
rative funds to en and expand ion's activities	16,575.00	7/51 - 6/52
of previous year's	26,625.00	9/52-present
ip, travel and ad- tive funds for en- f foreign and Am- ars youth for 3-6 rk and observation	53,550.10	4/51 - 4/52
grant to continue nd program	150,000.00	2/52-present
unds to bring 95 delegates to anti- t Youth Congress Cornell, Aug.1951	72,500.00	6/51 - 9/51
rative and program r strengthening entry services to students and dev- local hospitality in U. S. communi- r foreign students.	17,390.00	10/51- 9/52

70

Number C-7

INSTITUTION RECEIVING GRANT	NAME OF PROJECT	NATURE
Young Men's Christian Association, National Board of the	Committee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students	Renewal year's
Young Men's Christian Association, National Board of the	International Visitation of Lay and Staff Workers	Progra ministr able 20 workers in Asia serve U methods
Young Women's Christian Association, National Board of the	Leadership Training Program	Progra ministr bring 2 staff 1 U. S. f for a 2 tion an

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

E OF GRANT	AMOUNT	PERIOD OF GRANT
al of previous s grant.	$ 20,040.00	9/52-present
ran, travel, and ad- trative funds to en- 28 YMCA lay and staff ers from 13 countries dia and Africa to ob- U. S. YMCA programs, ds, etc.	87,500.00	4/52-present
ran, travel and ad- trative funds to 20 YMCA lay and leaders to the from 16 countries 9 month observa- and training program	98,500.00	4/52-present

12

Control Copy

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INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

SECTION D

D-1. Our definition of the term "subversive" refers to those actions of individuals and groups which are directed, either openly or covertly, toward the undermining or destruction of American constitutional government and of free democratic institutions.

D-2. Yes.

D-3. The screening in terms of both character and academic ability of all applicants for award, both from foreign and American sources, is carried out in the following steps:

Foreign students coming to the United States

1. Every applicant considered for a grant by the Institute in New York must apply first to special committees established in some 70 countries of the free world. These are, in most countries, called Committees on Study and Training in the United States, and a complete listing is attached as Appendix 4. These selection committees are bi-national in composition, the Americans being representatives of overseas business and educational organizations in these countries. Members are usually appointed by the United States Ambassador in each country. The Committees screen the applicants in terms of their suitability for study in the U.S.
2. The Public Affairs Officer from the United States Consulate or Embassy is an ex-officio member, and usually secretary, of each of these selection committees.
3. In the issuance of a visa to come to the United States, each foreign grantee must be cleared by a United States Consul in the country concerned.

4. In programs which the Institute administers for United States Government agencies, each agency itself obtains a security check on the scholarship grantee.
5. At the port of entry to the United States each foreign student must pass the scrutiny of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.
6. Once the grantee has arrived at his college, the Institute receives during the year the following written reports:
   a. semi-annual reports from the college administration on academic and personal progress of each student.
   b. reports from the students themselves listing also all extra-curricular activities.
   c. reports of direct visitation by Institute staff members to interview students.
   d. occasional reports from Rotary Clubs, Granges, churches and other groups at which the foreign students speak and express attitudes.

It should be pointed out that there are a total of 51,000 foreign students now in the United States. Of these only 5,000 are under the auspices of the Institute, and the foregoing steps refer only to procedures for students under our auspices. Most of the Institute students are in the United States for a ten months to one year period. All have signed statements before leaving their home countries that they will return at the end of that period.

American students going abroad

The 800 or so American graduate students who are annually awarded Fulbright grants by the United States Department of State (after preliminary selection and recommendation by the Institute's National Selection Committee to the Board of Foreign Scholarships

of the Department of State) are subjected to close security clearance by that Department before final notification of award. Of the 250-300 private awards now made annually by the Institute, the major checks are through written confidential character references solicited on each. In addition, the United States Government carries out its usual inquiry before the issuance of an American passport.

Leaders and specialists coming to the United States

Most programs administered by the Institute involving leaders and specialists are carried out for government agencies or foundations. In the case of government programs, the government agency itself is responsible for the screening of the recipient. In the case of foundation programs, the individual recipient is screened by consular officials in the foreign country for the issuance of a visa, and by immigration authorities in the United States.

The confidential reports referred to above are retained in the files of the Institute at 1 East 67th Street, New York City, New York. In addition, applications and certain supporting documents of foreign students recommended by the Committees of Study and Training in various countries are retained in the Institute's files. Files are retained as "active" for several years and then are stored away as "inactive." Inactive files exist covering a period back to the early days of the Institute. All material related to the security clearance of all United States Government grantees is in the hands of the appropriate United States Government agency concerned. For the Fulbright program this would presumably be the United States Department of State.

D-4. In recent years the great majority of exchanges have been under government programs and they have been subject to special government security checks.

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

The non-government exchangees have had either to obtain passports through regular channels, since they were American citizens in the United States, or obtained visas in their respective countries from United States consular authorities. Some security check is now involved in these processes. Insofar as can be determined from available information, the recipients of grants through the Institute have always had to obtain passports and visas through regular channels. Moreover, confidential character reports have always been part of the Institute's procedure for awards of scholarships since its beginning in 1919.

D-5. Not applicable.

D-6. Yes, insofar as organizations are recipients of grants, and they appear questionable, the Institute checks against lists prepared by the Attorney General of the United States. However, most grants are made to individuals. A large proportion of these are handled under programs administered for government agencies, which are responsible for security checks. With respect to recipients of awards under non-government programs, the Institute does not receive in an organized manner information concerning the organizational affiliations of recipients, and therefore does not check against lists prepared by the Attorney General. Since all such recipients must either obtain passports or visas from appropriate United States government agencies, some check of a security nature is made at that level.

D-7. Yes.

D-8. Not applicable.

D-9. Yes.

D-10. No, to the best of our knowledge.

D-11. Not applicable.

D-12. Not applicable.

D-13. Not applicable.

D-14. Not to our knowledge.

D-15. Not applicable.

LIST OF ATTACHED APPENDICES

1. Certificate of Incorporation.

2. Letter from Treasury Department concerning tax-exempt status of the Institute of International Education.

3. 32nd Annual Report of the Institute of International Education.

4. List of Committees on Study and Training in the United States.

(Appendices not included etc etc)

STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION — NEW YORK, N. Y.

YEAR ENDED SEPTEMBER 30, 1947

RECEIPTS			
Carnegie Corporation of New York		$100,000.00	
United States of America		595,060.78	
Greek War Relief Fellowships		28,928.91	
Brazilian National Service of Industrial Apprenticeships		45,193.26	
Brazilian Embassy		19,761.65	
Italo-American Fellowships		11,820.00	
Turkish Sugar Refineries Project		15,426.75	
Sundry Receipts for Designated Funds		72,248.43	
Federal Taxes Withheld from Employees' Salaries		20,879.55	
Group Insurance Premiums		24,827.18	
Accounts Receivable and Payable		2,454.99	
Sundry		11,788.53	
TOTAL RECEIPTS			$947,790.03
DISBURSEMENTS			
Salaries and Annuities	$158,332.18		
Rent and Light	12,527.59		
Printing, Stationery and Supplies	18,995.07		
News Bulletin	5,335.18		
Postage	4,758.31		
Telephone, Telegraph and Cables	4,430.32		
Travel and Entertainment	3,096.79		
Miscellaneous	15,302.63	222,778.07	
Scholarships and Fellowships	251,838.47		
Students' Travel, Maintenance, Loans, etc.	317,989.13	569,827.60	
Funds Returned to United States of America		48,980.75	
Accounts Receivable and Payable	2,863.85		
Sundry Advances for Designated Purposes	12,332.06		
Group Insurance Premiums	23,308.17		
Federal Taxes on Employees' Salaries	20,312.90	58,816.98	
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS			900,403.40
EXCESS RECEIPTS OVER DISBURSEMENTS			$ 47,386.63

THE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

"... perhaps the best way to send knowledge is to wrap it up in a person."

—Robert Oppenheimer

WHAT IT IS

The Institute of International Education is a private, non-profit organization devoted to promoting world understanding by the interchange among nations of students, teachers, and specialists.

The cornerstone of its philosophy was laid at a meeting at the Columbia University Club one evening in the fall of 1918, when Elihu Root, Nicholas Murray Butler, and Stephen Duggan agreed: "Diplomacy hasn't worked. International commerce and international finance aren't enough. Let's try international education."

Since then, international education has grown enormously. Once numbered by the dozens, international students are now measured in thousands — 20,000 foreign students from 53 countries in the U. S. the past academic year, and 8,000 Americans studying abroad.

Of these, the Institute now places more than 1,000 each year. Sixty per cent of all foreign scholarship holders in the U. S. are Institute-sponsored.

The potential of international education as a force for world peace cannot be fully realized until its scope is broadened many times. In the last thirty years, however, international education has made a positive contribution to economic, educational, and social stability.

Interest in international education has extended into wide new areas, reaching all kinds of people. No longer the exclusive privilege of bearded scholars, it is engaging the attention of students from underdeveloped and colonial areas, trade unionists, journalists, industrial technicians, doctors, and engineers.

The Institute faces a rising tide of requests for assistance of all kinds from governments, universities, scientific societies, industry, and individuals.

Full growth lies ahead, but international education has already established itself as a binding force between peoples of all nations.

20,000 Foreign Students in U. S. A.

WHAT IT DOES

Student Exchange —
ment, travel, financing, h
seling of many of the 28
students pursuing overse
over 9,000 scholarships
outstanding American uni
the last 25 years.

Unesco Fellowships
UNESCO the study progr
cation reconstruction spec
countries of Europe and A

Government Contrac
Government IIE administ
professional and technical
from the Latin-American

Fulbright Act — IIE
Government the student
by the sale of surplus wa
tential 20 countries.

Professors and Lecture
speaking schedules for mo
35 countries, bringing to
such as Arnold J. Toynb
assists American professo

Summer Projects —
abroad of large numbers o
ing summer school prog
handled the student ship
Europe for 7,000 summer

Information Services —
information on every type
study. It answers 35,000
directly aided more than
fessors in 53 countries.

Publications — IIE p
Bulletin, which is the "trac
exchange; numerous info
books for students.

— IIE aids the selection, place-
, hospitality, and general coun-
28,000 American and foreign
rseas studies. It has arranged
s for foreign students in 300
universities and colleges during

s — IIE has arranged for
ograms in the U. S. of edu-
pecialists from 6 war-devasted
d Asia.

acts — On behalf of the U.S.
nisters Government grants for
cal training of selected students
n republics.

IE administers for the U. S.
ent programs being financed
war property abroad in a po-

urers — IIE has organized
more than 400 lecturers from
to the U. S. outstanding men,
ynbee from England. It also
ssors going abroad.

— IIE facilitates the study
s of Americans by administer-
rograms. In addition, it has
ip transportation to and from
er students in the last 2 years.

— IIE is a clearing house of
ype of academic and technical
000 inquiries yearly and has
n 320,000 students and pro-

publishes a monthly News
trade journal" of international
nformative pamphlets; hand-

8,000 Americans Go Abroad

HOW IT DOES IT

IIE marshals the resources of a trained staff of 90, thirty years' experience, and contacts with hundreds of schools, social and industrial organizations, clubs, and individuals to assist the 35,000 people who turn to it for help each year.

These are typical examples of IIE daily operations:

A University of Michigan student stops at the office: "Our fraternity wants a foreign student to live with us next year. Where can we find qualified applicants?" IIE's Student Service surveys applications on file and submits the names of several candidates.

The Department of Exchange of Persons of UNESCO writes: "Please arrange a course of study for a Dutch librarian, a specialist in primary education. She works with war-affected children and will lecture on American library methods on her return to Holland." IIE's Division of Specialized Personnel, cooperating with professional organizations, arranges library visits, study courses, and field trips, administers finances, and supervises her entire program.

A Cornell senior inquires: "Are there fellowships for graduate study in Switzerland? I want to study International Relations in preparation for diplomatic service." IIE sends him a list of fellowship opportunities in Switzerland. His application is submitted to an IIE Selection Committee and then to the university of his choice. IIE receives regular progress reports during his study year.

IIE's staff members keep in constant touch with students, by correspondence and regular campus visits. The program is kept vital by personal contact.

The life blood of the Institute is people — American and foreign students, teachers, trainees, and specialists — weaving a strong fabric of understanding among nations.

Applied Knowledge Aids World Recovery

WHAT THE INSTITUTE NEEDS

Funds are urgently needed to facilitate travel and study by thousands of highly qualfied persons. Without help these people cannot carry on this international study.

Foreign technicians, doctors, scientists, economists, and teachers in large numbers want to share in American educational facilities to assist in world recovery. Unless financial aid is provided, dollar shortages will prevent the majority of these qualified students from ever reaching the U. S., and their potential skills will be lost.

The United States needs to send students as ambassadors of good will to all countries abroad. The world is held together by mutual respect and understanding, gained only by contact with the cultures and problems of other lands. Benefit to business, education, and government must result from such a broad "educational lend-lease," but funds must be made available to bring it about.

Peace will be fashioned not by materials, but by people — people whose broad contacts have given them vision, understanding, and skill. The Institute calls for nation-wide support of its program as an investment in world order.

WHAT THEY SAY

"The United States Government has also endeavored to foster such educational interchange in every way possible. The cooperation and assistance which it has received in this program from the Institute, and from the colleges and universities of this country, have been deeply appreciated. I am sure that the plan of the Institute for expanding its services will increase its rich experience in educational exchange and further benefit this country in its cultural relations with other nations.

—Harry S. Truman

"In these troubled days, the far-sighted policy of international education has become a firm foundation on which will ultimately rest the peace for which all the world is so earnestly yearning. I can assure you of my very best wishes and my full cooperation in the great achievements that lie ahead for the Institute of International Education."

—Dwight D. Eisenhower

"Further development of the Institute should be of distinct advantage to the perpetuation of the ideals of UNESCO." —Robert Hutchins

"The Institute in reaching its thirtieth anniversary as a private organization which has so long recognized and fulfilled its obligation, deserves the thanks of the citizens of the U. S. and a deep appreciation of the services your Institute has rendered." —Eleanor Roosevelt

THE INSTITUTE
OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION
2 West 45 Street, New York 19
Murray Hill 7-0630

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

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Vice-Chairmen — Sarah G. Blanding, Lindsay Bradford

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Assistant to the President.....Bess N. Trinks

All contributions are tax-exempt. Checks should be made payable to the Institute of International Education, Inc.

INSTITUTE OF
INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION
INCORPORATED
2 WEST 45TH STREET, NEW YORK 19, N. Y. · MURRAY HILL 7-0630 · CABLE ADDRESS "INTERED"

December 14, 1948

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I wanted to share with you the attached IIE pamphlet which has just come from the printer. It is the first of a series of brochures which we expect to produce, and tries to represent all aspects of IIE work. Your comments on it will be much appreciated. A limited number have been run off, so that we can incorporate changes in the future.

Please be quite frank in your appraisal of its effectiveness in terms of story-telling, makeup, and clarity.

Sincerely yours,

John S. Hollister

John S. Hollister
Director of Development

Enclosure

March 8, 1948

TO: Edward R. Murrow

(cc- Arthur W. Packard)

FROM: Laurence Duggan

Attached is a list of persons the three of us tentatively agreed upon to be added to the Institute's Board of Trustees.

In addition, we have on the "possible" list Dorothy Fosdick and Taylor, of West Point.

My list of additional suggestions I will send to you tomorrow.

Also attached is a memorandum that lists the matters on which Dr. Fisher serves as a consultant to the Institute. In addition to these specific assignments I use him on special jobs such as the special job which UNESCO asks us to do.

Enclosures

List of matters on which Dr. Fisher advises

The Junior Year Abroad

Russian Students Loan Fund

American University Union

The American Field Service

American Pharmaceutical Educational Foundation

National Inter-Fraternity Conference

The Pan Hellenic Conference

Committee for African Students in North America

Tentative Suggestions - IIE Board of Trustees

Schuster	N.Y.
Stoddard	Illinois
Poletti	N.Y.
Eisenhower	N.Y.
(Sproul Dysktra	California
Compton	Missouri
Cowles, Gardner	Iowa
Davis, Elmer	
Duncan (legal counsel)	

INSTITUTE of INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

Incorporated

2 WEST 45th STREET
VAnderbilt 6-1471

NEW YORK 19, N. Y.
CABLE ADDRESS "INTERED"

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GEORGE F. ZOOK

March 16, 1948

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

I woke up this morning with a sore throat. I am writing this at home where I don't have complete data. If any of the lists are not clear, I'm sure Packard will be glad to fill out the missing information.

We at present have an authorized Board of twenty one. There is one vacancy. Under the new by-laws, Chamberlain, Gildersleeve and Leland will be dropped because of age and Stephen P. Duggan becomes an honorary trustee. So that leaves sixteen of the present Board.

The new by-laws provide for a board of thirty six, which means that there are twenty vacancies to be filled.

The attached lists give the suggestions for filling these vacancies that you, Packard and I have been working on.

My understanding is that you and the Nominating Committee take over and become responsible at this point. Naturally, if there is anything I can do, don't hesitate a second in calling on me.

I'm not certain what the exact protocol is, but I assume that the report of the Nominating Committee ought to be distributed shortly in advance of the meeting (but not too long to permit backstair's intrigues). So, send me the report with your instructions and I will see that it is distributed.

About the officers,-
I will be glad to go down to Princeton and talk with Dodds <u>after</u> the ice is broken. Every effort should be made to get Dodds' acceptance <u>before</u> we see Josephs next Monday because he already knows that Packard had agreed to serve; if we were to go to see him Monday with no one lined up in Packard's place he might wonder if we knew what we were about.

I wish you would agree to be senior Assistant Chairman at least until the fall meeting. After we see how the enlarged Board shakes down, we can select someone else if you don't care to continue in that capacity.

Packard and I think that Shaw should be approached to find out whether he desires to continue on the Board. If not, his replacement should be selected with an eye on Catholic representation. Taylor, of Princeton, is our first choice.

Packard and I whipped over the Committee arrangements in a few seconds so they do not represent considered views.

Regarding Development Committee, we agree that Bradford should be the Chairman. Packard suggested that Hurrod be a member. The other names are mine.

Regarding Finance, Packard and I agreed upon Bradford and Hurrod. Reed is my suggestion.

Hayes is Packard's nomination for Auditing.

There are other Committee assignments - Program, American University Union, National Selection Board. I will get up slates on these and try to discuss them with you and Packard in the next few days. Until we know exactly who the trustees are, it is a little previous to work out the details of Committee assignments anyhow.

There is a lot of work to be done here. Let me know if I can help.

Sincerely,

Larry

Laurence Duggan

Enclosure

Signed in the absence
of Mr. Duggan

SUGGESTED NEW TRUSTEES

(Starred names indicate preferred choices)

CULTURAL

*Dodds - President, Princeton
*Miller - President, U. of Florida, Former Assistant Commissioner of Education, New York State
*Stewart - President, West Virginia
*Havighurst - Dean, School of Education, Chicago
*Gould - President, Carlton College, Minnesota
*Schuster - President, Hunter
*Stoddard - President, Illinois
*Sproul - President, California
*Compton - President, Washington U., St.Louis
*Mays - President, Morehouse, Georgia (Negro)
Taylor - Dean, Graduate School, Princeton - in place of Dodds if Dodds not willing to serve.

BUSINESS (List identifying names sent previously to Mr. Murrow)

*Rothschild -
*Hayes - Vice President, Coca-Cola
*Stanley -
*Herrod -
*Bradley - Vice President, General Motors

John Suman, Vice President, Standard Oil, or Leonard McCollum, President Continental Oil, or a Texas businessman.
(Suman and McCollum are from Texas and Oklahoma, respectively)

LAW

*Duncan (if ready to serve without compensation; LD to talk further with him)
Schwarz, F.A.O. - Davis, Polk
Spoffard

PUBLIC LIFE

*Eisenhower - President, Columbia U.
*Lithgow Osborne, President, American Scandinavian Foundation

PRESS, RADIO, MOTION PICTURES

*Cowles - Des Moines Register
*Elmer Davis
Wanger or Spyros Skouras

GENERAL

*Mrs. Poletti
*Mrs. Moore (sister of Henry Luce)

SUGGESTED OFFICERS

Chairman, -- Dodds

Vice Chairman- Murrow

Sproul

Compton or Stoddard

Secretary -

Assistant Secretary

Treasurer - Nicely

Assistant Treasurer - Haidinger (Institute Administrative Officer)

SUGGESTED COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS

EXECUTIVE (Eleven members of Board)

Packard - Chairman
Carman
Lewisohn
Murrow
Nicely
Robinson - Secretary

Schuster
Poletti
Moore
Hayes
McCollum

DEVELOPMENT

Bradford - Chairman
Lewisohn
Murrow
Herrod
Stanley
Reed

FINANCE (three or more who need not be members of the Board

Bradford Chairman?
Herrod
Reed

AUDITING (one or more)

Hayes

NOMINATING

Nicely Chairman?
Schuster
Lewisohn

C
O
P
Y

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

April 6, 1948

Dr. George N. Shuster, President
Hunter College
695 Park Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Dr. Shuster:

You of course know of the Institute of International Education. Founded after the first World War, it quickly grew to become the clearing house in the administration of student and scholar exchange between the United States and other countries. It emerged from the second World War with a greatly enlarged responsibility, in part because our Government had asked it to administer the Government's student exchange program and in part because many persons and organizations and foreign governments had requested it to assist in the same manner. It today is the recognized focal point. This is clearly demonstrated by the request of the Board of Foreign Scholarships that the Institute handle the student grant program under the Fulbright Act, an operation which over the next twenty years may result in the disbursement of scholarships totaling $100,000,000.

With these enlarged responsibilities, the Board of Trustees decided to increase its number to make it more representative of the new fields in which it is being called upon to work. New trustees will be added, not only from education, but also from business, public life, labor and the mass media. Such a Board should be able to give the Institute the policy direction and general support that it needs as it administers an ever widening series of activities in the interchange of persons.

On behalf of the Board of Directors of the Institute, I take pleasure in inviting you to become a member of this Board. Dr. Stephen Duggan has made me very happy by telling me that you would be willing to serve. This is good news, indeed. I feel certain that you will find membership on our Board interesting, important and enjoyable. The Board meets three times a year. The duties are not heavy but each trustee has at least one committee assignment and is, of course, expected to be ready to advise on matters within his competence from time to time.

Sincerely yours,

/s/Edward R. Murrow
Chairman of the Board

NY TIMES

8/11/49

Soviet Organ Holds Carnegie Unit Seeks to Kill Patriotism Abroad

Sees Aim as Bourgeois Cosmopolitanism—Institute Terms Charges Old Ones—Contends Group Is 'Non-Political'

By HARRISON E. SALISBURY

8/11/49

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, Aug. 10—The Soviet educational journal Teachers Gazette charged today that American educators had launched a worldwide campaign to undermine national sovereignties and instill bourgeois cosmopolitanism, utilizing as a spearhead of the offensive the Carnegie-sponsored Institute of International Education.

The American campaign has been gathering force, according to Professor M. Bernstein, since organization of the institute by the Carnegie Endowment after the First World War.

The true aims of the Carnegie Endowment, the journal said, are easily understood when it is known that its trustees included the "notorious 'enlightened' banker [Thomas W.] Lamont and one of the chief American warmongers, John Foster Dulles."

[Mr. Dulles is a director of the Institute of International Education, as was the late Mr. Lamont.]

The American campaign utilizes the following three basic devices, the Teachers Gazette said:

(1) Establishment of American schools in South America, Asia, Africa and Europe which "become centers of reaction and which cause direct pressure on public life of the countries where they are located.

(2) The so-called academic exchange of students and professors" which is designed to orient students to the American viewpoint and from which the United States obtained many loyal foreign supporters of the Truman Doctrine an dthe Marshall Plan "who are ready to sell and betray the natoinal sovereignty and national pride of their country for dollars."

(3) Sending abroad of "pedagogical missionaries" to reorganize foreign educational systems on American lines.

The task of pedagogical missions, in the opinion of the Soviet writer, is to erect a "kind of dam against the mighty democratic stream which threatened to wipe our old anti-popular ideas of Fascist school systems."

Former Attacks Are Noted

John S. Hollister, president of the Institute of International Education, said yesterday that the Soviet attack followed the lines of similar ones that had appeared in the Communist press in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and France.

The attack is without basis in fact in so far as it charges the institute with engaging in politics, Mr. Hollister said. "The one thing we have tried consistently to be over thirty years is non-political," he declared.

Under the exchange of students and professors, the institute does indeed attempt to acquaint foreign visitors with American life as well as with American scientific and technical knowledge, and this doubtless creates understanding of the American viewpoint among foreign students, Mr. Hollister said.

"In this respect, we plead guilty," he remarked. But this in no way undermines the patriotism of the foreign students benefitting from the exchange," he stated.

The institute has been and is cooperating in educational missions to Germany and Japan, he said. The purpose of the missions, he pointed out, is to democratize totalitarian educational systems.

Other educational missions from the United States, undertaken at the request of the foreign governments concerned, were organized by the State Department. American schools abroad have been established by other private interests or, in an experiment, by the State Department.

The institute has been attacked by Communists abroad since it cooperated in educational exchanges under the Fulbright Act, Mr. Hollister said. It was established in 1919 under a grant from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Since 1926 it has been aided by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, which provided $150,000 of its current $400,000 budget. The Rockefeller Foundation provided $50,000 and ten other foundations contributed the balance.

INSTITUTE OF
INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION
INCORPORATED
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December 1, 1948

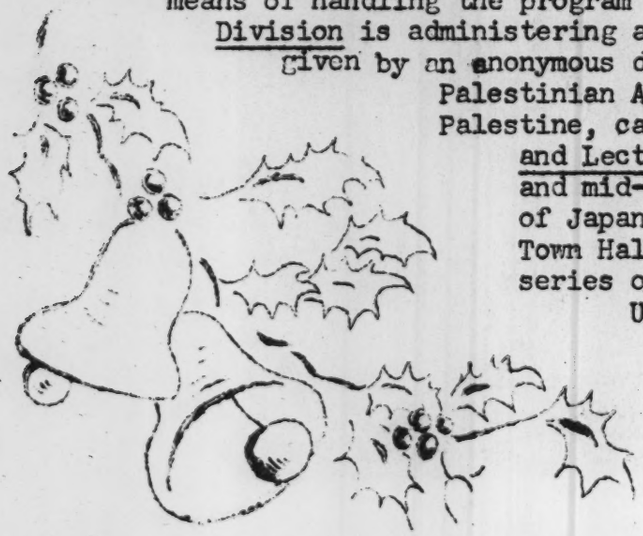
NEWS LETTER to Trustees and Staff Members

Dear Friends:

The peak of the rush period is past and most of our students have dispersed to their college campuses. There are, however, recent arrivals and new developments in many IIE divisions.

PROGRAM.--Asiatic and African Division: Mr. Y. Eto, the first IIE student from Japan since the War, arrived. He will study music at the Curtis Institute in Philadelphia on a fellowship given by an American donor. Dr. Suad Niazi of Iraq, studying medicine at the University of Minnesota on a U. S. Government fellowship, received great publicity when he announced finding a new, simple means of diagnosing cancer which may possibly lead to discovery of its cause.--Western European Division: The number of Finnish student placements has tripled this year over last. IIE is now cooperating with the Federation of American Scientists, which has set up a committee to encourage new assistantship opportunities in the U. S. for Europeans working in the natural sciences.

Division of Specialized Personnel: Jan H. Bannier, an official of the Dutch Ministry of Education, arrived November 23. Here on a UNESCO Reconstruction Fellowship, he will consult with research specialists under the guidance of Rockefeller Foundation. Two more IRSIA fellows arrived, under an arrangement with the Belgian Agricultural and Scientific Society to bring outstanding Belgian scientists here for research. Louis J. E. Dufour, meteorologist at the Royal Institute of Meteorology, Belgium, will study weather forecasting at the U. S. Department of Commerce in Washington, and Dr. Karel De Clippeleir, assistant at the University of Louvain, will study physics at Johns Hopkins University.--Group Projects Division: Top news is that IIE will not administer the Ship Program next summer. Harry Pierson is a member of the new Executive Committee for Student Travel which will survey means of handling the program in the future.--Information and Counseling Division is administering a fund of $1,500 per month for 9 months, given by an anonymous donor to relieve financial distress of Palestinian Arab students who, because of conditions in Palestine, cannot receive money from home.--Professors and Lecturers: After lecturing in several western and mid-western states, Professor Shichiro Matsui of Japan, brought to the U. S. by IIE, spoke at Town Hall November 29 as one of their regular series of lecturers. In November the Combined Universities Debating Team appeared under IIE auspices at colleges in Wyoming, Nebraska, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Oklahoma, Indiana, Ohio, and New York.



PUBLICITY.--The small IIE information pamphlet is now in print. A full page of pictures of the September Conference was sent by the Associated Press for publication on November 13th in over 100 newspapers throughout the country. Harry Pierson's fine letter urging greater support of student interchange and pointing out that exchanges with Czechoslovakia were continuing was published in the New York Times on November 14th.

FUND RAISING.--A foundation grant of $15,000 was received in November, bringing total contributions to date to $33,000. Although this represents real progress, we are still about $75,000 short of our goal for expansion during the current fiscal year. Our appeal is still under consideration by 16 foundations and several large corporations.

COMINGS, GOINGS, DOINGS.--George Shuster, president of Hunter College, was elected chairman of the Board of Trustees at the November 15 meeting. Sarah G. Blanding, president of Vassar, and Lindsay Bradford, president of City Bank Farmers Trust Company, are vice-chairmen. New trustees are Dudley B. Bonsal, New York attorney, Leonard McCollum, President of Continental Oil Company, Frank Altschul, chairman of the Board of General American Investors Company, and Jack Straus, president of R. H. Macy and Company.

Herschel Brickell's witty, informal sessions on writing have been attended by 30 interested staff members each week.--Letters congratulating IIE on its approaching 30th anniversary and expressing gratification with its work have been received from President Truman, Dwight Eisenhower, and Eleanor Roosevelt, among others.--The State Department now brings to our offices people who are going into field work so that they may learn first-hand about IIE activities. --Information & Counseling is busy with plans for a party at the Rainbow Room December 28th for foreign students in New York over the holidays.

Donald Shank attended meetings of the Greater New York Council, the Higher Education Group, the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO in Washington, the Advisory Committee on Occupied Countries of the American Council on Education, the National Interfraternity Conference (he spoke on "The College and UNESCO"), and the Program Department Committee of the Girl Scouts of America. Emily Donick went to a meeting of the trustees of the American-Swiss Foundation for Scientific Exchange, and Harry Pierson to one of the Reception Committee of the Greater New York Council. George Hall attended a meeting on interchange of teachers at the U. S. Office of Education.

As 1948 draws to its close, IIE faces the coming year with high hope and the confidence of growing interest in our work and increasing support from old friends and new. To each and every one of you I want to extend my personal thanks for your continuing enthusiasm, and wish you happy holidays and the best of everything for the New Year.

Sincerely yours,

Laurence Duggan

Laurence Duggan
President

To: BOARD OF TRUSTEES MEMORANDUM March 24, 1948
From: Lawrence Duggan

Re: Attached Memorandum "Institute of International Education Student Exchange Programs with Hungary and Poland Since World War II"

This memo was presented to the Fulbright Board of Foreign Scholarships. The Board by a vote of six to two recommended to the Secretary of State that he endeavor to negotiate agreements with these two countries as well as Czechoslovakia.

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION STUDENT EXCHANGE PROGRAMS
WITH
HUNGARY AND POLAND SINCE WORLD WAR II.

HUNGARY

A brief recapitulation of the Institute of International Education's relations with Hungary in its student program before the war will give the background for the present situation. An American-Hungarian student exchange was established by the Institute in 1926 which functioned until the outbreak of the war, under which six or more Hungarian students came to the United States annually on fellowships given by American universities and colleges, and three to five American graduate students studied in Budapest on fellowships provided by the Hungarian Ministry of Education. The opportunities for Hungarian students were limited by the number of graduate fellowships including maintenance offered by American institutions. There were no special funds for Hungarian students. Credentials of Hungarian students in the years shortly before the war were reviewed in Hungary by a committee for the "Hungarian Scholarship Council", composed of representatives of the Hungarian universities. Professor Domanovszky was chairman of the committee.

The Institute's first post-war contact with Hungary came through a memorandum of March 1946 from a member of the American Legation in Budapest forwarded to the Institute by the Department of State. It stated that the Ministry of Education in Budapest wished to reestablish the student exchange with the United States, and that the dossiers of thirteen candidates for fellowships selected by the "Hungarian Council of Scholarships" were being forwarded. Professor Domanovszky's name appeared on a letter to the American Legation listing the candidates selected, and giving the information that academic sub-committees had made an initial selection of applicants, and that the Council then "chose those whose visit to the United States is considered most necessary ... cultural relationship with the United States is of greatest importance".

The applications of the thirteen candidates were received at the Institute on April 29, 1946, but were incomplete. Without complete credentials, and at such a late date, it was impossible to secure graduate fellowships, and only one of the candidates was placed for the academic year 1946-47 on a tuition scholarship.

The Ministry of Education wrote to the Institute during the summer of 1946 that it was willing to offer reciprocal fellowships to American graduate students as soon as conditions would permit if this would help to obtain appointments for Hungarians in American institutions, offering ten maintenance fellowships in exchange for similar opportunities afforded to Hungarian students. The Institute did not accept applications for study in Hungary for 1947-48, but it will accept them for 1948-49.

A total of forty-five applications were received for 1947-48, including the thirteen applications initially received, which were held for placement in the following year after complete credentials had been obtained. Twelve appointments have been made to Hungarian students in the current academic year.

Applications have just been received from the Ministry for forty-six candidates for awards for 1948-49. Some additional applications are expected.

The Institute feels very strongly that the exchange of students with Hungary should be encouraged and developed, and that this is an important means of encouraging democratic forces in that country. In its experience since the war to date, it has found the method of selection of students, based on academic ability, and special needs in certain fields, substantially the same as that before the war. Recent advices received from the United States Legation are to the effect that political considerations are becoming important in the selection of applicants.

The Ministry's understanding of the purpose of the exchange of students seems also to be in accord with that of the Institute of International Education. A recent letter from the Hungarian Ministry of Education expressed the gratitude of the Ministry "and of all those who ardently desire sincere and lasting understanding and sympathy between our two countries. I am convinced that the candidates, carefully selected by ourselves, will bring honor and credit to Hungary as well as to the cause they represent. They will do their utmost to produce work of value in their respective fields during their stay in your country. I hope that you have no reason to be dissatisfied with those Hungarian scholars who will soon be on their way back home."

There has been no criticism of the post-war Hungarian students from the institutions at which they have been placed, and the present limitations of the program are due only to the lack of funds for increased numbers of fellowships. The Institute hopes that in the future there will be added opportunities for the cultural exchange of highly trained persons between the two countries, with a corresponding increase in the effectiveness of the program.

POLAND

The Institute of International Education's relations with Poland are limited to the post-war period; it had no earlier student program with Poland since the Kosciuszko Foundation had a well established program of cultural exchange between that country and the United States in the pre-war years.

In January 1946, the Institute received a letter from the Cultural Relations Attaché at the American Embassy in Warsaw (Professor S. Harrison Thomson, of the University of Colorado) asking for fifty scholarships for Polish students, mainly in Engineering and technical fields. The Director of the Institute wrote that it would probably be impossible to place such a large number of students, since the scholarships would have to come for the most part from the colleges and universities, and the Polish applicants would compete with other foreign students for the available awards, but that the Institute would attempt to place a smaller number.

During 1946, representatives from the Polish Embassy visited the Institute several times to discuss the student program, and the Institute was informed that the Ministry of Education had established fifteen scholarships for American students to study in Poland, and ten English-teaching fellowships. The Institute, however, was not asked to help in the selection of candidates.

In August, 1946, the Polish Embassy sent the Institute the credentials of six students, the first received, whom they asked the Institute to place

on fellowships for the second semester of that academic year. A tuition and maintenance grant was secured for one of the applicants, but the award was not taken up since the student did not receive funds for travel, which was to have been paid by the Polish Ministry of Education.

During 1947, the Institute has had a number of conversations with the Polish Embassy in Washington and other officials of the Polish Government with regard to the interchange of students. These officials have shown great interest in developing an exchange but have always pointed out the severe dollar stringency which makes it extremely difficult for Polish students to accept any scholarship that does not include travel and incidentals, as well as tuition, board and lodging. The Polish Embassy in Washington has agreed to write its government to inquire whether any supplementary dollar fund would be available, but the Institute has never been advised of any reply.

The Polish Embassy and other Polish officials have consistently drawn attention to the existence of the fifteen scholarships for American students and the ten English-speaking fellowships, a number of which have been awarded and have indicated that they would be glad to get the Institute's help in finding additional suitable candidates.

The Institute undertook these discussions with the Polish Embassy only after prior consultation with the Kosciuszko Foundation indicated that it had no objection to the Institute doing what it could in working out student exchanges at this time, especially since the Foundation's own policies while favorable to student exchange were not sympathetic to working with the Polish Government.

The Institute feels, as in the case of Hungary, that an exchange of students with Poland is altogether desirable. It is impressed by the fact that other Western nations seem to have been able to overcome the obstacles in the way of such exchanges. For instance, the British Council has selected and brought to Great Britain a fairly numerous number of Polish students. The Institute believes that the people of Poland want to have cultural contacts with the West and that the Polish Government - whatever its political complexion - is ready to have these cultural contacts, although because of lack of dollar exchange it cannot assist financially in the conduct of such cultural exchanges where foreign currency is needed.

A.E.

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES
of
Meeting of Executive Committee, October 14, 1947.

Present: Mr. Edward R. Murrow, Chairman; Mr. Lawrence Duggan, Dean Harry J. Carman, Mrs. Sam Lewisohn, Dr. Leland Rex Robinson; Dr. Stephen P. Duggan and Mr. Harold J. Seymour attended as guests.

Absent: Miss Virginia C. Gildersleeve, Mr. G. Howland Shaw, Mr. Arthur Packard, Mr. James M. Nicely.

1. Approval of Minutes of previous meeting.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were approved without change.

2. Discussion with Mr. Seymour.

In this discussion Mr. Seymour stated his belief that the "climate" was propitious for raising financial support for the Institute from selected individuals and industrial concerns. He elaborated the opinion expressed in his memorandum of July 21, 1947, that the Institute should not attempt a fund-raising drive but should carry on a continuous effort through regional groups of influential persons. He spoke of the importance of the Institute having on its staff — possibly with the title of Assistant Director — someone fired with enthusiasm for the Institute's purposes and who could light an interest in others. Such a person might be a younger person or an older person retired from business who wanted to devote himself to a good "cause".

After Mr. Seymour left, it was moved, seconded and unanimously agreed to recommend to the Board that it approve employment of the services of Mr. Seymour for one year for the purposes and at the terms set forth in his memorandum of July 21.

3. Fund-raising activities.

Mr. Duggan reported that the approaches he had made to the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation had met with success. Each foundation had agreed to make a two year grant to the Institute of $100,000., the expenditure to be at the rate of $50,000. a year. The Rockefeller Foundation's grant is contingent upon the presentation each year of an approved budget. The Carnegie Corporation's grant is contingent upon the presentation to it of a well-considered plan for raising the additional amounts set forth in the expansion plan approved by the Board at the special meeting on June 25, 1947. The Carnegie Corporation's requirement makes it especially important that immediate steps be taken to develop a plan of fund-raising action which will have the approval of the Institute's Board or Executive Committee.

4. Housing.

Mr. Duggan recalled that the owners of 2 West 45 Street were unwilling to renew the lease at the existing rental so that the Institute is on a month to month basis at the modest rental of $2.00 a square foot. New leases are being negotiated at $4.00 a square foot. This price is not excessive for the mid-town area but there is an important reason for not signing a new lease on that basis, namely, the impossibility of getting any additional space in the building. The present staff is overcrowded at 2 West 45 Street so that any new staff to be added out of the funds already secured and in connection with the Fulbright Act operations would have to be housed separately. This would be highly inefficient.

Space has been located on the seventeenth floor of the Plaza Hotel at $4.00 a square foot. There is 7,300 square feet available which compares — on a usable basis — with 5,900 square feet at 2 West 45 Street. It is not all choice space, some rooms having no or only one window, but architects who have been consulted report it entirely satisfactory with modern lighting. Moreover, the owner will make available additional space. This space would all be good as at present it comprises bedrooms. The owner will renovate and redecorate at his expense, which is worth several thousand dollars.

Mr. Duggan said that after securing the approval of Mr. Murrow and several other staff members, he advised the owner of the Institute's readiness to sign a lease. The lease, which is now being drawn up, will run for five (5) years, with option for renewal. If at the expiration of two (2) years the Institute's income is 50 per cent or less than what it will be for the present fiscal year, the lease may be cancelled without penalty by the Institute. Moreover, if after two years, the Institute desires to move to other quarters, it may sublet, provided the tenant is agreeable to the owner.

Mr. Murrow said that he had checked the proposed rental with the business office of C.B.S. and had been told that it was moderate.

It was moved, seconded and adopted unanimously that the action taken by the Director be approved.

5. Administration of the Fulbright Act.

Mr. Duggan reported that the Board of Foreign Scholarships established under the Fulbright Act had met in Washington, October 8-9, and that it had approved the administration of exchanges under the Act as follows:

> Teachers (as teachers) by the Office of Education.
> Students (including teachers as students) by the Institute.
> Professors, specialists, etc. by the Coordination Committee of the American Council of Learned Societies, the National Research Council and the Social Science Research Council.

Mr. Duggan thought that up to approximately one-half of the entire funds might be used to help U.S. students going to foreign countries and another 15 per cent to pay the travel expenses of foreign students to the U.S. This administrative job to be performed by the Institute is thus a very large one. It would involve handling double or triple the work of the present student activities.

Mr. Duggan explained that the Government had no funds on hand to reimburse the Institute for its expenses but that it had hoped to raise funds from the private foundations for this purpose. Beginning with the new Government fiscal year, July 1, 1948, the Government expected to have funds under the Smith Bill.

Mr. Duggan recommended that the Institute take on a topflight man to handle the Fulbright program. He might be given the title of Assistant Director. This man should be taken on as soon as found and paid out of the new funds provided by the Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations.

6. Dr. Miroslav Havranek.

Mr. Duggan said that Dr. Havranek was the head of the Division of Foreign Educational Relations in the Ministry of Education of Czechoslovakia. His Government was sending him to the UNESCO Conference in Mexico City. Mr. Duggan said that he thought the Institute's Board should consider the advisability of underwriting a brief trip of Dr. Havranek to some of our colleges and universities where he could not only give a few lectures but also develop scholarship opportunities for Czech students.

It was informally agreed to consider this matter after the Committee on Lecturers and Professors had reported at the Annual Meeting.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR SUMMER SCHOOL STUDENTS

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF THE FIRST MOSCOW UNIVERSITY

American students attending the Anglo-American Institute of the First Moscow University should remember that the Soviet Union is in the throes of a great revolution. Things do not move with the ease and celerity to which we are accustomed. Great patience is required at times to avoid irritation at apparently unnecessary delays.

Our students should also remember that Russian students are a serious lot of young people. Like all other peoples they are sensitive to affronts even when unintentional. Americans should remember that they are guests in another man's home and should conduct themselves accordingly.

PASSPORT PHOTOS

It is well to have a dozen made and to carry abroad any that are left after passport and visa formalities have been complied with. Travelers are required to present one after arrival in the Soviet Union.

U.S.S.R. CUSTOMS AND CURRENCY REGULATIONS

All baggage carried by the visitor to Soviet Russia undergoes the usual customs examination at the frontier. Articles of personal use, in reasonable quantity, enter free of all duty.

The traveler is required to declare to customs officials the amount of money he carries with him, including currency, letters of credit and travelers checks. He must also declare any articles of value such as jewelry, watches, cameras, moving picture apparatus and typewriters. At the time of declaration, the traveler is given a receipt for the money and valuables taken in or they are listed on the passport. This evidence is to be shown upon departure from Russia at the exit border point, and entitles the traveler to take out the currency or articles declared when entering the Soviet Union. Receipts and sales slips for purchases made out in the Soviet Union should be saved to show at the border as evidence that the traveler is taking out less money than he brought in.

Travelers are not permitted to carry Soviet Currency (rubles or Chervonetz) in or out of the Soviet Union. Rubles may be purchased at the money exchange window at the Russian customs station. However, as the traveler is not allowed to take any rubles out of the country, and as most of what he needs can best be bought for dollars, he should exchange his foreign currency or travelers checks, only in small amounts as needed. The exchange of rubles back into dollars is impossible, so rubles left over at the end of a trip are a total loss.

The transaction of purchasing rubles, whether at the border station or while in Soviet Russia, must be made through an authorized government agency, i.e., either at a bank, in a hotel, etc. When the money is changed, the traveler receives a slip registering the transaction. These slips should be saved for presentation to the customs officials upon exit from Soviet Russia.

The Soviet Government has established throughout the Soviet Union stores for foreigners where only foreign currencies are accepted. These stores are called "Torgsin"; many extras, in the way of food, wine, cigarettes, tobacco, souvenirs and Soviet products may be purchased. It should be noted that almost everything a traveler needs may be purchased in the Soviet Union more advantageously in dollars than in rubles. There is little occasion for acquiring rubles.

The student should 1) take with him sufficient funds; a minimum of $50. to spend in the U.S.S.R. The necessity of receiving remittances from home should be avoided as the procedure of collecting on such remittances is most inconvenient. 2) Carry as much of his money in small denomination American bills as possible, (the more $1.00 bills the better) and he should have at least $5.00 in silver. Change is scarce in the Soviet Union and the nearer one comes to having the right change, the less loss of time and money. 3) Carry his reserve funds in small denomination American Express Travelers checks. They are accepted at par by hotels and Torgsin stores in payment of purchases, but can only be changed into currency at the State Bank. This is very time-consuming and there are charges. Letters of credit are even more impractical and are disadvised.

Students who disregard these advices will have difficulties which consume more time than the Anglo-American Institute representatives can give without neglecting more important services.

PHOTOGRAPHY

Cameras and moving picture apparatus (16 m.m) for personal use only may be taken into Soviet Russia, duty free. All exposed films must be developed before leaving Russia. Those taking cameras should provide themselves with a sufficient supply of films before entering the country as films cannot be bought in Soviet Russia. All unexposed films may be taken out of the country, provided the seals are unbroken.

MAIL AND CABLES

Mail and cables for students of the Anglo-American Institute should be addressed to the Hotel New Moscow, Moscow, ~~Russia~~, U.S.S.R.

BAGGAGE

Each traveler is limited to 2 pieces of hand baggage (up to 70 pounds) - which are transported free of charge. Trunks or excess baggage are charged for in accordance with the weight and size. However, the less impediments the traveler has to bother with, the easier the trip.

INSURANCE

Accident and health insurance may be secured through any reputable travel agency.

SUGGESTIONS AS TO HEALTH AND EQUIPMENT

Outside of the big cities one should drink boiled or bottled water. Raw fruit and vegetables everywhere should be washed and peeled before eating. If these precautions are observed, and overeating and overfatigue avoided, health hazards are no greater in Soviet Russia than elsewhere in Eastern Europe.

Russia is warm in summer, especially in the South. However, nights may be cool. It is not always easy to get laundry done especially in the provinces, and clothing should be such as does not soil easily or require special laundering.

The following personal equipment is suggested for summer travel, particularly for travelers going to the Provinces:

WOMEN: Two pairs of comfortable shoes. A good supply of stockings. Pair of woolen hose. Two thin wash dresses - at least one should be dark. A suit with blouses that launder easily. Underwear easily laundered. Fairly warm coat that will shed rain. Sweater. Bathing suit. For the South, a hat with a brim or sun-glasses.

MEN: Two pairs of shoes. Two suits - at least one light weight. Pair of grey flannel trousers will be convenient. Polo shirts or dark, solid color shirts. Supply of soft collars. Good supply of socks and underwear. Sweater. Bathing suit. Medium weight coat that will shed rain. Cap with brim. Razor blades and shaving soap. A warm traveling rug always comes in handy.

MEDICAL: Aspirin, vapex, cascara, castor oil capsules, bismuth, bandages, adhesive tape; any medical supplies ordinarily needed.

MISCELLANEOUS: Toilet and laundry soap; toothpaste; extra tooth brush; towels; toilet paper; sufficient supply of toilet necessities and articles of personal hygiene. Writing material, fountain pen ink. 100 American cigarettes may be taken in. George Washington Coffee (crystals). Klim (powdered milk). Sweet chocolate, dried fruit and nuts. Camera films. Pocket size English-Russian dictionary. Consumable goods should be carried in metal containers as paper containers don't stand up.

MEMORANDUM

December 11, 1935

1) Organizational tie-up between Institute of International Education and Anglo-American Institute.

The Anglo-American Institute is at the present time a self-supporting organization. Monies for its operation are being advanced in limited amounts through Intourist, which is acting for the Commissariat of Education and other organizations sponsoring the work in Russia. At the present time the only employee of the A.A.I. is the director. The I.I.E. is asked to act as academic sponsors for the A.A.I. in this country. It is asked to consider the A.A.I. as structural part of the I.I.E. The I.I.E. is to provide office space for the director of the A.A.I. Clerical and stenographic work will be conducted at the office of Intourist. The I.I.E. is to provide a mailing address, and is to be in a position to fully acquaint prospective students with this plan in international education.

2) Advisory Council.

The advisory council is to be set up through the invitation of the director of the I.I.E. The members of the council shall be prominent educators who will be invited to actively participate in the planning of our work. Those members of the council in the metropolitan area will be asked to approve or criticize all the academic plans of the work.

3) Function of the Anglo-American Institute.

The A.A.I. is to function not only as an organization interested in promoting student travel and study in the Soviet Union but also as a center for direct cultural contact between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. The A.A.I. and I.I.E. are to coordinate, if possible a program for cultural exchange -- such as exchange of books, fellowships, lectures, study of facilities of teaching Russian in American universities, etc. If possible, the A.A.I. is to carry out the plans of the I.I.E. in this aspect. If possible, joint publication plans are to be set up. To this end Dr. Stephen Duggan is invited as the first of a series of American educators to visit the Soviet Union as a guest of the organizations sponsoring the work of the A.A.I., for the purpose of conducting a study of higher education in the U.S.S.R. Dr. Duggan is invited for a two months period during March and April or April and May. Full facilities will be given Dr. Duggan for the purpose of conducting his study.

4) Publicity.

The A.A.I. and the I.I.E., together are to organize a publicity program to be carried out on an academic level. No commercial features are to be permitted. The stationery and printing programs of the A.A.I. are to be an adoptation of the form used by the I.I.E. -- so that all readers will understand the affiliation of the two organizations.

5) Registration of students, etc.

All student registrations are to be made through the I.I.E. It is advisable that tuition and registration fees be paid directly to the I.I.E.* -- to be held in trust for the A.A.I. The I.I.E. is to consult with University and

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* The I.I.E. disclaims all financial obligations other than transmission of funds received. E.R.M.

educational authorities for the purpose of establishing recognition of academic work carried on in Moscow. The I.I.E. is to be in a position to inform deans and faculty advisers as well as students as to the features of the academic program offered.

6) Business arrangements.

All business arrangements concerned with steamship passage or other travel aspects are to be accommodated through the joint and co-operative auspices of two non-profit making travel agencies -- Open Road and Bureau of University Travel. It is definitely understood by all parties that the summer school in Moscow is not to be commercially exploited in any manner.

ANGLO AMERICAN INSTITUTE
OF THE FIRST MOSCOW UNIVERSITY

Director:
I.V. Sollins

545 Fifth Avenue
New York City

PURPOSE:

The ANGLO AMERICAN INSTITUTE of the First Moscow University is primarily a summer school for foreign students, teachers and others who are interested in the education and social life of the Soviet Union. All instruction is carried on in English, under the direction of a faculty of Soviet professors and specialists. Moscow University certifies academic credits for foreign students.

The ANGLO AMERICAN INSTITUTE will offer at the First Moscow University during the summer of 1934, a variety of courses which will serve as a means of furthering cultural contacts between American, English and Russian teachers and students.

The INSTITUTE has a two-fold purpose. First, to provide foreign visitors to Soviet Russia with the academic facilities and programs necessary for serious study and research; second, to publish material on Soviet educational, social and cultural movements for the information and use of educators and students in all English speaking countries. These two functions of the Institute are inter-related since it plans to publish the results of research and study by its students.

ORIGIN:

The INSTITUTE originated in an experiment conducted during the summer of 1933 by a group of American educators. Under the leadership of Professors Harvey W. Zorbaugh, of the School of Education, New York University, Daniel H. Kulp II, of Teachers' College, Columbia University, and Irving V. Sollins, of the School of Education, New York University, the American Summer School in Russia was organized to offer two courses dealing with the "Experimental Educational Programs of the Soviet Union" and the "Institutional Changes in the Soviet Union". These two courses were conducted in Moscow in an experimental fashion with a group of twenty five teachers and students of education. The courses were so organized that students were certified for full academic credit by the University of Moscow and were permitted by the New York City Board of Education to offer them in lieu of teacher "alertness" requirements. Basing their judgment upon the undeniable success of this venture, the Soviet educational authorities decided to organize at the University of Moscow an ANGLO AMERICAN INSTITUTE which would offer full and regular summer instruction in English. The students and professors of the 1933 experiment are unanimous in approving the academic advantages of the plan which enabled the student not only to travel during his vacation period but also to further his own professional experience. It was a plan that had the full support of the foremost educators and scientists of the Soviet Union.

Prof. Albert Pinkevitch, President of the Second State University of Moscow, Prof. I. Svadkovski, director of the Central Pedagogical Laboratory in Moscow, Prof. J. Meksin, director of the Childrens Museum of the People's Commissariat of Education, and a score of other well known educators, literary men and scientists were drafted by the Soviet Department of Education to serve on the faculty of the first

American Summer School in Russia. These and other educators who directed the summer school came to the conclusion that while there was undoubtedly a great interest in Soviet education among Americans in the profession, there was at the same time a profound ignorance of actual conditions in the Soviet school world. These considerations, coupled with the everpresent Russian eagerness for close cultural contact with Americans, were the primary reasons for the organization of the ANGLO AMERICAN INSTITUTE in Moscow.

COURSES:

The INSTITUTE offers a wide range of choice in courses. The courses offered during the 1934 session, which begins on July 15th in Moscow, are listed below:

Department	Title of Course	No. of hours	Semester Hour Credits
Art 1	Comparative Art and Literature in the Soviet Union	30 hrs.	2 pts.

This course will deal with a survey of the trends in pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary art and literature. The course may so be divided as to deal with the major phases of art and literature such as, painting, sculpture, fiction, poetry, music, dancing, and particularly children's literature. The course will involve a certain amount of observation in museums, art colonies, studios of well known artists and musicians, as well as attendance at concerts, exhibitions, etc. The course will enable the student to observe and understand the new social conditions under which artists of all types flourish in Soviet Russia.

Students will not be accepted for this course unless they can demonstrate an adequate background for the subject.

Education 1	Elementary Education in the Soviet Union	30 hrs.	2 pts.

This course will present the basic philosophies, principles and practices of modern Soviet pedagogy in the elementary schools. The course will attempt to give the student a concept of the methods used and the content of the subject matter material on each grade level. The course also will note special technics and devices for such problems as: schooling of retarded schildren; gifted and superior children; the education of handicapped children; etc. The course also will involve a certain amount of field work or observation within educational institutions. Various educational materials, such as tests, text books, and other teaching devices will be presented. In short, the aim of this course is to give a student an adequate picture in terms of total situations, of Soviet elementary schools.

Students will not be permitted to register for this course unless they are teachers, have had teaching experience, or have taken courses in education.

Education 2	Seconadary and Higher Education in the Soviet Union	30 hrs.	2 pts.

The purpose of this course is similar to that of the above, in all respects save that it is developed on and deals with the secondary and higher level. This course will make clear to the student the distinctions between and purposes of the various types of Soviet secondary school. A definite amount of observation in addition to regular class room work will also be required. Wherever possible, observation will take place directly within educational institutions of the type studied.

The same restriction as to the enrollment of students is in effect.

Education 3 Experimental Educational Programs in the Soviet Union 30 hrs. 2 pts.

This course will deal with a survey of the various educational experiments now being conducted in the fields of psycho-technics, educational testing, conditioning reflexes in children, etc. Observations will be scheduled in laboratory situations, factories, and clinics - wherever such work is being conducted. Students will be given ample opportunity to observe research in progress, as well as the results of this research in concrete and practical educational situations.

Registration for this course will be limited to students who are teachers, or who have had at least one course in educational psychology, or the equivalent.

Sociology 1 Institutional Changes in the Soviet Union 30 hrs. 2 pts.

This course will deal with the sociological backgrounds and causes of the various changes that have taken place in the major social institutions. The course will deal particularly with social change in the family, industry, communication, church, the State. The Russian Revolution of 1917 was not only a political revolution, but a social revolution as well. It has brought about the most tremendous instance of social change in the history of civilization. It has resulted in new forms of industrial production, of family life and of government. This course will present these changes and summarize their effects upon the human personality.

This course is open to all students of social science, philosphy or education.

Sociology 2 Social Backgrounds of Communist Society 30 hrs. 2 pts.

The purpose of this course is to present a brief history of the development of communist theory in a study of the social factors of revolutionary movements throughout the history of civilization. In each instance, the study of revolutionary movements will include a study of the basic social and economic factors involved. The course will attempt to show, in an evolutionary manner what were the forces underlying the revolutions of 1917. It will close with a study of the principles basic to the construction of the Soviet State.

Students entering this course should have previously taken a course in philosophy, or the philosophy of history.

Economics 1 Political Economics of the Construction Period 30 hrs. 2 pts.

This course will present and explain the forces and trends behind the present socialist construction in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union since the revolution of 1917 has passed through the many stages of war communism, social reconstruction, state capitalism, and socialist construction. The purpose of the present period of Socialist reconstruction is "to reach and surpass America". For the first time in the development of any nation, the political, economic and scientific movements are being coordinated. The course listed above will give a discussion of the philosophy of the Socialist construction movement. Observations dealing with construction work in the Soviet Union will be arranged.

This course is open to all students.

Psychology 1 Psychological Research in the Soviet Union 30 hrs. 2 pts.

A survey of the results of research in the field of psychology in the Soviet Union from 1917 to the present time is offered in this course. Not only will the major results of psychological research be enumerated, but also the present experimental work will be presented in full detail.

This course is open to all students who have had previous work in psychology.

Sociology 3 Crime and Punishment in the Soviet Union 30 hrs. 2 pts.

The course will give the student a review of the major theories of criminology as well as the Marxian point of view towards the problem of crime. It will then specifically deal with crime and its eradication in the Soviet Union. Programs for the education of delinquents (children and adolescents) and for the reclamation of criminals will be presented. In connection with this course, there will be visits of observation to the various institutions concerned with this problem.

This course is open to all students - suggested particularly to social workers.

Russian 1 Advanced Russian - phonetics in grammar 30 hrs. 2 pts.

This course will give a review of Russian grammar and phonetics for students already acquainted with the language. Oral and written composition will be offered, as well as some slight work in Russian literature.

Course open only to students who have taken elementary courses in Russian or who are familiar with the language.

Soviet Union Seminar -

The purpose of this Seminar is to offer mature students - graduates, university instructors or professors - opportunities for carrying on complete study of certain phases of social and cultural life in the Soviet Union. The Seminar will make available to students all the necessary facilities of such study. It will also be interested in the publication of the work of its members.

Seminar is open by invitation only.

CREDIT:

The ANGLO AMERICAN INSTITUTE certifies American students for full academic credit, at the University of Moscow, By reciprocal arrangement, these credits may be offered for full recognition at all American universities and colleges. New York City school teachers may offer these courses in lieu of the requirements for annual salary increment (alertness).

REGISTRATION AND FEES:

All bona fide graduate or under-graduate students of colleges and universities; teachers on the elementary, secondary or university level; and social workers are eligible for registration. No student may register for more than three courses to be taken simultaneously during the summer session. The minimum university credit obtainable is two points and the maximum is six points (semester) units - graduate or under-graduate. All registrations are subject to the specific requirements of each course, and to the approval of the director of the Anglo American Institute.

Tuition fees are payable directly to the Anglo American Institute of the First Moscow University, through its American office (545 Fifth Avenue, New York City). Tuition fees, per course, are $20.00, with a registration fee of $2.50. All applications for information and registration may be mailed to the

Anglo American Institute of
the First Moscow University
545 Fifth Avenue
New York City

ACCOMMODATIONS AND SOCIAL LIFE:

The accommodations offered to students attending sessions of the Anglo American Institute in Moscow are of two types. There are dormitory accommodations for those who wish to approximate, in their living conditions, the life among typical Russian students. For those who do not desire this type of accommodations, regular hotel services, on first, second and third class basis, are provided.

The spirit of the Anglo American Institute is that of the true Soviet school. In its student organizations and in its student control of all physical and academic problems, the visitor to the institute will be enabled to see the workings of a Soviet University. Cultural and Social acitivities, after school hours will be provided for through the cooperation of Russian student bodies. Extramural activities of all types will be available, including publication of school paper, wall newspaper, athletics, social functions, etc.

In view of the imminence of the recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States, added importance attaches to an international education venture of this sort which seeks to further develop a more intimate contact between the students and educators of both countries.

189,000 STEEL WORK

Daily W

Reentered as second class matter Oct. 22, 1947, atthe post office

Vol. XXXI, No. 70
(8 Pages)

THIRD H-BOMB
DESPITE WORL
Paris, London Spurn Du

PARIS, April 7.—The French Cabinet agreed today to take no action on the request of U. S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles to participate in a joint warning to China about the Indo-China war. The cabinet also took no action action on the European Army plan. "France wants the Geneva Peace Conference to start under the most favorable conditions," a high French official explained.

Today's cabinet session was its last before the Easter recess.

LONDON, April 7.—Britain has delayed, because of the gravity of the risks, involved its decision on John Foster Dulles' appeal for a joint warning to China, authoritative sources said today.

Prime Minister Winston Churchill summoned his cabinet today to discuss the American proposal. Informed sources said Britain would prefer to wait for the Geneva conference before the allies commit themselves to "united action" that carries any risk of war.

Today's cabinet meeting came after extensive consultations between British and American officials on Dulles' call for a joint declaration on southeast Asia.

WASHINGTON, April 7.—President Eisenhower and John Foster Dulles said today the southeast Asia crisis calls for united decisions, but both were cautious about what course of action should be taken.

The new caution coincided with reluctance by Britain and France to rush into any general warning to China.

Eisenhower said he does not be-

(Continued on Page 6)

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10,000,000

Ten million potential customers heard a nationwide TV advertisement for the Daily Worker on Tuesday night over Ed Murrow's CBS program.

The free "ad" came from America's Enemy No. 1—the imitation-Hitler who is too scared to get on a witness stand to answer some questions about his $10,000 fee from Lustron and the $25,000 check which Pepsi-Cola guaranteed for him before he got his snout into the trough of the Texas oil millionaires.

Catch McCarthy in a lie or some swindle —and he reaches for the Daily Worker. Since McCarthy couldn't answer Morrow's factual exposure of his fakeries (Murrow hardly scratched the surface actually), McCarthy smashed back at Murrow with the announcement that this paper's TV listings had Murrow listed!

"Do you agree with the Daily Worker," he thrusts his jaw out and asks every American who dares to question his bid for power.

Since not one American in a thousand has, unfortunately, ever seen the Daily Worker, or has the faintest
says, McCarthy figures he c
Worker as his "Devil" again

Most of the 10,000,000
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Gerson Tells Congress: B

KERS UNEMPLOYED

See Page 3

Worker

fice at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879

New York, Thursday, April 8, 1954
Price 10 Cents

B EXPLODED
LD PROTEST
ulles' Indo War Bid

WASHINGTON, April 7.—A third hydrogen bomb was exploded yesterday in the Pacific, it was announced today by the Atomic Energy Commission.

Yesterday's explosions brought to at least 57 the number of nuclear blasts since the U.S. first exploded an atombomb nine years ago.

Congressional sources said the first of the hydrogen series, detonated March 1, liberated violence comparable to 12,000,000 to 14,000,0000 tons of TNT.

No reliable estimates have been made public of the power of the second shot on March 26.

All the AEC said of the third explosion was:

"Lewis L. Strauss, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, stated today that the third test in the present weapons series at the Pacific proving grounds of the commission was successfully carried out on Tuesday, April 6.

"As in the previous instances, in preparation for the tests the Naval and Air Force units attached to the Task force carefully searched the area both visually and by radar for posible shipping.

"Information of great importance to national defense continues to be derived from this test series."

Strauss also disclosed today that President Eisenhower had ordered "greatly increased production" of atomic weapons, including H-bombs. He made the statement to a Senate Appropriations Subcommittee shortly after the AEC announced it had exploded its third hydrogen bomb in the Pacific.

Earlier, Eisenhower told his

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peace to take their

knowledge of the Daily Worker from him.

The minute his public gets the idea of looking at the Daily Worker FOR THEMSELVES and MAKING UP THEIR OWN MINDS about it, he is sunk.

The "trouble" isn't that the Daily Worker "infiltrates" everywhere as the reactionary bogey has it; the trouble really is the fascist goons and the "reign of fear" have made it "dangerous" in many places to be found reading the Daily Worker and making up YOUR OWN MIND about it.

The slime that McCarthy tries to spill on this paper is a sort of medal of honor for us, as McCarthy's hate is a medal of honor for Franklin Delano Roosevelt and every American who today dares to stand up for keeping America a peaceful democracy. McCarthy has opened the door to a vast number of new readers for us. Our message is their message—peace for our land, decency and reason. Let us go forth as anti-McCarthy crusaders to get the new readers who are everywhere.

Ban War, Not CP

—See Page 3

189,000 STEEL WORK

PITTSBURGH, April 7.—Nearly 200,000 steelworkers, 16 percent of the membership of the CIO United Steelworkers of America, are unemployed, David J. McDonald, president of the union, disclosed here yesterday.

McDonald, making public the results of the union's own survey reported by its regional directors to an executive board meeting here, said no estimate was drawn of the large number on less than 40 hours a week.

The regional reports showed a total of 189,000 laid off in the U. S. steel and and metal fabricating and ore mining under contract with the union 7,700 of the union' Canada laid off.

When the steel un board met here in survey showed 11 union's members lai

McDonald withh on the unemployed ing an analysis by t

3 at Albany Reject Quiz by Un-Americans

By HARRY RAYMOND

ALBANY, April 7.—A three-man House Un-American Activities subcommittee hoisted the banner of McCarthyism here today by reopening its anti-labor road show, which had its Albany premiere July 13, 1953.

Performing before a half-filled courtroom in the Federal Building, Rep. Bernard W. Kearney (R-NY), subcommittee chairman; Rep. Francis Walter (D-Pa) and Rep. Gordon Scherer (R-O) launched a three-day session of McCarthyite bullying of Albany district residents.

Three witnesses told the committee it had no right to question their political views and affiliations, and refused to testify. They were Michael Dworken of Albany, auditor and former employe of the State Department of Labor and the U. S. Bureau of Internal Revenue; Nathan Siedman of Troy, attorney, and Joseph A. Crago of East Greenbush, a public accountant.

John Edwin Marqusee, of New York City, the fifth witness, said he joined the Communist Party in 1948 in Schenectady while he was a Cornell student of industrial relations. Expressions of disgust were voiced by many persons in the audience when he named several students and workers as Communists, then said he had the "highest respect" for them.

The session opened with the

(Continued on Page 6)

GOP Defe Tax-the-P

WASHINGTON, retary of the Tre Humphrey opened tration's defense in against the drive to income tax exemptio

He testified the not afford the loss of When it can, he ad reduction should c cuts in tax rates through higher exem

Humphrey went Senate Finance Com fend the administrat form bill which the has approved. He sa ure, which would co ury about $1,400,000 yar, was an overdue tax system, not prima duction bill.

Soviet Paper Hits Bomb Thro By U. S.; Asks Indo Cease-

MOSCOW, April 7.—An article in the newspaper Izvestia accused the ernment yesterday of threatening peace-loving nations with the hydrogen b article, broadcast by Moscow Radio, lauded an appeal by the World Peace Vienna for a "further easing of tension in Europe and Asia."

It said this appeal "is the more timely because in recent months the inspirers of this policy from a position of strength have been brandishing the atomic and hydrogen weapon with increasing frequency. They openly threaten to use it against peace-loving nations."

The same issue of Izvestia also called for a cease-fire in Indo-China.

"The action program of the peace-loving forces in relation to easing tension and strengthening peace in Asia is clear," Izvestia said.

"The five great powers, meeting for the first time, must together with other interested states, reach agreement on universal security in the Far East.

"This security can be safeguarded by normalizing relations between all countries, the independence of which must be admitted and the security of which guaranteed. Korea must be unified by peaceful means, it must be given the opportunity to freely solving its fate, after the withdrawal of foreign troops.

"In Indo-China it is necessary immediately to obtain a ceasefire, which will enable talks to be opened between France and the democratic republic of Viet-Nam —such are the demands of the peace-loving peoples."

A charge by Izvestia that U. S. information services abroad are a cover for American spies was also broadcast by Moscow Radio. Izvestia quoted a report it said was delivered to Congress by Theodore Streibert, "director of the U. S. A. Information Agency."

"The report enables one to get a complete picture of the methods used by American propaganda in . . . strategically impo this Izvestia article, drashov, said.

"It shows that the mation Agency has, a propaganda functions of other functions wh relationship to inform

"We are referring tions of espionage, in the affairs of other st recruitment of foreig services with Ame ligence."

Gerson, for CP; T Try to Ban War,

By ROB F. HALL

WASHINGTON, April 7.—Measures now b Communist Party are diverting attention from the mon W. Gerson, appearing on behalf of the Part diciary Subcommittee today. The questions before the people, Gerson said, are:

"Will our sons be fighting in the Indochinese jungles tomorrow? Will we have our jobs tomorrow? Will McCarthyism succeed in strangling our liberties?"

"There is a clear and present danger in our nation," the subcommittee. "I ger of McCarthyian d basic American rights. It is, of cour first of all to prevent of a Congress in 195 the return of the po New Deal."

These bills, Gerson only in direct viola Constitution but are hellbomb which wou our Constitutional libe

"Significantly, they precisely at a time whe ican people and the a great debate over t the H-bomb and Ind People are debating whether the Adminis drag our sons into a Indochina. The issu arises: Are these bills strangle public discuss position to such a war The calm and rea proach of the Commu

POINT OF ORDER

By ALAN MAX

McCarthy on TV

McCarthy held up a copy of the Daily Worker on TV and said it contained nine stories and one editorial attacking him. Well, what can you expect from a paper that has only eight pages?

• • •

McCarthy appeared on CBS' "See It Now" program. With McCarthy on, it should have been called "Now You See It, Now You Don't."

• • •

McCarthy tries to get across the notion that you can't attack him and be a loyal American too. The fact is, it's possible to be a loyal American without attacking McCarthy, but who will know you are?

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perts. There is no doubt, however, that the situation in the industry, now down to slightly above two-thirds of capacity, will be an important factor in the union's negotiations for a new contract soon to begin.

Earlier the two-day board meeting set May 6 and 7 for a meeting of the union's 170-member Wage Policy Committee here to draw up demands. The contract deadline is June 30.

McDonald restated the union's intention to press for supplementary unemployment benefits paid for by employers to guarantee workers a certain pay level for an entire year. The negotiations for-

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Benton Tells McC: 2,000 Would Testify

By Federated Press

Former Sen. William Benton (D-Conn) said April 6 he has the names of 2,000 witnesses who offered to testify in court that they believe his charges of fraud and deceit against Sen. Joseph McCarthy (R-Wis).

Benton said McCarthy can have the names "if he will request them in writing and use them only as witnesses in a court of law." The former senator said the volunteer witnesses sent him their names after McCarthy withdrew a $2 million libel suit against Benton. McCarthy explained he dropped the suit because his lawyers "could not find anywhere in the U. S. any one who would testify he believed anything Benton had said."

A Sponsoring Committee of Believers ran full-page ads in the N. Y. Times and N. Y. Herald Tribune April 7, soliciting signatures from readers who "believe that former Sen. Benton's charges against Sen. McCarthy are far too serious, in the public interest, to be ignored upon any ground."

The ad was signed by 56 individuals from all parts of the country. Sidney H. Scheuer, New York textile broker and a member of the sponsoring committee, told Federated Press: "We could have some real bell-ringing names to sign this. But we wanted to get down to grass roots. We want this to be a man-in-the-street expression." He said he hoped citizens in other communities would form similar committees and raise money to sponsor the ad in their local newspapers.

The ad summarized Benton's 10 main charges against the Wisconsin Senator and said: "If Sen. McCarthy is honest in claiming he is dropping this libel-and-slander suit because he cannot find believers of the charges, the signers of this advertisement will accommodate him. They believe the charges.

BENTON

"Moreover, they are convinced that several million other Republicans and Democrats can be found who consider these charges believable."

The ad expressed the hope that the signatures collected nationally will lead to having "the truth or falsity of these charges determined, once and for all, in open court. Further, we hope the signatures will encourage the U. S. Senate, the Attorney General of the U. S. and the Bureau of Internal Revenue to give these charges the thorough investigation, open to the public, which they have not yet received." It said signatures and contributions should be sent to Orton H. Hicks, treasurer, 525 Lexington Ave., New York 17, N.Y.

Tells Congress Hearing: , Not a Political Party

before Congress aimed at outlawing the
the real problems of the American people, Si-
arty's National Committee, told a House Ju-

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man caught the more vociferous redbaiters on the subcommittee off balance, and they saw no opening to interrupt with the sort of frenzled diatribes against "Communism" which have been characteristic of some of its sessions.

Rep. Martin Dies (D-Tex), who was the nation's prime witchhunter a decade ago, although not a member of the subcommittee, lolled in a seat on the rostrum and nervously shifted his position.

Judge Michael Musmanno, who was to follow Gerson in the witness chair, sat at a table at one side of the small hearing chamber and scribbled notes furiously on the Gerson testimony.

When Gerson concluded his prepared statement, Rep. Dewitt Hyde (R-Md) wanted to know whether the witness "denies a relationship between the Communist Party and the Kremlin?" Gerson explained patiently that there is a relationship between Marxist

(Continued on Page 6)

Clip this Number 34 and keep it safe. Tomorrow's Daily Worker will carry a Number 35.

When you have accumulated 18 successive coupons — 3 weeks' worth of Workers and Daily Workers—you can get your pick of three major works of art and literature—just published—at half price. They are:

Paul Robeson's New Album "Let Freedom Sing," 10-inch L.P., 10 new recordings, Reg. Price $4.00. Our Special $2.00, plus 35c mailing and handling.

Soul of Black Folk, by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Reg. Price $3.00. Our Special $1.50, plus 20c mailing and handling.

Burning Valley, by Phillip Bonosky, Reg. Price $2.75. Our Special $1.50, plus 20c mailing and handling.

Mail 18 coupons, plus your order, cash, check, or money order to: Daily Worker, 35 E. 12th St., N.Y. 3.

Please note:

The new Robeson record will be ready April 10.

We will be unable to mail your gifts, unless you include postage to cover handling.

CUT THIS OUT

34

AND SAVE

GERSON

(Continued from Page 3)

theoretical principles in all countries but that "the American people will move along the road to socialism in their own way, in accordance with their own history and traditions, and as masters of their own destiny."

QUESTIONED ON FEPC

"If you really believe in freedom for the individual," demanded Hyde, "how can you support FEPC which would put a man in jail if he did not agree with your ideas on race?"

"The Decelaration of Independence states that all men are created equal, and we support that," responded Gerson. "I do not say that you can legislate a man out of his prejudices. But I do say you can legislate against discrimination against any people because of race, creed, or color, with respect to jobs, housing or any other basic rights."

Rep. Michael A. Feighan (D-O) seemed genuinely surprised at the presentation of the democratic principles and socialist objectives of the Communist Party. Clearly they contradicted his most cherished prejudices.

Socialism, as the word is used by Communists, Feighan protested, stands for domination and control by the Soviet Union.

Not at all, Gerson replied. "As we would have no one our slaves, we would have no one as masters. The Americans shall be masters of their destiny."

CASE OF CHINA

Turning to Feighan's charge of Soviet domination of other Socialist countries, Gerson pointed out that the Communist Party of China was elevated to power by the Chinese people, not by the Soviet Unon and cited the State Department's white paper as supporting his position.

At the conclusion of his testimony, Gerson suggested that the committee canvass constitutional experts on the bills before it. He named such authorities as John W. Davis, Prof. Henry Steele Commager, Alexander Meikeljohn and Lloyd Garrison.

Gerson also urged the committee to invite the testimony of Benjamin J. Davis, now in Terre Haute prison as a Smith Act victim, and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Pettis Perry, Communist leaders under Smith Act conviction who could not come to Washington to testify without court permission.

OFFERS DRAFT PROGRAM

Rep. Louis Graham (R-Penn), chairman of the subcommittee, said Gerson's requests would be taken under advisement. He said the committee would also consider in closed session Gerson's proposal to accept the complete text of the Communist Party's new draft program, "The American Way," as part of the record.

The hearings, originally scheduled to close with Attorney General Herbert Brownell's testimony next Monday, will resume after the Easter recess, Graham said, and other witnesses will be heard.

When Gerson was excused from the stand, Musmanno, the frenetic little witchhunter from Pitttsburgh, literally scurried to the witness chair. Departing from his prepared text he fulminated at length against Gerson and demanded the right to make a detailed statement "answering" Gerson "paragraph by paragraph."

Rep. Graham told him the committee would hear him on that later.

Musmanno was prepared to read a 7,000-word statement but before he finished Graham adjourned the session and invited Musmanno to resume tomorrow.

The Pennsylvania witchhunter not only heaped his familiar abuse upon the Communist Party. He blatantly charged, without any attempt at proof, that the Puerto Rican terrorists who shot up the House of Representatives March 1 were agents of the Communist Party.

Musmanno Man In Pennsylvania Governor Race

PITTSBURGH, April 7.—Justice Michael A. Musmanno, the leading McCarthyite within the Democratic Party of Western Pennsylvania has opned a campaign for the nomination of Coroner William D. McClelland for the governorship on the Democratic ticket.

Musmanno's main argument in favor of McClelland is the candidate's distinction as a red-baiter.

McClelland's backers are bucking the Democratic Party's state policy committee, Mayor Lawrence of this city and state chairman Maurice Splain, who back State Senator George M. Leader, York County farmer. Also opposed to McClelland is the AFL in this city.

Labor, however, both in the CIO and AFL, is not taking an actvie part in the primary, following the traditional policy of endorsing when the final lineup is known.

STEEL

(Continued from Page 3)

mally will begin with U. S. Steel, but in effect the big corporation will set the pattern for the entire industry.

Meanwhile, the outlook for recall of many of the laid off workers looked dim as spokesmen of the industry indicated production levels may go even below March.

Eisenhower Insists No Action Needed

WASHINGTON, April 7.—President Eisenhower told his press conference today that unemployment increased about 50,000 in March and employment increased about 50,000, so things were even and no special government action was needed. Eisenhower added that indications are unemployment is flattening out and that top administration officials who are studying the problem every day have found no need for emergency action.

Asked if the administration had requested Congress to authorize the states to continue unemployment compensation benefits over a period longer than six months, the President said he just didn't know. He had heard Welfare Secretary Oveta Culp Hobby discuss the matter, he said, but wasn't sure what had happened.

The reporter who asked the question pointed out it was highly important because many workers are running out of coverage by unemployment insurance.

Although Mrs. Hobby's department is not responsible for unemployment insurance matters, the office was immediately deluged with calls asking for an explanation of the President's remark. One official told Federated Press: "The President probably had Secretary Hobby on his mind and made a slip. Of course, though, it is possible that he has talked the matter over with her. But so far as formal requests for action are concerned, they would come from the Labor Department."

At the Labor Department it was pointed out that Eisenhower in his state of the union message and in his economic report asked for general liberalization of unemployment insurance but left the matter up to the states. In line with that policy, Labor Secretary James P. Mitchell has written state governors, asking them to act, but no mention has been made of extending unemployment coverage beyond six months.

Although many jobless workers are being removed from the unemployment insurance rolls because they have exhausted their payments, the total of insured unemployment for the week ended March 20 was at the highest point for a comparabl
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ALP ATTACKED

Although Kearney stated the committee "is not concerned with the political beliefs or opinions of any witnesses," Rep. Scherer soon turned the session into an all-out mudslinging campaign against the ALP.

Charles claimed some persons he saw at meetings of alleged Communist clubs were officers in the ALP.

Scherer then took over and launched into a long harangue stating the 1953 hearing "conclusively established the ALP was controlled by the Communist Party." He claimed the Charles story added to this "proof."

Scherer waved in the air copies of three ALP broadcasts scripts, one delivered yesterday, one scheduled for today and another planned for local broadcast tomorrow, attacking the committee witchhunt.

He angrily attacked the ALP criticism of the committee. He also attacked the ALP for opposing the Eisenhower foreign and domestic policies and for charging the House group was injecting "fear serum" into the latest batch of witnesses.

Committee counsel Frank Tavenner questioned the informer, Charles, about activities of the Arbor Hill CP club. Charles said the club organized Negro people in the enighborhood and was influential in securing work for unemployed Negroes in the hotel and restaurant industry. He said he attended meetings of an alleged party railroad club.

Tavenner tried to develop a spy scare by asking the stoolpigeon about his work as a photographer. Charles said that a person he claimed was a party member and worked for the state asked if he could photograph documents.

"Were you ever asked to photograph documents?" Tavenner asked.

"Not at any time," the witness replied.

Tavenner stuck with this for a while. The witness took the cue and said the state worker said, "we'll be seeing you."

"What did you take this to mean?" Tavenner asked.

"I took it to mean I was being considered for a special job," said the witness.

"In the underground?" asked the committee lawyer, leading the witness. "Yes," replied the witness.

When this phase of the quiz fell flat, Tavenner had Charles read off a list of 48 names, many of whom he said worked in the General Electric plant. He named these as Communists and union members contradicting Kearney's statement that the committee was "not interested in any dispute between management and labor."

3d H-BLAST

(Continued from Page 1)

weekly news conference that the U. S. is making H-bombs about as big as it intends to. He said he knows of no reason to make the superbomb—said to be already capable of knocking out a metropolis—any bigger than it is.

Strauss appeared before the Senate subcommittee to defend the AEC's budget request of $1,342,000,000 for fiscal 1955. The AEC's original budget, submitted in January, was revised in February, Strauss said, after the President approved "recommendations to bring about greatly increased production of thermonuclear weapons."

Thermonuclear weapons are H-bombs.

PARIS, April 7.—Gen. Charles de Gaulle today demanded that France develop its own nuclear weapons so she can pursue an independent policy.

De Gaulle denounced the European Army plan, and attacked the government of Premier Joseph Laniel for permitting "France to disappear before the will of its allies."

The most deadly weapon yet conceived by man, which could annihilate all life on earth, can now be made successfully, a dispatch in the New Yoork Times declared yesterday.

The cobalt bomb—a hydrogen bomb encased in a cobalt shell—passed from the realm of the theoretical during the recent hydrogen blasts at Eniwetok, it was stated by New York Times science writer William L. Lawrence.

The story said the explosion of a cobalt bomb would produce a radioactive cloud 320 times more powerful than radium. The cloud, carried by prevailing winds, could travel thousands of miles destroying all life in its path.

Prof. Harrison Brown, nuclear chemist at the California Institute of Technology said if a cobalt bomb were set off 1,000 miles west of California "the radioactive dust would reach California in about a day and New York in four or five days, killing most life as it traverses the continent," according to the newspaper.

"Similarly," the Times quoted Brown, "the western powers could explode hydrogen-cobalt bombs on a north-south line about the longitude of Prague that would destroy all life within a strip, 1,500 miles wide, extending from Leningrad to Odessa, and 3,000 miles deep from Prague to the Ural mountains.

INDO-CHINA

(Continued from Page 1)

lieve there has been any positive reaction from the allies on Dulles' earlier call for united action.

He said the U. S. will go as far as prudence will allow in seeking a negotiated agreement with the Socialist world on Asia, but will not accept "mere words" at the forthcoming Geneva peace conference.

Dulles told a conference of Republican women that the "free nations" should express a "united will" on southeast Asia. Last week Dulles had urged "united action."

Dulles said today that if there is "united will" there probably will be no need for "united action."

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From . . . SOUTHWEST Review

a fair article demonstrating how silly is notion of '33 recognition

Here are some most surprising, and very significant, facts about our recognition of Soviet Russia in 1933.

Russia being a "left-wing" state.

Full permission is given for use of the article - but, please, not before Monday March 15, the date of the appearance of the magazine.

Albert Jaquery

A PREPRINT from the Spring Southwest Review

S. M. U. DALLAS 5, TEXAS

The "Great Conspiracy" of 1933

A Study in Short Memories

PAUL F. BOLLER, JR.

ON THE TENTH OF OCTOBER, 1933, seven months after assuming office, President Franklin Roosevelt sent off a note to Mikhail Kalinin, President of the All-Union Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, calling attention to "the desirability of an effort to end the present abnormal relations between 125,000,000 people in the United States and the 160,000,000 people of Russia." Adding that it was regrettable that the two countries "should now be without a practical method of communicating with each other," Roosevelt invited Kalinin to send a representative to Washington to discuss outstanding questions at issue between the two nations. A few days later, the Soviet President accepted Roosevelt's invitation and designated Maxim Litvinov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, as emissary to the United States. Early the following month, Commissar Litvinov arrived in New York, proceeded to Washington where he was greeted at Union Station by Secretary of State Cordell Hull, and immediately paid a ceremonial visit to Franklin Roosevelt.

Negotiations to remove what Litvinov called "that artificial barrier which has for sixteen years prevented normal intercourse between the peoples of our two countries" proceeded swiftly. There were a few days of conferences at the White House and at the State Department, interspersed with luncheons and dinners honoring Litvinov. Then, late in the night of November 16, the President and the Commissar, with State and Treasury Department officials present, brought their discussions to a close and exchanged five sets of diplomatic notes. The next day, Roosevelt announced to nearly two hundred correspondents who "pack-jammed" his White House office that at "ten minutes before midnight" on November 16, 1933, the United States Government had finally resumed diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union after a lapse of sixteen years.

In this fashion, according to a theory now being sedulously advanced in certain quarters in this country, was the Great Conspiracy consummated. From the day of recognition, it appears, we can trace all the present troubles of the United States and the woes of the world at large. More than any other single factor, so the new thesis now circulating runs, it was recognition of the Soviet Union in late 1933

that gave the steadily disintegrating Bolshevik regime a new lease on life and started it off on its program of world-wide imperialist expansion. And who was responsible for this great act of betrayal? Why, Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal crowd, of course. Roosevelt "took action virtually on his own, rejecting the counsel of elder statesmen who thought we should wait awhile before opening our doors to Soviet diplomats," declared Bascom N. Timmons, columnist for the *Dallas Times Herald,* on November 17, 1953. "Russia was recognized solely because Franklin D. Roosevelt as President insisted upon it," stated a *Dallas Morning News* editorial two days later.

At the very least, according to present-day critics of Roosevelt's action twenty years ago, the New Deal "brain trust" was "soft" toward communism, filled with ecstasy at the prospect of doing business with Soviet leaders; at the worst, Roosevelt and his associates were co-conspirators with the Kremlin, prepared to go to any lengths to welcome a pariah among nations back into the respectable world community and to facilitate the dissemination of communist propaganda within the United States. No sensible, God-fearing, patriotic American, the theory goes, would have touched this international outlaw with a ten-foot pole in 1933. But here, as elsewhere, the American people were helpless victims of New Deal machinations. And we have been paying a heavy price for this folly—or treachery—ever since.

So far as I can discover, this new thesis regarding Soviet recognition was first put forward in the pages of the *American Mercury* during the campaign year of 1952. "The gravest charge against the Democratic party," wrote *Mercury* editor William Bradford Huie in September, 1952, "is that it allowed evil and naive men within it to convert it into a vehicle which aided the growth of Soviet Russia and the extension of Soviet power." It is a "historic fact," he observed, that it started on its iniquitous course "when it championed recognition of the Soviet Union" in 1933.

A corollary to the Roosevelt-New-Deal-Recognition-Conspiracy thesis has been developed by William F. Buckley, Jr., a recent Yale alumnus whose *God and Man at Yale* raised a minor tempest at his alma mater in 1951. In an article for the March, 1952, *Mercury* entitled "The Colossal Flunk," the zealous young fact-finder produced another exposé: "How our professors have betrayed the American people." The outstanding example of betrayal by the American professoriate occurred, according to Buckley, on "that day in November, 1933, when the President of the United States . . . clasped the hand of Maxim Litvinoff and extended full diplomatic recognition to the Soviet Union." Buckley poses this searching question:

> Now whose responsibility was it to confront Franklin Roosevelt with the available and overwhelming evidence that this capricious act was nothing more than an invitation to the Comintern to set up in the United States hemispheric headquarters for a violent revolutionary movement . . . ?

The answer is self-evident: "The responsibility sat squarely on the shoulders of

the academic community." Yet, Buckley continues sorrowfully,

> a survey of the literature of the day reveals hardly a dissenting wave length originating from the nation's ivory towers. The reverse, in fact, was the case: the academic journals of the period treated compassionately and even encouragingly American Recognition, which served immeasurably to fortify Stalin's then faltering domestic position. . . . [This was the] academic betrayal of 1933.

WELL, as Al Smith used to say, let's take a look at the record. Let's attempt to do what presumably Bascom Timmons, the anonymous *Dallas News* editorial writer, William Bradford Huie, and William Buckley did before citing their various charges: examine the record. We might, in fact, begin by taking a look at Al Smith's own record. True, he was a liberal of a sort, and thus suspect; but he was never actually a full-fledged New Dealer, and in 1940 he finally broke completely with Roosevelt. Furthermore, he remained a devout Roman Catholic throughout his life. He was never, so far as I know, accused of subversion or even of "creeping socialism." Seven months before Roosevelt's overtures to Kalinin—a few days before Roosevelt's inauguration, to be exact—Smith appeared before the Senate Finance Committee and announced flatly: "I believe that we ought to recognize Russia; I do not know any reason for not doing it." The crowd that jammed the committee room, with "spectators standing two apiece on chairs," listened intently as the popular, cigar-smoking, brown-derbied New Yorker explained his views:

> Somebody says they owe us $100,000,000. We kept troops in Russia for quite a while when we were not at war with them [a reference to Allied intervention in North Russia and Siberia, 1918-20], and we did some damage to them. I think we could sit around the table and settle that matter very easily.
>
> There is no use in trading with them under cover. We are doing it. Through the Amtorg, or whatever you call it, the Russian Trading Company, our material and stuff is getting into Russia.
>
> We might just as well be represented there and let them be represented here at Washington and let us do business with them in the open.

Smith made it clear that he had no use for the Soviet form of government; but he insisted that Bolshevism represented no real threat to the American system.

> I do not think myself they are making any headway with this Communism. If there would be any place where you would see some of it, you would see it in a city like New York, and it does not mean anything down there. New York is contented. The people are satisfied. They are suffering, but they are satisfied.
>
> Now and then down in Union Square there are a half a dozen crack-pots jump up on the platform and holler out at the people, but that has been going on down there since I was a boy.

Most newspapers appeared to agree with Smith. It is "a stupid policy that has for all these years kept the Russian market closed to us," commented the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*. The *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot* found it "a pleasure to see Al blow away the cobwebs." Urging immediate recognition, the *New York World-Telegram* asserted that "Russia is the only place we can get a large foreign market quickly

for much of our surplus production—and a market which has the unusual distinction in these times of never defaulting on its trade payments." The *Providence News-Tribune* saw advantages from recognition going far beyond benefits to American trade:

> . . . there is a good deal to be said for the point of view that closer connection between the people of Russia and the peoples of what are called the capitalistic countries would result in the Soviet system going under rather than otherwise. Wild blood is not tamed or taught to be man's friend instead of his enemy by being left to roam and rave through its native jungle.

Surveying newspaper response as a whole throughout the country, the *Literary Digest* concluded that the "majority of editors" sided with Al.

THERE IS NO QUESTION but that the generally sympathetic reaction to Smith's recommendations represented an almost complete transformation of American attitudes toward the Soviet Union from those prevailing in the years immediately following the Bolshevik Revolution. The American people, from President Wilson on down, had greeted with unanimous enthusiasm the collapse of Czarist autocracy in March, 1917, and its replacement by a Provisional Government based upon constitutional democratic principles. But their optimism had given way first to bewilderment and then to dismay when, the following November, the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky overthrew the Kerensky government and proclaimed a communistic dictatorship. As the Bolsheviks proceeded, in rapid succession, to sign a separate peace with Germany, repudiate all Russian debts, organize the Third Communist International, and consolidate their power within Russia by "Red terror," American opinion changed quickly to indignation and revulsion. Thus when the Bolsheviks attempted in June, 1918, and again in March, 1919, to establish formal diplomatic relations with the United States, there was general support in the country for President Wilson's stern refusal to have anything to do with them. In explaining why the United States "recoils" from recognition, Bainbridge Colby, Wilson's secretary of state, defined the official American attitude toward the Soviet regime in August, 1920:

> . . . the existing regime in Russia is based upon the negation of every principle of honor and good faith, and every usage and convention, underlying the whole structure of international law; the negation, in short, of every principle upon which it is possible to base harmonious and trustful relations, whether of nations or of individuals.

Nonrecognition was about the only policy to survive the Harding landslide in 1920, and it became the fixed policy of the Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover administrations, despite repeated efforts by the Soviets to resume diplomatic relations with each new administration.

It is important to note, however, that diplomatic nonrecognition did not mean economic nonrecognition during these years. In 1920 Washington lifted its ban on commercial relations with the Soviets, and American business firms began at once to enter into trade agreements with unofficial Soviet representatives in the United States. Many firms negotiated

contracts with Amtorg Trading Company providing for adjustment of claims arising out of Soviet confiscations of American property during the revolution. Others, like General Electric, General Motors, Standard Oil, and International Harvester, granted sizable commercial credits to the Soviets for relatively long terms, while the Chase National Bank and Equitable Trust Company financed short-term loans for the purchase of American cotton. Even Hamilton Fish, who in the 1930's, as Republican congressman from New York, was to be a leading antirecognitionist, took a trip to Russia and returned to tell the New York Kiwanis that Russia offered great business opportunities. As late as March, 1926, he was still interested enough to introduce a resolution in Congress urging President Coolidge to create a commission composed of representatives of

> the manufacturing, commercial, financial, agricultural, and exporting and importing interests of the United States, together with Government officials, which would . . . endeavor to reopen trade and commercial relations with the people of Russia with a view to the resumption of trade and commerce . . . and for the exchange of missions, pending the settlement of political relations between the two countries.

Despite the absence of governmental encouragement, however, American-Russian trade increased steadily during the 1920's, and by 1928 the United States was exporting three times as much to Russia as it had in 1913. Then, in 1928-29, when Russia launched its first Five-Year Plan—a program for heavy industrial development and agricultural collectivization dependent, to an important extent, on imports from abroad—there was a sharp rise in American exports to the Soviets. By 1930 the United States had become the chief exporter to the Soviet Union, and the Soviets had become the world's largest purchaser of American agricultural and industrial equipment.

Furthermore, during the late 1920's American firms began sending engineers, technicians, and industrial experts to Russia to provide technical assistance on Soviet projects; and by 1930 some thirty firms, including DuPont, Ford, General Electric, RCA, and Sperry Gyroscope, were participating in such arrangements. Reversing the process, Henry Ford invited Russian engineers to come to America to study so that they might "perfect themselves" in the techniques of mass production. Infuriated at the friendly relations developing between American business and the Soviets, Father Charles E. Coughlin of Detroit accused Henry Ford, along with the Chase National Bank and J. P. Morgan ("which is not certainly an American institution"), of "subsidizing" Bolshevism, while Ralph M. Easley, chairman of the American Civic Federation, began calling Standard Oil's Ivy L. Lee "Comrade" and concluded angrily that the growing rapprochement between the two countries was a matter of "plain dollars and cents!"

"Plain dollars and cents" undoubtedly played a major role in the gradual development of sentiment for recognition in the years before 1933. Ivy Lee remarked that "the most significant fact about the present Russian regime was the personal honesty of the men in charge."

Returning from a visit to Russia, James D. Mooney, vice-president of General Motors, declared that "the initiation of full diplomatic relations with the Soviet Republics was necessary in the interest of the development of normal trade relations." A poll taken in May, 1932, of fifty firms dealing with Russia revealed that twenty-two favored immediate recognition and that only four were definitely opposed. Among those who spoke out in favor of recognition were the presidents of Sullivan Machinery Company of Chicago and C. O. Bartlett & Sons Company of Cleveland, Edward A. Filene of William Filene's Sons Company of Boston, and the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco, a business organization, which passed a resolution favoring recognition. "What about Russia?" queried *Business Week* in June, 1932. "Washington has refused consistently to deal with the question. Business is more friendly." The views of corporation lawyer Paul D. Cravath doubtless reflected those of an increasingly larger segment of the American business and financial world during the late 1920's and early 1930's. Insisting that "recognition does not remotely involve approval of Soviet principle and methods," Cravath declared:

> The obvious advantages of a policy of recognition are those upon which the whole system of diplomatic relations between civilized nations is based. Our government would be in a position through its diplomatic representatives to protect life, liberty and property of Americans visiting, or sojourning, in Russia, of whom there are already several thousand annually, who are now dependent upon the good offices of the diplomatic representatives of other governments. Our government would be able by the usual diplomatic methods to encourage and protect American trade with Russia. There is much force in the view that when . . . our government . . . encouraged American merchants and manufacturers to engage in trade with Russia, it owed our citizens the duty of protecting this trade by the usual diplomatic machinery. . . . With an Ambassador at Moscow and consuls in the principal trading centers of Russia, our government would be able to assemble reliable information for the guidance of our merchants, manufacturers and bankers. . . .

As American business moved steadily in the direction of recognition during the early 1930's, it was joined by a similar movement in the press and in politics. In the spring of 1932 Roy Howard, president of Scripps-Howard Newspaper Service, began a recognition campaign in his influential newspaper chain. "I think the menace of Bolshevism in the United States is about as great as the menace of sunstroke in Greenland or chilblains in the Sahara," he told the vice-president of the Chase National Bank. Beginning in 1930, Senator William E. Borah (Rep., Idaho), who had been a steadfast advocate of recognition throughout the 1920's, was supported in his views by an increasing number of senatorial colleagues. Senator Burton K. Wheeler (Dem., Mont.) declared that by "all the rules of international law and practice, they are entitled to recognition." Democrats like Senators Barkley, Ladd, Pittman, and Robinson, and Republicans like Senators Cutting, Johnson, Brookhart, LaFollette, Norris, and Nye added their voices to the rising chorus.

It is clear that by 1933 many of the arguments against recognition had lost much of their weight. World-wide depres-

sion had forced most Europeans nations to join Russia in defaulting on World War I debts to the United States, and the Russian debt began to seem far less important than formerly. In addition, the "dollars and cents" argument for recognition took on new meaning as the depression widened throughout the United States, and the prospect of recognition and increased trade began to appear more and more attractive as a means of helping to pull the economy out of the doldrums. Trade with Russia, explained Thomas Campbell, a Montana "mass production farmer," is "one of the best ways to help terminate our industrial depression." Furthermore, the rise of Hitler in Germany and the threat of Japanese expansion in the Orient added a compelling new argument in favor of reconciliation with Russia: it might serve as a stabilizing factor in the precarious international situation.

Finally, fear of communist propaganda had gradually waned throughout the period. After Stalin broke with Trotsky in 1926 and announced, "We have had enough of that idiotic slogan, 'The World Revolution,' " it appeared to many Americans that Russia had abandoned its program of world revolution and was settling down to the far less menacing job of "building socialism in one country." Communism in America, it was noted, was still a negligible factor; and in any case, the fundamental bulwark against communism was not nonrecognition but a strong and viable American system. "I have no sympathy with communism," said Gifford Pinchot, Republican governor of Pennsylvania, "but I am not afraid of it nor of the recognition of Russia by this country." Senator Bronson Cutting (Rep., N. M.) even went so far as to welcome communist propaganda: "In the battle of propaganda on both sides, in a battle where the facts could be made available to both sides, I have no doubt of the final issue." In January, 1933, the *New York Times* reported that of fifty-one senators polled, twenty-two favored recognition, twenty declined to commit themselves, and only nine recorded their opposition. "Time and events," admitted the *Times,* long an opponent of recognition, "have been wearing down the obstacles standing in the way of correct relations between the United States and Soviet Russia."

IT CANNOT BE SAID, therefore, that Al Smith's remarks before the Senate committee in March, 1933, were in any way unusual; nor is it surprising that the "majority of editors" considered his recommendations the plain common sense of the matter. Joined by business and financial circles, the editors continued to "side with Al" as the United States moved steadily in the direction of recognition in the months following his appearance before the Senate. Early in July, *Time* reported that Litvinov, once accustomed to being snubbed by American secretaries of state, "now hobnobs in friendly fashion" with Secretary Hull at the World Economic Conference then in session in London. Talk of recognition "grew serious," according to the *New York Times,* when it became known that William C. Bullitt, executive officer of the United States delegation, had an hour's talk with Litvinov and that Senator James Couzens (Rep.,

Mich.) lunched with a second Soviet delegate, Valerie I. Mezhlank. Since this was not the first time that Bullitt had conferred with Litvinov at the London conference, it appeared that "serious exploratory work" on the recognition problem was under way.

Out of the friendly hobnobbing in London came a "thumping deal" between Litvinov and Assistant Secretary of State Raymond Moley by which, said *Time*, "the soft opening wedge" for recognition was to be "a great wad of cotton." This deal was announced in Washington by Jesse Jones, chairman of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation: an RFC loan of $4,000,000 to the Soviet Union for the purchase of surplus cotton in the United States. This is "the first time since the World War," noted the *Literary Digest*, "that the Government sanctions a business deal with Russia." There was general agreement that the RFC loan constituted "informal recognition" of Russia. Within a few weeks, the RFC had received some forty requests for further loans to enable American manufacturers to sell to Russia on credit. With some amusement, the *Nation*, a liberal weekly which, along with the *New Republic*, had favored recognition since the early 1920's, printed a cartoon in which an American businessman, confronted by a Russian with hat in hand, is saying to a woman representing the American press: "Be nice to him, dear."

Both the press and the business world were extremely nice to him. So, too, were the politicians. When, on October 20, the text of the Roosevelt-Kalinin exchange was released to the press, the *New York Times* ran a story on the first page headed: "ROOSEVELT'S MOVE WINS WIDE BACKING. Most of the Senators and Representatives Commenting Favor the Step." Among those expressing themselves as in favor of the move were Senators Elmer Thomas (Dem., Okla.), George McGill (Dem., Kan.), and Kenneth McKellar (Dem., Tenn.). Senator Robert Reynolds (Dem., N. C.) was joined by Senator James Couzens (Rep., Mich.) in calling for "immediate and full recognition." Arriving from Europe, Senator William G. McAdoo (Dem., Calif.) recalled that he had long favored recognition. His colleague Senator Hiram Johnson (Rep., Calif.) thought recognition would be "wise, sensible, and statesmanlike." Speaker of the House Henry A. Rainey (Dem., Ill.) declared the recognition would open an "outlet for our surplus goods." Senator Cutting brushed aside fears of Soviet propaganda by quoting Karl Radek: "Revolutions are not carried in suitcases. They cannot be imported; they grow."

Like the senators, American bankers and businessmen, according to the *Times*, were particularly interested in the development of trade relations that would follow recognition. Many of them felt that the "potentialities of trade with this economically youthful country were unlimited." To reassure those who were still wavering on the recognition issue, officials of General Electric and RCA, both of which "have had large dealings with the Soviet," announced that "at all times their relations with Soviet Russia have been eminently satisfactory." Reversing its previous stand, the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce, whose member-

ship included leading business and banking houses, came out for recognition. The United States Board of Trade took similar action.

The city of Seattle was especially excited by the prospects: "SEATTLE SEES TRADE BOOM" was the front-page headline in the *New York Times*. "Shipping men, port authorities and other business heads" forecast "the opening of a new trade era" for the city. The president of the Pacific National Bank and the Seattle Clearing House Association was quoted as saying that recognition might open the door for "large transactions" and that Seattle, the closest American port to Vladivostok, would see a "revival of shipping."

Newspaper editors sided as energetically with Roosevelt in October as they had with Al Smith in March. "Sensible and sober men," said the *Baltimore Sun*, will regard Roosevelt's invitation to Kalinin "with undivided approval." All over the country, such papers as the *Hartford Courant*, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, the *Kansas City Star*, the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, the *Des Moines Tribune*, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, and the *Portland Oregonian* expressed similar sentiments. The United States should "properly be on friendly terms with Russia and aid in its industrial development," said the *Dallas News*. "It should enable it also to retain its place as a Pacific power, thus checking to some extent Japanese ambitions in the Far East."

In *Collier's*, Ray Tucker welcomed Roosevelt's move as a return to sensible relations and an important stimulant to trade. *Time* saw in Kalinin's swift response to Roosevelt "two or three triumphs" for the President:

> 1) Never before had the Soviets agreed to discuss differences with a sovereign power before their own sovereignty was recognized. 2) Upon excited Europe and the Far East . . . the drawing together of Russia and the U.S. must have a quieting effect. 3) The quieting effect upon U.S.-domestic excitements was instant and undisputed.

In the *Literary Digest*, Ernest K. Lindley asserted that nonrecognition was an "anomaly which has seemed grotesque to an increasing number of people." "With the future of its own great domestic experiment at stake," wrote Lindley, "the Soviet influence has been overwhelmingly on the side of peace." William Phillips Simms, Scripps-Howard foreign editor, agreed with Lindley that time had vastly modified objections to recognition. "The real value of the meeting in Washington," said *Business Week*, "will be the agreement of the two countries to carry on trade relations on a normal basis. If this be provided, business will do much for itself in the development of trade with the Soviet Union."

The *Washington Daily News* summed up much of the prevailing opinion in a cartoon picturing Uncle Sam in bed, "Waking up AT LAST," as a telephone labeled "Russia" jingles merrily to the tune of "Trade OPPORTUNITIES." And the *Kansas City Star* ridiculed fears of communist propaganda in a cartoon which showed Uncle Sam and Russia smiling at each other across a fence on which hangs a sign reading "QUARANTINE: Revolutionary Measles." Russia is pointing to the sign; but Uncle Sam, holding a brief

case loaded with "Orders," beams back: "I've already had it—in a mild form." The caption: "HE SURELY WON'T CATCH IT NOW."

There were, to be sure, a number of vigorous protests as Litvinov arrived in Washington and went into a huddle with Roosevelt and Hull. Senator David A. Reed (Rep., Pa.) was "awfully sorry" about it; the *Washington Star* favored recognition only if Russia promised not to carry on "subversive agitation" in the United States; the *Los Angeles Times* favored it only if Russia was willing to "behave in an internationally civilized manner." A group calling itself the "Paul Reveres" telegraphed a protest to the White House; Edward A. Hayes, national commander of the American Legion, deplored the negotiations—though Representative Wright Patman of Texas assured Roosevelt that not more than 5 per cent of the Legion membership would be antagonized by recognition—and the American Alliance, headed by Major General Mark L. Hersey, Ely Culbertson, Bishop James E. Freeman, Martin Littleton, Nathan D. Perlman, Rabbi Abram Simon, Rev. Edmund A. Walsh, and Grover Whalen, announced a series of radio programs to oppose recognition. The American Federation of Labor sent Roosevelt a long document containing a "damning indictment" of recognition, reasserting the fixed policy of William Green, Matthew Woll, and other AF of L leaders toward the Soviet Union since 1917.

But these were minor ripples compared to the tidal wave of opinion favoring Roosevelt's action. Shortly before Litvinov's arrival in Washington, the American Foundation published a long report urging recognition. Signers of the report included, among others, James D. Mooney, president of the General Motors Export Company; Thomas S. Gates, president of the University of Pennsylvania; Thomas W. Lamont of J. P. Morgan and Company; George M. Houston, president of Baldwin Locomotive Works; Roscoe Pound, dean of the Harvard School of Law; General William N. Haskell of the National Guard of New York; J. H. Rand, Jr., president of Remington Rand Corporation; Thomas A. Morgan, president of Curtis Wright; Dr. Walter G. Alvarez of the Mayo Clinic; and Judge Curtis Bok of Philadelphia. At the same time, the foundation announced that in a poll it had taken of 1,139 dailies in the country, 63 per cent had voted for recognition, 2.6 per cent favored it with qualifications, and only 26.9 per cent were opposed. A breakdown of the figures indicated that the greatest sentiment for recognition was to be found in the South and in the large eastern states, with the greatest opposition appearing in New England. In an analysis of the political complexion of the newspapers, *Editor and Publisher* reported that the favorable vote did not reflect "party lines." The position of the *Dallas News* may be taken as typical of the views of two-thirds of American newspapers at this time:

> President Roosevelt returns to the older theory of recognition that a Government is entitled to recognition if it is in full possession of the Government, if it is able to maintain order and protect life and property, and if its rule is acquiesced in by the people. Russia fulfills these conditions and all that now remains is to reach agreements respecting debts

and pledges against propaganda. These agreements can be made in principle and details worked out through appointed commissions.

Some object to recognition on the ground that Russia's system of government is communistic and in general antireligious. Internationally, however, each State in theory has the right to determine its own form of government and sphere of activity. . . . The general opinion in this country is that Russia and the United States should resume normal and diplomatic relations, since they have many common interests, especially in the Far East, and can readily develop trade relations, mutually profitable. . . .

To the *Dallas News,* Russia was "Just Another Customer." A *News* cartoon portrayed a Russian woman waiting before the counter of a general store to make her purchases while Uncle Sam, the clerk, tells two protesting women (the AF of L and the DAR): "Listen! I ain't goin' to *marry* the gal!"

While probably not everyone agreed with Stanley High that Litvinov was "the leading candidate for the current year's Nobel Peace Award," the Commissar met, in general, an extremely warm reception in this country. "The thing that has amazed me," commented Oswald Garrison Villard in the *Nation,* "is that there has been no terrific outburst of protest from the Daughters of the Revolution, the Sons of the Revolution, Ham Fish, or Ralph M. Easley. I thought they would be holding mass meetings at Carnegie Hall." Somewhat disappointedly, he added: "But there hasn't been a peep from them."

WHEN LITVINOV reached Washington, the Roosevelt administration was fully prepared to get down to brass tacks. The question of recognition had been given thoughtful and serious consideration for many months. Letters favoring or disapproving recognition had been accumulating in the "right-hand drawer" of Secretary Hull's desk from his very first day in office; in addition, he had been receiving one delegation after another with views to express on the matter. From the very beginning, Hull had felt that "certain conditions" had arisen which had not been "fully present under previous Administrations" and that the Russian question merited fresh consideration. As he told Molotov nine years later, after the United States had entered World War II,

When I came to the State Department in 1933, I recommended recognition of the Soviet Government on several important grounds. Probably the most important was the great need and opportunity for co-operation between our two Governments during the years ahead for the purpose of promoting and preserving conditions of peace in the world. My further grounds were the traditional friendship between the peoples of the two countries and the fact that it was contrary to the best interests of two great nations such as the Soviets and ourselves not to be on speaking terms diplomatically in view of the existing circumstances in the international field.

At the London Economic Conference in June and July, Hull discussed the subject "elaborately" with a number of foreign ministers attending the meeting, and he also conferred with Litvinov, whom he found a "thoroughly capable diplomat and international statesman," with an "agreeable personality." Returning from London in August, Hull outlined in a memorandum to the President the problems involved in recognition. In his *Memoirs* (1948) he tells us:

In some respects we stood to gain more than Russia by a restoration of diplomatic relations. Without relations, the Russians were probably much better informed about conditions in America than we were about the situation in Russia. . . . Moreover, it was easier for the Russians to do business in the United States without diplomatic protection than it was for Americans to do business in Russia.

Four points, he told Roosevelt, would have to be settled before any agreement could be reached with the Russians: (1) the question of communist propaganda; (2) freedom of religion for United States citizens in Russia; (3) fair treatment of American citizens in Russia; and (4) settlement of the debts, both governmental and private, which were owed by Russia.

Satisfactory settlement of all four points mentioned by Hull in his memorandum was insisted upon by Roosevelt and his advisers before they would consent to grant formal recognition to the Soviet Union. According to William Bullitt, an "ardent proponent of recognition" (Hull) and a prime mover in the events of October and November, Litvinov, "after refusing to sign such agreements so persistently that he was handed a schedule of steamship sailings and told to sign or go home, did sign them on Nov. 16, 1933, and we established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union." With respect to propaganda, Litvinov promised that it would be the "fixed policy" of his government to "refrain" from interference in American affairs. On the second point, Litvinov agreed that American citizens residing in Russia should be permitted "freedom of religious worship and exercise of ecclesiastical functions." In addition, Roosevelt prevailed upon Litvinov to accept a long series of guarantees respecting the rights of Americans in Russia. The question of debts (and Russian counterclaims for damages done by American troops in northern Russia during the period of Allied intervention, 1918-20) was left to future negotiations. As a "goodwill gesture," Litvinov waived claims for damages done by American forces in Siberia during and after World War I.

Upon conclusion of the agreement, Roosevelt named William C. Bullitt, who had been working tirelessly for recognition since 1919 and who, as special assistant to Hull, had played a prominent part in the negotiations, as first ambassador to the Soviet Union. "After 14 years his point was made" was the caption under *Time's* picture of the new ambassador.

THE IMMEDIATE REACTIONS to the recognition settlement were just about what we might expect. Moscow, not surprisingly, hailed it as *Ochen horosho!* (Very fine!), although *Pravda* could not resist a dig at William Green—"that yellow trade union bureaucrat"—for his bitter-end opposition. In Episcopal Church House, Philadelphia, Archdeacon the Rev. James P. Bullitt, uncle of the new ambassador, flared: "The United States has disgraced itself by establishing relations with a country which is beyond the pale—a pariah among nations!" Congressman Hamilton Fish denounced the "brain trust," and William Green reaffirmed AF of L hostility to the Soviet regime. Most of the oppositionists, however, ac-

cepted the decision with resignation and hoped for the best. Edward Hayes of the American Legion received Roosevelt's announcement "with the spirit of the soldier"; the *State Journal* of Lincoln, Nebraska, conceded that it "will be acceptable to a great majority"; and the *Los Angeles Times* expressed hope that it would "work out for the best interests of both countries."

In general, the American press greeted recognition with quiet satisfaction. *Time* reported that virtually all newspapers approved the agreement, or at least did not actively oppose it. Even such a formerly antirecognitionist paper as the *New York Herald Tribune* could "express nothing but approval." A *Dallas News* cartoon captioned "Tea for Two" showed Uncle Sam and Uncle Joe enjoying a spot of tea together from a teapot filled with "Friendship and Trade." Roosevelt, observed the *News*,

> saw the absurdity of a continued refusal to recognize a great Nation with a stable Government. . . . Without question, the Nation as a whole will give sanction to this decision. Russia has a people of 160,000,000, occupying a large fraction of this earth's surface. In its civilization, it is Western, not Oriental, and it is certain to become within the next twenty-five years one of the greatest in the family of nations. . . .
>
> After all, Sovietism is an experiment in a sort of democracy. . . . There will be the exchange of ideas and of political and cultural experiences, as a result of which each, it is to be hoped, may gain knowledge and wisdom from the other. The two peoples should be fast friends in the future as they were in the past.

On the front page, the *News* announced on November 18: "RECOGNITION AID TO SALE OF TEXAS COTTON IN RUSSIA. Millions of Bales Now Expected to be Sold to Soviet Consumers." According to the *News*, the reluctance of Americans to do business with the Soviets owing to absence of diplomatic relations

> is now removed by the character of good standing which President Roosevelt's official announcement implies. For several months Jesse H. Jones, chairman of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, has been maneuvering to make it possible for large shipments of raw and manufactured products into this reservoir of trade. . . . Russia has always taken large amounts of Texas cotton which appeared to best serve its mill purposes. For instance in 1929 the Soviet bought nearly $25,000,000 worth of Texas cotton, and in the remainder of the South, the expenditure was only $6,000,000. During the last nine years Texas cotton to the value of about $150,000,000 has been purchased by that Government.
>
> Mr. Roosevelt's recognition of the Soviet, according to the prevailing Washington opinion, will be one of the most important accomplishments of his administration when the history is written. The step will have the approval of the business world. . . .

On the nineteenth, the *News* reported that Dallas expected "a marked business and industrial improvement" as a "direct result" of recognition. C. J. Crampton, executive secretary of the Dallas Chamber of Commerce, was quoted as saying it "will certainly help our business." Others, like Sherwood H. Avery, secretary of the North Texas Foreign Trade Club, "were of the same opinion."

The enthusiasm of Dallas for the economic benefits of recognition was duplicated in other parts of the country. Francis T. Cole, executive vice-president of the American Manufacturers Export

Association, made public a survey conducted among four hundred manufacturers analyzing the promising opportunities for business expected to follow from recognition and increased trade. C. W. Linscheid, president of the Export Managers' Club of New York, referred to recognition as "a distinct step forward." Similar statements were made by Samuel M. Vauclain, chairman of the board of Baldwin Locomotive Works, and Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., president of General Motors. A news story in the *New York Times* stated that Michigan was "likely to reap a financial harvest because of the expected demand for products, especially automobiles," and reported that George Feehan, of the Detroit Chamber of Commerce, had forecast a boom for American trade.

In Congress, the reaction was similarly favorable. Senator Borah, "dean of the recognitionists," was so pleased that he telegraphed congratulations from Boise, Idaho, to both Roosevelt and Litvinov. Typical of lawmakers who foresaw excellent results in terms of foreign trade and world peace were Democratic Senators Reynolds, Black, Thomas (both Elbert D. and Elmer), and Robinson, and Republican Senators Nye and Capper. Speaker of the House Rainey called recognition the "greatest thing in the world that has happened to bring about world peace."

Busily rounding up opinion in leftist circles, the *New York Times* reported that Norman Thomas' Socialist party approved of Roosevelt's action; in the opinion of the Socialists, the Comintern had been outlawed by Litvinov's pledge and the Communist party dealt a "death blow." The *Times* ran into some difficulty, however, when it attempted to get a statement from leaders of the American Communist party. Recognition left the comrades "officially mute last night." At the offices of the *Daily Worker,* reporters were told that Earl Browder was "out of town, we don't know where, but may be back tomorrow." William Z. Foster was also out of town, and nobody knew where he was. Robert Minor was "at a beach in Virginia, but what beach was not known." Sam Don, editor of the *Worker,* told reporters there would be no editorial on the subject that day and declined to comment further. Since at this time Roosevelt was, in the opinion of American Stalinists, "the most effective agent Wall Street has had in several years," his cabinet "the new Wall Street hunger and war cabinet," and the NRA an "Industrial Slavery Act," the forerunner of "American fascism," the temporary bewilderment of CP, USA, over the new development is perhaps understandable. On this occasion, as on many others, the Kremlin had apparently not bothered to tip the American party off in advance, and the usually garrulous comrades were forced into one of their brief periods of silence pending official adjustment to the new line.

IT IS PART of history, of course, that the high hopes that Americans entertained generally during 1933 for the future of American-Soviet relations failed of realization. Disillusionment began almost immediately in the months following recognition, and by the middle of 1935 had become quite widespread within administration circles as well as outside. In subsequent negotiations, the Soviets failed to

agree on debt payments, and as a result the Roosevelt administration refused to extend credits through the Export-Import Bank (established in 1934 for that specific purpose) for Soviet purchases in this country. Though an increase in American-Soviet trade did develop after 1933, there was nothing like the trade boom anticipated by American business interests. Nor did Soviet leaders show any disposition to honor the pledge that Litvinov had made to refrain from interference in American internal affairs.

In the clear light of hindsight, this disillusionment may appear to have been inevitable. But it is impossible to escape the conclusion that Roosevelt's action on November 16, 1933, was heartily endorsed by the American people as a whole. The sound and fury that arise periodically in this country upon occasions of major foreign policy decisions—entry into World War II, the recall of General MacArthur from the Far East, the question of recognizing Red China—seem to have been notably absent while the question of Soviet recognition was being decided.

The contention that Roosevelt "took action virtually on his own" is simply untrue. If Roosevelt had decided on recognition by September, 1933, as Bullitt reports, he had been preceded in his decision by influential spokesmen in the American press, business, financial, and political circles. If we are to talk of betrayals twenty years ago, then we shall be forced to place Business Betrayal and Newspaper Betrayal at the top of the list. The lure of trade seems to have been the primary motivation for prorecognition sentiment in this country in the early 1930's; but the threat posed by Nazi Germany and imperialist Japan appears to have figured most prominently in the calculations of Roosevelt and his associates. By the early fall of 1933, according to Bullitt,

> both the President and I were convinced that Hitler would eventually make war unless England, France, and the Soviet Union should stand together against Nazi aggression. It seemed in our national interest to prevent the outbreak of a Hitler war and, therefore, to resume relations somewhat skeptically, with the Soviet Union. . . . The primary objective was to prevent the launching of another world war by Hitler.

It seemed nonsense, says Bullitt, for the United States to continue to snub Russia when "there seemed to be a faint possibility that we might obtain the co-operation of the Soviet government for the preservation of peace in both Europe and Asia." It is difficult to see anything sinister in that; given the circumstances of 1933, it seemed, as isolationist Senator Hiram Johnson put it, "wise, sensible, and statesmanlike."

MAXIM LITVINOV's successful trip to the United States wound up on November 24 with what the *Nation* called "the most extraordinary dinner ever given in New York City." Some 2,500 persons paid $5.50 a plate for a Farewell Dinner (which included Beluge Caviar spread thin on toast, Borsch, and Filet of Beef Stroganoff) at Manhattan's Waldorf-Astoria on the eve of Litvinov's sailing for home. Although no Cardinal or other Catholic official was present, *Time* noted that the American Apostolic Church of America sent its chief prelate and that

the big warm room buzzed with the voices of General Motors' Sloan, General Electric's Gerard Swope, Ford's Sorensen, Pennsylvania's Atterbury, Baldwin Locomotive's Houston, Thomas A. Edison's son Charles, Theodore Roosevelt's son Kermit, Owen D. Young, Henry Morgenthau, Sr., and dowagers galore.

Mingling with the guests could also be found S. Parker Gilbert of the firm of J. P. Morgan, Loomis of the Lehigh Valley Railroad, Gordon Rentschler of the National City Bank, the head of the *New York Herald Tribune,* and the president of the American Chamber of Commerce. The high point of the evening undoubtedly came when the guests stood and faced a stage behind which hung a huge American flag and the Red flag with Soviet hammer and sickle while the organ played "My Country 'tis of Thee" and then switched into the "Internationale." "Not a liberal editor appeared on the dais," observed the *Nation* ironically, "and hardly a man or woman who battled for Russian recognition when to do so was to invite contumely, insult, and abuse."

It would be nice if the expounders of the Roosevelt-Recognition-Conspiracy thesis would pause long enough in their current campaign of contumely, insult, and abuse to take a look at the Waldorf-Astoria's guest list for that *gemütlich* evening in New York City twenty years ago.

To: MR. [redacted]

MR. SATINS

MR. LOWMAN

[redacted]

MR. GIBBINGS

SALANT

Return to May Dowell

113 (Mo)

As Pegler Sees It

Murrow-McCarthy Feud And Moscow University

By WESTBROOK PEGLER

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WASHINGTON, March 19.

THE ALUMINUM COMPANY OF AMERICA IS AN OLD conservative monument to Andrew Mellon, a Republican typical of the Coolidge-Hoover Administration. The aluminum company is the financial "angel" or sponsor of the broadcasts of Edward R. Murrow, official and household political pundit of the Columbia Broadcasting System. Currently Murrow has been in a fight with Sen. Joe McCarthy on issues of veracity.

WESTBROOK PEGLER

There is a blind reference to Murrow in a Congressional publication, entitled "Hearings Before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act."

Pat McCarran, of Nevada, Democrat and Red-baiter, was chairman of the Judiciary Committee and of the subcommittee which held these hearings.

One entry in this volume is a letter written in March, 1938, by Frederick Vanderbilt Field, whose political notoriety in the investigations of communism need not be recanvassed here.

One paragraph said: "I feel very self-conscious about (Prof. James T.) Shotwell because of having gone to some considerable trouble to organize a stop-Shotwell movement among the younger people in New York six or seven years ago. The movement was so successful that I have often wondered whether we were justified in taking such an unfriendly attitude toward him in our IPR work."

"IPR" refers to the Institute of Pacific Relations, which became a hotbed of Communist conspiracy.

"AT HIS REQUEST," THE LETTER CONTINUED, "Barnes and I got together a group of about 18 or 20 people who met at Shotwell's house and ate his food one evening a week for about four months in order to engage in an open discussion of the original motivations of international relations."

The Barnes mentioned here is Joe Barnes, for a long time "foreign editor" of the New York Herald Tribune. He was a close associate, professionally and socially, of Mrs. Helen Reid, the actual publisher of this quondam Republican paper. Mrs. Reid is a girl from the other side of the tracks who became secretary to the rich New York and London society queen who was surviving head of the Reid family.

Helen married Mrs. Reid's son, Ogden, the heir to the hoorah. Ogden was a friendly fellow with a habit of slumming with the editorial staff. He had more ability than most of his rapscallion speakeasy friends gave him credit for.

When he died, the H-T lost more than just an amiable go-between of a rich management with a supercilious Anglican mother-country editorial tradition and the toss-pot mock-intellectuals of the Newspaper Guild in the speakeasy across the street. The H-T lost a good deal of its brain-power, too.

BARNES HAS BEEN "NAMED" BY NUMEROUS WITNESSES under oath as a Communist but has denied all such charges. He spent a good deal of time in Soviet Russia and handled Wendell Willkie's affairs on his fantastic pilgrimage to Stalin's stronghold after Willkie had served as a Trojan Horse nominee of the Republican Party in 1940.

Barnes and Field were intimate friends for years and Barnes married his pal's wife after the Fields were divorced.

Continuing, Field's letter said: "Barnes and I carefully stacked the cards so that out of a meeting of 20 there were 19 Marxists or pseudo-Marxists and one violent anti-Marxist, Shotwell, himself. Each meeting was more embarrassing than the last for, all being young, we were rather unmerciful in tearing to pieces every clause issued by this renowned scholar."

Advised that Edward R. Murrow had been one of this group, I telephoned Prof. Shotwell at his home in New York. He said yes, that Murrow had been a member of the circle but that Murrow was strongly anti-Marxist. Further than that he refused to be quoted except that devotion to communism and Marxism, as of then and as of now, was not the same.

In those days it was not plain that the Soviet State was the mortal enemy of the United States, although the very purpose of these ideological jam-sessions was to examine the inward meanings.

Shotwell himself claims that he demolished the Reds on all counts. He emphasized the point that all these ideologians were "young"—to excuse any Marxists of whatever degree. I replied in effect that I, too, had been young but never had thought of giving aid and comfort to an enemy of my country.

DR. J. B. MATTHEWS, THE VETERAN RED-BAITER and former fellow-traveler, told me had known Murrow, about the time referred to by Field. He also knew Field and Barnes.

Dr. Matthews never calls a man or woman a Communist who was merely a fellow-traveler. He never calls a Socialist a Communist, although some theoreticians argue that the one is but the egg from which the other hatches. Dr. Matthews said he did not regard Murrow as a Communist but did regard him as a Socialist at that time.

Murrow has stated that McCarthy was wrong in charging that he was a member of the "National Advisory Council" of a seminar of American study-boys and professors to Soviet Russia under the auspices of the University of Moscow in 1935. Murrow said this seminar was called off.

However, he was named on the American "Advisory Committee" of the "First Russian Seminar" in 1933, and his answer to McCarthy did not claim that that "seminar" was called off.

THE "SEMINAR AIMS" FOR 1933, set forth in a pamphlet obtained by Sen. McCarthy, who sent it to me, include the following language, taken out of context but without distortion or misrepresentation.

"Leaders, chosen for the most part from the advisory committee will accompany the seminar and supplement the general sightseeing program with special lectures, talks and informal discussions.

"Interviews with and talks by leaders of Soviet culture and officialdom will form a prominent part of the seminar program." The last sentence says "propaganda pro and con, of all kinds, will be avoided as inimical to the interests of the seminar and repugnant to the intelligent traveler."

Dr. Matthews impressed on me the fact that the University of Moscow is an official agency of the Soviet Government. And he has always insisted that all Communists and all their agencies are always making propaganda, however repugnant it may be to whomsoever.

NY TELEGRAM MAR 19 1954

A Timely Comeback For Morality Plays

By HARRIET VAN HORNE.

The old morality play, with characters representing Virtue, Evil, Tolerance and Hope, is coming back in modern dress.

And, considering the temper of our times and the terrible beating the eternal verities have been taking, the morality play is probably just what we need.

Harriet Van Horne

This week, by a coincidence that underscores TV's growing social conscience, two of the most important dramatic shows in the log—Studio One and Robert Montgomery Presents—gave us stories on the theme: "Love Thy Neighbor."

* * *

"Thunder on Sycamore Street" was the Monday night offering on CBS. It showed us a tight little, but not so right little neighborhood where one innocent family was being systematically persecuted. Why? Because the man of the family had once been in prison on a manslaughter charge. His speeding car had struck an old man.

The characters in this play were clearly recognizable as types, just as they were in "Everyman" hundreds of years ago. We had the Bully, spoiling for a fight, the Sower of Dissent ("I'm just telling you folks for your own good . . . "), the Man of Good Will and the Man Out of Step.

In the final scene, where the mob gathered in the snow outside the small, white house where its victim lived, it was the Man of Good Will (timid, be-spectacled, embarrassed before the fact of his own goodness) who stood up to his rock-hurling neighbors.

With a few calm, compassionate words, this lone dissenter not only shamed (and dispersed) the mob, he pointed up anew the truth of Thoreau's oft-quoted remark that a man may be out of step simply because he hears a different drummer.

Earlier in the play, the man representing Good Will told his wife that he hated the mere idea of joining a mob. To which his tight-lipped wife retorted: "We've got to because, if we don't, we'll be next. We can't afford to be different."

The glory of this play lay in the simple discovery, by the people of Sycamore St., that a man can be "different" and be as estimable, as decent as the conformists all around him.

"Thunder on Sycamore Street" was written by a newcomer named Reginald Rose. So pleased is CBS with his work that it has put him under long-term contract to write exclusively for CBS. Mr. Rose—no doubt with a sigh of relief—this week quit his job as copy-writer for an ad agency.

I didn't see the Montgomery show, but I'm told that it dealt, in a most touching fashion, with the efforts of a Puerto Rican family to adjust to a hostile neighborhood. Through the good efforts of a nun, the family earned the respect and affection of the community.

* * *

RANDOM NOTES: Mr. Muggs, seriously ill with pneumonia for several days, is due back on Today as of Monday. . . . I can't help wishing that Dave Garroway were a bit more kindly disposed toward this angelic little fellow. Has anybody ever told Garroway who the main attraction of this show really is? . . . Leave It to the Girls, bowing off March 27, will become a filmed series. . . . Even though it costs $500,000 a year to maintain the NBC Symphony, the network hopes Toscanini's retirement threat is an idle one.

NY TELEGRAM MAR 19 1954

Lines & Linage

Ad Sleuths Aim Shots at Getting Higher Score With Lower Cost

By CHARLES M. SIEVERT

HOT SPRINGS, Va., March 19.—New vitality is being injected into advertising even though it may not be perceptible to the consumer as changes take place. While more ad dollars are being expended, the ad sleuths assembled here for the Assn. of National Advertisers' spring meeting have pinpointed getting more out of each dollar as their 1954 target.

Charles M. Sievert

This, of course, put the burden on two facets of the ad craft; the creative and the marketing staffs.

Wildroot's Ward Maurer, for instance, has switched the emphasis to an Al Capp character known as Fearless Fosdick for his hair tonic. This gimmick gives him wider latitude in the use of media, cuts his costs by just the use of black and white instead of four-color ads without reducing attention-getting from the consumer.

Fearless Fosdick, too, now ranges from the printed page down through the merchandising channels to the point-of-purchase. You meet him in print and then again at the store counter. This gives you an idea of how the ad boys try to trap your attention and that buck in your pocket. Is it successful? Ward, a past ANA chairman, looks at Wildroot's sales chart and smiles. The figures are eclipsing last years.

* * *

Two sharp promoters of the brewing industry, Bud Carey and Jack Graham of Goebel in Detroit, also have sparked some new slants to keep their sales afloat. Goebel had the field to itself a few years ago when it introduced the short beer, a seven-ounce bottle, but since competition jumped on this marketing idea by also introducing splits, Bud and Jack have been forced to scratch for new wrinkles. Now the six-can container has been converted by artistic appeal into a sales lure. The container is imprinted with seasonal art, such a trout leaping in a brook for the spring and ducks for the fall hunting period. The art, says Bud, is suitable for framing and requests for it have come from as far as Denmark.

* * *

Brad Houghton, ad boss of Frankfort's Hunter-Wilson division, figures he has multiplied number of eyes for his product by the introduction of animal pictures gagged with short copy. The giraffe's long neck dominates one, for instance, while the copy cites: "Tastes good all the way down." This is another idea that doesn't require expensive color treatment because the art and copy are effective. And it must be remembered that with the constructive limits on liquor ads, good ideas in this field are not born too frequently. Brad, incidentally, is a brother of Calvert Distillers' Walter Houghton.

* * *

Besides looking for newer markets, you find many ANA-ers talking about how they'll intensify their efforts in established markets. For example, Heublein's Frank Marshall points out that more of his ad moola will go toward the promotion of vodka with quinine tonic and for Martinis this year. Vodka sales, while just a fraction of the distilling industry's sales, have soared in recent years and nobody is putting a ceiling on its potential. In fact, a few more distillers may add vodka to their lines.

* * *

Ken Dyke, v.p. of Young & Rubicam, tossed the ad craft's creative ability a rosy bouquet when he said despite all the famous ads of past years being so fondly remembered, the efforts of the boys today are at least one-third better. Some of the so-called famous ads of yesterday might not even stir a ripple in the sales flow. Ken is an authority with multiperspective on the ad front. He's been on both sides of the fence as ad boss at Colgate, also Johns Manville and U.S. Rubber at one time, besides NBC before joining Y&R four years ago. And as a past chairman of ANA he's perfectly at home here on a panel discussion or in the Homestead Club, thirst's arch foe.

* * *

Among arrivals here today were Billie Gease, Jersey's billboard baron. Billie's newest project is the WOR-TV tower in the Jersey meadows which will show somebody's product from its towering peak soon. . . . **The amiable Frank Ennis,** of America Fore Insurance, Frankfort Distillers' Ralph Reese, Arvey Corp.'s Bill Carmichael, Alcoa's Art Hall and Fred Stakel, Bristol-Myer's Pat Bristol, George McMillan and Dick Van Nostrand, Shell Oil's Bill Murphy, Union Carbide's Bob Boggs and Seagram's Doug Clark, Dan Mahoney and Saul Rockoff are among the familiar faces here for the spring session. . . . **First-timing** at the ANA are Chivas Regal's Betty Hietner and Walter Stumpf. "Learning a lot," says Betty, in case Phil Kelly, Chivas' bossman in New York, is interested. Ford's contingent was expanded by the arrival of Gordon Eldredge with Walt Blanchard and Harry Swan, joining Ben Donaldson and Del Everett. Also first-timing is Humble Oil's Abe Penny from Houston.

I I 3
(Moscow)

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. CONNELLY

CBS--Matter of M
Moscow University

D. H. Rivkin April 8, 1954

I have checked the names of the students selected by the IIE for the 1934 and 1935 sessions of the Moscow University against the Cumulative Index to Publications of the Committee on Un-American Activities (Supp. V), and I attach hereto:

(a) summaries of references to such persons in the Committee hearings and reports;

(b) a key to symbols identifying the various hearings and reports; and

(c) the IIE lists of students selected for the 1934 and 1935 sessions.

I should like to speak to you about the foregoing at your convenience.

13

1934 STUDENTS

Herman Field

da 1295

Herbert Philbrick, F.B.I. counterspy, testified that Margot Clark, who "was pretty closely hooked up with an international system of espionage", knew Herman Field, a New York City architect. Field was identified as the brother of Noel Field, who disappeared without explanation behind the Iron Curtain.

Ida Goodman

a 1507-08

Clyde Morrow, former Communist connected with the Americanization Committee of the American Legion, testified that Goodman attended a lecture given by Anna Louise Strong, editor of the Moscow Daily News, held at Deutsches Haus, in Detroit, on February 16, 1936.

William S. Gordon, Jr.

a 462 Walter S. Steele, chairman of the American Coalition Committee on National Security, testified that William Gordon was a member of the nominations committee of the November, 1937, congress of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

470 William Gordan was named by Steele as member of nominations committee of the congress.

Eleanore G. Hoagland

v 66-68	Anne Mathews, employed by Local 22 of the Food, Tobacco and Agricultural Workers, C.I.O., testified that Eleanor Hoagland was educational director of the Union, but was no longer connected with the Union.
84-86	Eugene Pratt, employed as business agent of the same union, testified that Eleanor Hoagland was the wife of William Benkley, an admitted Communist.
99	Pratt testified that Eleanor Hoagland told him that the Reynolds Tobacco Co. had machine guns mounted in the plant to "shoot the workers down."

Emma Mayer
(See also Gertrude Mayer in the 1935 group.)

a 1297-98 — Sgt. Harry Mikuliak, of the Detroit Police Department, testified that Jane Mayer attended the Third Annual Congress Against War and Fascism held in Cleveland in January, 1936, along with her sisters Gertrude and Emma, Detroit school teachers. Jane Mayer attended a number of other meetings sponsored by Communist organizations.

1507 — Morrow testified that Emma Mayer "attends Communist meetings" and that she had been at the Roe City, Mich., home of Wm. Mollenhauer, who was expelled from the Musicians Union "for his 'red' activities." Morrow also testified that the Roe City home was a nudist colony and the address where U.S. Communist leaders received mail from the U.S.S.R.

1586 — Report from Detectives Harry Mikuliak and Leo Maciosik of the Detroit Police Department's Office of Special Investigation said that Emma Mayer attended the Third American Congress Against War and Fascism.

Dr. Alice Parsons

a 518

Steele testified that in November, 1937, the Friends of the Soviet Union issued a Golden Book eulogizing the Soviet Union on its twentieth anniversary. The book was signed by several hundred thousand persons, among them Dr. Alice Parsons.

Dr. Emily M. Pierson

[See listings under 1935]

Maurice Rapf

x 198	Richard Macauley, a screen writer, testified that Maurice Rapf was a Communist member of the Screen Writers Guild.
474	Dore Schary assigned Maurice Rapf to write part of a Hollywood Bowl memorial program for President Roosevelt.
dm 51	"Identified as Communist by" Leo Townsend (9/18/51), Marten Berkeley (9/19/51) and Elizabeth Wilson (9/21/51).
da 1511	Leo Townsend, a screenwriter, testified that he and Rapf were members of the same Communist group.
1590	Martin Berkeley, a screenwriter, identified Rapf as a member of the Patrick Henry group.
1725-26	Elizabeth Wilson, a screenwriter, testified that she knew Rapf to be a Communist.
2377	M. Wm. Pomerance identified Rapf as secretary of the Screen Writers Guild and a member of its Executive Board.

Holland D. Roberts

a 375	Steele testified that Holland D. Roberts was a signer of an April, 1938, statement extenuating the purge trials in Russia as an attempt by "the Soviet Union to free itself from insidious internal dangers."
I 809	Daily Worker of April 28, 1938, lists Holland D. Roberts as a signer of the above statement.
s 43	Steele testified Dr. Holland Roberts was a staff writer for the People's Daily World.
53-55	Holland Roberts named as educational director and member of the board of directors of the California Labor School.
62	Holland Roberts of Stanford University named as vice-chairman of the committee on education of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.
64	Named as a member of the Mills College summer institute discussion on the Soviet Union.
117	Named as a speaker at the Mainstream Cultural Conference in New York City in June, 1947.
x 517	Louis J. Rossell, an F.B.I. and Committee employee, testified that Holland Roberts attended a dinner given for a former Comintern member.

Holland D. Roberts, cont'd

dc 57, 106, 108, 112, 117, 125, 140, 141, 150	Listed as a signer of a public statement of the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact (12/14/49); sponsor of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace (3/25-27/49--N.Y.C.); "affiliated with from five to ten Communist-front organizations"; sponsor of World Congress for Peace (4/20-25/49--Paris); sponsor of American Continental Congress for Peace (9/5-10/49--Mexico City); sponsor of Stockholm Appeal; sponsor of Peace Group; sponsor of Peace Ballot; and sponsor of Mid-Century Conference for Peace (5/29-30/50--Chicago).
ca 2492	Listed as sponsor of the Freedom Crusade of the National Civil Rights Legislative Conference (1/17-19/49).
cb 19, 23, 24, 28, 32, 37, 49, 50, 53-55, 59	Listed as affiliated with 1 to 10 Communist-front organizations, which are listed, and as a participant in earlier "peace" movements and conferences.

Anna S. Rosenberg

a 558

A statement inserted in the record by Steele said that on May 19, 1930, Anna Rosenberg signed a statement in the New York Times denouncing the "red scare."

John Wilson Scott

a 6221 — Harry F. Ward, Chairman of the American League for Peace and Democracy, testified that he did not know John Scott, of the Metal Workers' Industrial Union, who was identified as a delegate to the Amsterdam World Congress Against War.

da 2721 — Richard O'Hair, a Communist, testified that "Ethics of Evolution", by John Scott, was "Communist Party literature."

Blanche B. Shafarman

a 1307 Mikuliak testified that Blanche Shafarman "was active in the old John Reed Club years ago" and that her husband was a member of the Committee to Aid the Spanish Cause.

1509 Morrow testified that Blanche Shafarman "was a member of the John Reed Club" and that she "attends meetings of the Deutsches Haus when the Communist Party has mass meetings there."

Abe Weiner

a 7696-98

An F.T.C. order to require the "A.F. of L. Trade Union Committee for Unemployment Insurance and Relief" to cease and desist from using the name "A.F. of L." was directed to, among others, A. Weiner.

1935 STUDENTS

Isidore Begun

a 206	Begun was elected to the executive board of Teachers' Union. John P. Frey, president of the metal trades department of the A.F.L., testified that not all those elected were necessarily Communists, but the candidate "had to run on the ticket which was prepared by agreement between the two factions of the Communist Party quarreling for control in Teachers Union No. 5 of New York City."
313	Steele put in the record a list of "leading state officials of Communist Party, U.S.A." Begun was listed as New York State educational director.
4281	Earl Browder, secretary of the Communist Party, identified Isadore Begun as a candidate for the National Committee of the Communist Party.
5808	Robert Pitcoff, a Communist, identified Begun as the head of one faction of the Teachers' Union and a Communist Party candidate for various offices in New York.
6867-68	Isidor Begun was listed as member of the grievance committee of the Teachers' Union.
6874	Begun was quoted in a report of the grievance committee as saying "The Union can grow only on struggle or fight."
6897	Dr. Henry R. Linville, executive director of the New York Teachers' Guild, testified that Isidore Begun "was known as a Communist" and was dismissed by the board of education in June, 1933, for "riotous conduct in meetings of the board of education."

Isidore Begun, cont'd

s 11	Isidora Begun was named by Steele as chairman of the Bronx section of the Communist Party.
ca 441	Isidor Begun was named by Alvin Stokes, a Committee investigator, as chairman of the Bronx County Communist Party.

Samuel G. Bloomfield

a 6410 S. G. Bloomfield, an analyst in the District of Columbia Health Service, was named as a member of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Medda Broad

s 49

Named by Steele as an instructor at the Jefferson School of Social Science.

Louis Cohen

hh 126-29

Report states that Cohen, alias Lewis Merrill, is a "disciplined follower of the Communist Party line," and describes his Communist activities, particularly in the C.I.O.-P.A.C., at length.

Emmett E. Dorsey

a 2148 Affidavit of Kelly Miller, dean emeritus of Howard University, stated that a pro-Communist conference on the economic condition of the Negro held at the university on May 18-20, 1935, was addressed by Professor Dorsey.

2149 Memorandum signed by Lawrence A. Oxley of the U. S. Department of Labor stated that the conference was Communist-controlled and that "I heard . . . Mr. Dorsey advocate the overthrow of the American Government, if necessary, to secure the objectives of the program sponsored by the conference." Memorandum also stated that "the critical summaries of the conference were made by Mr. Reginald Johnson, Dr. Ralphe Bunche, Mr. John P. Davis, and Mr. Emmett Dorsey."

Herbert S. Eiges

a 1299 — Mikuliak testified that "Herbert S. Eiges, a social science instructor and alumni counselor at the McKenzie High School, was seen at a meeting here on August 6, 1938, at Times Square, which was sponsored by the American League for Peace and Democracy, held to lift the embargo on Loyalist Spain." "He has been at meetings under the auspices of the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights, away back in 1936."

1509 — Morrow testified that Eiges attended the above meetings and "was seen to shake the hands of many leading Communists" at the Times Square demonstration.

Rose Estrin

a 1508-09

Morrow testified that Rose Estrin, a Detroit School teacher, was a Communist Party member; that she went to Russia in 1934 with Jacob Raimi and Gertrude Mayer; that she was seen with James W. Ford, Communist candidate for Vice-President; and that she attended Camp Liberty, which was sponsored by the Communist Party.

Marjorie Fischer

a 569 — Named as a member of the National Committee of the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy, the latter a branch of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. (Other committee members: Van Wyck Brooks, Edna Ferber, Lewis Gannett, Granville Hicks, George S. Kaufman, Rockwell Kent, Sinclair Lewis, etc.)

V 1680 — Signer of an "Open letter calling for greater unity of the anti-fascist forces and strengthening of the front against agression through closer cooperation with the Soviet Union" signed by "400 leading Americans."

Oakley Johnson

a 1007-08	Edwin P. Banta, a member of the Communist Party, testified that Oakley Johnson was "a colored Communist" and "an extremely radical ex-college professor and stands high with the Communists."
ff 10	Reported as secretary of the American Committee for the Struggle Against War and a "well-known Communist."
dc 57	Signer of public statement of the Committee for Peaceful Alternative to the Atlantic Pact.

Dorothy E. Kaplan

ca 1739	Solomon Adler, economist and former Treasury Department employee, denied that he ever visited the home of Dorothy and Irving Kaplan.

Richard Edwards Lauterbach

s 107 Richard Lauterbach was named by Steele as a sponsor of a Forum of Contemporary Writers in September, 1946. The organization described itself as "themilitant new organization of Marxist and other anti-Fascist authors."

da 654 Jose Ferrer, an actor, testified that Richard Lauterbach signed a letter protesting against censorship.

Ben Levin

a 360 Named as an instructor at the Chicago Workers' School.

Blanche C. Lowenthal

a 462	Named as a member of the resolutions committee at the November, 1937, Pittsburgh convention of the American League for Peace and Democracy. Steele testified that the resolutions adopted "were satisfactory from the Communist Party standpoint."
470	Official report of the convention listed Lowenthal as member of the resolutions committee.

Mrs. Florence H. Luscomb

a 126	Frey submitted a list which included: "Florence Luscomb, Boston, Mass.: Organizer and official for Office and Professional Workers of America. She is a member of the Communist Party, Friends of Soviet Union, and American League for Peace and Freedom. At one time she was connected with the Bookkeepers, Office Workers and Stenographers, which is an A.F.L. federation, and later on transferred to C.I.O. (See p. 318 of Massachusetts State Commission to Investigate Communism.)"
529	Florence Luscomb named as member of Civil Liberties Committee of Massachusetts, an A C L U affiliate. (Other members: Felix Frankfurter, Zachariah Chaffee, J. M. Landis, Arthur M. Schlesinger, etc.)
dc 128, 139	Listed as sponsor of Stockholm Appeal and American Peace Crusade.

Gertrude Mayer
(See also Emma Mayer in 1934 group)

a 1297	Mikuliak testified that Gertrude Mayer, along with her sisters Emma and Jane, attended the Third Annual Congress Against War and Fascism held in Cleveland in January, 1936, and the Lenin memorial service in January, 1938.
1507-08	Morrow testified that Gertrude Mayer attended a meeting of the Friends of the Soviet Union and went to Russia in 1934 with Emma Mayer.
1586	Report of Mikuliak and Maciosele stated that Gertrude Mayer attended the Cleveland conference.

Dr. Emily M. Pierson

a 146	Dr. Pierson called "the great Connecticut agitator and Communist" by a New Britain labor leader who charged that "the C.I.O. is working hand in hand with the Communist Party to betray the American People." Letter containing the above introduced in course of Frey testimony.
470	Named as a member of the resolutions committee of the American League for Peace and Democracy.
3090-92	Letter from Dr. Pierson to Congressman Dies, dated December 29, 1938, enclosing statement sent to Connecticut newspapers. Statement denied Communist Party membership, but endorsed "a fundamental change to Socialism," and stated that "I have developed more enthusiasm for the benefits of a Socialist civilization since seeing the successful results of the great economic experiment going on in the Soviet Union."
V 1679-80	Signer of an "Open Letter calling for greater unity of the anti-fascist forces and strengthening of the front against aggression through closer cooperation with the Soviet Union" signed by "400 leading Americans.
s 66	Steele testified that Emily Pierson was a member of the board of directors of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc.

Solomon P. Rosenthal

a 566 Names by Steele as an officer of the Rand School of Social Science, which "was organized in New York in 1906 ... to instruct leaders in socialism and labor organization."

Margaret Schlauch

a 375	Named by Steele as a signer of an April, 1938, statement which described Stalin's purges as "efforts of the Soviet Union to free itself from insidious internal dangers..."
581	Named by Steele as sponsor of the Federation of Children's Organizations.
3074	Affidavit of Ward stated that a World Congress Against War met in Amsterdam in August, 1932, and that "among the delegates from the United States were Sherwood Anderson, Professor Margaret Schlauch" and others. The American Delegates organized the United States Congress Against War in September, 1933.
6221	Ward testified that he did not know Margaret Schlauch, identified as a delegate to the Amsterdam World Congress Against War.
6233	Listed as a member of the national committee of the American Committee for Struggle Against War.
I 809	Daily Worker of April 28, 1938, lists Margaret Schlauch as signer of a statement extenuating the purge trials in Russia as an attempt by "the Soviet Union to free itself from insidious internal dangers."
V 1680	Signer of an "Open Letter calling for greater unity of the anti-fascist forces and strengthening of the front against agression through closer cooperation with the Soviet Union" signed by "400 leading Americans".
s 39	Named as an editor of Science and Society

Margaret Schlauch, contd.

s 47	Named as a trustee of the Jefferson School of Social Science.
83	Sponsor of the Conference on Women of U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. held November 18, 1944, under auspices of Committee of Women of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.
hh 154	Listed among "well-known Communists and fellow travelers."
dc 57, 106, 107, 112	Listed as signer of public statement of the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact; sponsor of Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace; "affiliated with from 41 to 50 Communist-front organizations"; and sponsor of the World Congress for Peace.
ca 2492	Listed as sponsor of the Freedom Crusade of the National Civil Rights Legislative Conference.
2654	Marcel Scherer, a union official, declined to say whether Margaret Schlauch was a member of the board of trustees of the Jefferson School of Social Science.
cb 6-9, 18, 21-23, 25, 27-29, 32, 34, 35, 38, 41, 42, 44, 45, 47, 48, 50-52, 54, 56, 57, 59.	Listed as a delegate to earlier "peace" conferences; "cited as subversive by the Attorney General"; and a member of from 41 to 50 Communist-front organizations, which are listed.

Helen Segall

a 589 Helen Segal named by Steele as secretary of the Richmond Hill branch of the Young Communist League.

Harvey Seifert

dk 79, 85

Listed as chairman of the Labor Subcommittee of the Methodist Federation for Social Service and nominee on the 1945 and 1947 ballots for membership in the national committee.

Ruth (Mrs. Henry) Siegel

bb 33 Listed as educational director, joint board, Essex, N. J., branch of the International Fur and Leather Workers Union and signer of a statement of 550 C.I.O. and A.F.L. union officials which assailed the "red-hunt" in labor unions. Statement issued by Civil Rights Congress.

Ross Thalheimer

a 7729

Named by Mrs. Walter O. Selby, whose son fought in Spain, as a member of the executive committee of the Maryland branch of the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

Samuel J. Wegman

be 166-67	Reported to have received $1,875 from one Adams with instructions to forward $75 per week to Adams; Adams later identified as "actively engaged in espionage activities for the Soviet Government.
184	A further account of the same transaction.
dg 33	A further account of the same transaction.

Lucy W. Wilson

a 568

Named by Steele as a member of the Philadelphia committee of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy. (Other members: Mrs. Francis Biddle, Mrs. David Dubinsky, etc.)

KEY TO SYMBOLS

Symbol	Publication	Date	Pagination
	Special Committee on Un-American Activities (Dies Committee Hearings)		
a	Vol. 1	Aug.12,13,15,16, 17,18,19,20,22, 23, 1938.	1-979
a	Vol. 2	Sept.15,16,17, 1938; Sept. 28, 29,30; Oct.4,5, 6,11,12,13,17, 18,19,20,21,22, 1938.	981-1714
a	Vol. 3	Oct.24,25,26,27; Nov.4,5,6,14,15, 16,17,19,21,1938.	1715-2426
a	Vol. 4	Nov.19,22,23,28; Dec. 1,5,6,7,8, 9,14, 1938.	2427-3178
a	Vol. 7	Sept.5,6,7,8,9, 11,12,13,1939.	4275-4939
a	Vol. 9	Sept. 28,29,30; Oct. 5,6,7,9, 11,13,14,1939.	5259-5823
a	Vol. 10	Oct.16,17,18,19, 20,21,23,24,25, 28, 1939.	5825-6456
a	Vol. 11	Oct.28,30,31; Nov. 1,2,3,27, 29,30; Dec. 1, 2,3, 1939.	6457-7199
a	Vol. 13	Apr.11,12,19,23, 24,25; May 6,8, 9,21,1940.	7673-8161

Symbol	Publication	Date	Pagination
	Special Committee on Un-American Activities--continued		
a	Vol. 15	June 8,9,10,11, 12,15,16,17, 18; July 1,2, 3,6,7,1943.	8833-9755
II	Appendix II. A Preliminary Digest and Report on the Un-American Activities of Various Nazi Organizations and Individuals in the United States, Including Diplomatic and Consular Agents of the German Government.	1940	969-1382
V	Appendix V. Transport Workers Union.	1941	1621-1721
n	Hearings on H. R. 1884 and H. R. 2122, bills to curb or outlaw the Communist Party of the United States.	Mar.24,25,26, 27,28,1947.	1-340
s	Testimony of Walter S. Steele	July 21,1947.	1-176
v	Hearings regarding communism in labor unions in the United States.	Feb. 27; July 23,24,25,1947.	1-231
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Dear Ed:

I know of your close friendship for Lawrence Duggan and your professional and personal interest in everyone who has worked in and around the Iron Curtain. I am therefor writing this note for Dr. Elsie Field, the sister of Noel and Hermann Field who, as you probably know, mysterious by disappeared behind the curtain more than a year ago. Dr. Field is a good friend of Joe Harsch and I believe that you, or perhaps Jess Zousmer or Johnny Aaron, would find it very well worth while to hear her story. You are widely heard and respected in these parts - and not merely because of the alternative sources of information and inspiration, either.

As ever,

Quincy

December 8, 1950

Dr. Lewis H. Reed
208 West High St.
Urbana
Illinois

Paid

State of the Nation

AUG 7 1950

East of the Iron Curtain

By JOSEPH C. HARSCH, Chief, Washington News Bureau, The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

It soon will be a year since three members of an American family, all traveling on valid and duly visaed passports, disappeared one by one "behind the Iron Curtain" without a trace.

The first to go was Noel Field, former official of the State Department, later director of the Unitarian Service Committee's medical and relief organization in Europe during the war. He disappeared in Prague on or about May 12, 1949.

Next to disappear was his brother Herman, a Cleveland architect, who had gone to Poland to study reconstruction architecture in Warsaw and was escorted by friends to the airport in Warsaw on Aug. 22. He was not aboard the plane when it reached Prague, and there had been no intermediate stops of the plane.

Noel's wife, Herta, was waiting for Herman's plane at the Prague airport on Aug. 22. She reported Herman's nonarrival to his wife, who was waiting for him in London. Then she, too, disappeared. The last known trace of her is a letter to a friend in Switzerland dated Aug. 26.

* * *

Since the disappearances the State Department has written a number of notes to the governments of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary asking information about these three persons. The Poles have replied invariably that they are "investigating." Their investigations have brought no information to our government or to relatives of the three vanished Americans. The Hungarians claim that none of the three ever entered their country. The Czechs claim that Noel and Herta both left Czechoslovakia of their own volition, but are unable to say when or where they crossed the frontier.

The case is complicated in several ways. Noel Field was an intimate personal friend of Lawrence Duggan and also a fairly close acquaintance of Alger Hiss in the middle '30's when all three were employed in the State Department. The House Un-American Activities Committee has claimed to have evidence that Noel Field was once a Communist Party member.

* * *

During the war Noel Field was instrumental in rescuing many persons from the German Gestapo. In that activity he developed contacts with the underground movement in both France and Germany. He was used by the American Office of Strategic Services as a channel for transmitting funds, leaflets, and instructions to the resistance and underground movements.

Herman Field also had extensive contacts with political refugees from eastern Europe. He had aided Czech refugees to escape after Munich to Poland, and later from Poland to the West.

The supposition is that Noel Field was seized by the secret police in Prague because he had personal contacts with a number of the Titoist variety of Communists, who at that time were beginning to be picked up throughout the satellite area in connection with the great 1949 purge of "deviationists." Since Noel Field was known to have been used by the OSS during the war, the Iron Curtain police may have suspected that he was a secret American intelligence agent attempting to establish contact with the anti-Stalinist underground. They may have seized the other two just to cover their tracks.

There are several reasons for a real effort to rescue these three Americans. One is that Noel Field probably could throw more light on the Duggan-Hiss cases than any other living person. Another is that failure to take strong measures probably will convince the Cominform secret police that the three probably were secret American agents and that, therefore, our government considers them expendable. Another reason is that, whatever their past, they carried valid American passports.

If three American citizens bearing American passports can disappear without trace east of the Curtain, then there is no security for any American in that part of the world.

If that is the case, the State Department should refuse passports for Americans to travel to those countries.

Either the mystery should be cleared up or Poland and Czechoslovakia should be declared unsafe. Hungary already has been declared unsafe over the Vogeler case. But at least we know where Mr. Vogeler is. The Hungarians have been penalized for the fraudulent and lawless arrest of one American. The Poles and Czechs have gone unpunished for a year for the total disappearance within their borders of three Americans.

draft Nov. 26

North American Newspaper Alliance

A refutation of the October 30rd. story that Noel Field passed over to the Communists and that he and his family are the honored guests of the Soviet Government.

There are two sets of facts which contradict this article:
1) the circumstances of the disappearances of the Fields
2) the repeated denunciations of Noel Field in Cominform countries.

The following outline of the circumstances of each disappearance shows that in each case the disappearance was not voluntary.

NOEL FIELD

Noel Field disappeared on May 12, 1950 in Prague. He did not get in touch with the friend with whom he had an appointment that day. He did not get in touch with his wife Herta, who was waiting to hear from him in Geneva, and whom he had agreed to notify if he should leave Prague. He left all his belongings, including his travelers checks in his room. We therefore conclude that Noel was not a free man after he left his Prague hotel that day, that he was abducted or arrested on Czech territory.

HERMANN FIELD

Hermann Field was to take the Warsaw-Prague plane on August 22,1949. He was seen to the airport by his hosts in Warsaw and although he speaks no Polish did not return to their home. He had arranged with Herta Field, his sister-in-law, to meet his plane in Prague. She met the plane but she reported to his wife in London that he did not appear. Hermann did not notify Herta of any change in plans, nor did he cancel his passage to Prague. He did not notify his wife of any change of plans either, nor cancel his airplane passage from Prague to London. There is ample evidence that Hermann Field was detained against his will on August 22, 1949 after going to Warsaw airport to take the Czech Airlines plane to Prague.

HERTA FIELD

Herta Field went to the Prague Airport on August 22, 1949 to meet Hermann Field flying in from Warsaw. She wrote and cabled Hermann's wife in London that Hermann did not appear among the passengers and that she would write London as soon as she had any news of him. Her last letter was dated August 26, Prague, and gave the address and telephone number of her hotel. We conclude that Herta did not intend to leave Prague at that time, and that she was not free after about August 26, 1949. If she left Prague, it was not of her own free will.

MRS. ERICA WALLACH

Mrs. Erica Wallach went to Berlin August 26, 1950 to obtain news of Noel Field. The man she went to see had been purged two days earlier at a secret meeting of the East German Socialist Unity Party, at which she also was denounced. She was arrested or kidnapped August 26 after clearing customs at Tempelhof Airport.

The record of public denunciation of Noel Field in Eastern Europe is also incompatible with the NANA story that he is being feted in the Soviet Union.

In September 1949 he was denounced as an American spy at the Rajk trial in Hungary. Several prominent Hungarians were executed for their alleged collaboration with Noel, the supposed "super agent of OSS". Several East Germans have been purged (~~last September~~ Aug. 24. 1950) on the same grounds, and will presumably come to trial soon.

The NANA story is thus absurd. It comes from Soviet sources, and is apparently simply a propaganda maneuver, designed to confuse the search for the Fields.

Noel Field was engaged in refugee work during the war. Besides this purely humanitarian work he also played a positive role in the struggle against the Nazis by putting our Office of Strategic Services in contact with underground leaders he had met in the course of his refugee work. Some of these refugees were from Eastern Europe and became prominent politically in their native countries after the war. Unfortunately for them there is now a campaign in Eastern Europe to purge politicians who have had contacts with the West. To further this campaign, Noel is denounced as an American spy, so that those men who knew him can be denounced as agents of the West. The fact is that Noel was a humanitarian and not a spy for anyone.

The Fields have been held against their will, incomunicado, for over a year. The countries where they were arrested or kidnapped are responsible for their fate, even if they have been transferred elsewhere. The United States Department of State has not used strong measures against the guilty countries and thus has discredited the value of the American passport throughout Eastern Europe.

Please return

October 9, 1950

The Honorable James E. Webb
Undersecretary of State
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Sir:

We are most grateful to you and to your colleagues, Mr. Perkins and Mr. Reinhart, for your courtesy in giving us an interview last Thursday, October 5th, in order to discuss with you the disappearance during the summer of 1949 of Mr. Hermann Field. We are indebted for the generous amount of time which you made available and for the frankness which you displayed to the great problems of the world crisis and international relations.

Because of our deep concern for Mr. Field and because of your evident interest and sympathy for him, we are transmitting herewith the attached document to summarize our knowledge of the matter and our earnest hope that steps will be discovered which will expedite the determination of Mr. Field's whereabouts and his eventual release.

This document sets forth Mr. Field's contributions to the fields of architecture and education and other background data on his life, the high esteem with which he is held by his colleagues, and the circumstances of his arrest. It has now been nearly fourteen months since Mr. Field's arrest. We are convinced that he is deserving of the wholehearted support of the Government and urge that no feasible step toward securing his release be left unexplored.

Respectfully yours

John S. Millis, President
Western Reserve University

George F. Zook, President
American Council on Education

Edmund R. Purves, Executive
Director American Institute
Of Architects

STATEMENT ON HERMANN H. FIELD October 10, 1950

The disappearance of Hermann Field while traveling in Europe in the summer of 1949 has left a widely felt gap in the ranks of outstanding contributors to contemporary architecture in America. His unique ability to coordinate architectural planning with the advances in higher and adult education make his immediate recovery imperative.

When he left the United States for Europe in July, 1949, he was on the staff of Cleveland College of Western Reserve University. This college is the downtown Center of the University and has a long history of pioneer work in adult education. After the war it became evident that in order to meet the demands upon the University, it was necessary to build a new downtown center building. Inquiry revealed that many other urban universities were confronted with the same problem, and that nowhere did there exist satisfactory precedent for the planning and construction of a multiple story downtown building devoted primarily to continuing education. After a national conference on Urban University planning held in Cleveland in May 1947 under the sponsorship of Western Reserve University and American Council on Education, the University undertook a broadscale planning of its downtown center, with the joimt purposes of solving its own problem and also of providing a pilot project which might serve as an aid and a model useful to other universities.

Mr. Field came to Cleveland in November 1947 to direct this study. By the time of his disappearance he had collected an immense amount of data on the subject through research and through a series of conferences attended by prominent educators and architects which he organized under the sponsorship of the University and the American Council on Education. His next task, in addition to carrying the specific Cleveland College plans through to completion, was to have been the assembling of this data in a form to be published and made available to other urban universities to acquaint them with his findings in the field of plant planning. This study is of national significance to higher education, but much of its value will not be realized unless Mr. Field returns in time to translate it into usable form.

Before he came to Cleveland, Mr. Field had a long record of outstanding service in the architectural profession. He was graduated cum laude from Harvard College in 1932 and then went on the the Harvard Graduate School of Design. In 1934 he received an International Student Exchange Fellowship for architectural study at the Federal Polytechnic Institute in Zurich, Switzerland. This fellowship was renewed in 1935 and in 1936 he received the degree Diplom Architect E. T. H. from the Federal Polytechnic Institute. From then until 1939 he continued intermittent travel study of housing, city planning, building design and construction methods all over Europe.

During the same period, 1936-39, he was the resident architect at Welwyn Garden City in England for the Roch Products building group, a chemical plant, which he had designed with Professor O. R. Salvisberg of the Federal Polytechnic Institute in Zurich. From his return to the United States in 1940 until his coming to Cleveland, his time was spent with the architectural firm of Raymond and Rado in New York, except for a few months in 1942 and in 1946. During this time he was site designer and planner for successive

army camp projects for the Corps of Engineers in the U. S. War Department (among them Camp Upton, Camp Kilmer, Camp Shanks, and the Fort Dix Air Training Center); director of research for the post-war air traffic study for the City of New York; project manager for the replanning project of the George School in Pennsylvania. From 1945 to 1947 he had been Director of Research and Planning for the firm of Raymond and Rado.

Mr. Field has always been active in professional organizations. He has been a member of the American Institute of Architects since 1943 (New York Chapter 1943 Cleveland Chapter 1948 -), of the American Society of Planners and Architects since 1945, of the American Institute of Planners since 1948. He has served on, and been chairman of, many committees of the New York and Cleveland Chapters of the A. I. A. In 1943 and 1944 he was on the editorial board of TASK magazine.

From 1944 to 1947 he acted as executive secretary of the architects' committee for American-Russian interchange of professional information. In 1945 he organized the American-Soviet Building Conference, held in New York, and was coordinator for the O. W. I. Moscow exhibit on American Building. These activities speak for his vital interest in promoting peace and international understanding.

Contributions to professional magazines have also been one of his activities in the field. In January 1947 he had two articles in PENCIL POINTS (PROGRESSIVE ARCHITECTURE) - "Non-Load Bearing Structural Elements" and "Insulation Materials". "The Architect and the Community" was published in August 1947 in THE SCHOOL EXECUTIVE. During his work on the Cleveland College project, the following articles of his have been published: in the AMERICAN SCHOOL AND UNIVERSITY yearbook - "Integrated University Plant Planning" (1948-49 edition), "A Graphic Method of University Space Analysis" (1949-50 edition), and in THE AMERICAN CITY, September 1949, "Coordinating a College Building Program with a City's Civic Center".

Another facet of Mr. Field's personality is the result of his family background. Mr. Field, a United States citizen, was born and brought up in Switzerland by his English mother and American father (a Quaker biologist who had done relief work for the Hoover Commission after World War I) until his father's death in 1922 when the family moved to the United States.

It was undoubtedly this background, plus his own intimate knowledge of Europe gained through travel study, that led Hermann Field to volunteer for work with the British Committee for Refugees from Czechoslovakia when Hitler occupied Czechoslovakia in the spring of 1939. This organization was supported initially by voluntary subscription of the British public, but was later renamed the Czech Refugee Trust Fund and brought under the financial control of the British government. However, Mr. Field was never employed by the British Government. Mr. Field was employed by the Committee as head of the sub-office in Krakow, Poland which dealt with hundreds of refugees from Czechoslovakia who had escaped across the frontier into Poland. Czech refugees were granted temporary asylum in England by the British government, regardless of race or political beliefs. When Poland was invaded, Mr. Field tried to move the remaining refugees out of the firing line, but the German advance was too rapid. He narrowly es-

caped with his life and returned to England where he continued work for the Czech Refugee Trust Fund, examining refugees as to reliability in wartime for the "Friendly" Aliens Tribunals of the British Home Office.

Because of the importance to him of his architectural contacts in Europe, Mr. Field was anxious to renew them when World War II was over. To this end he organized in the summer of 1947 a tour for architects under the auspices of World Study-tours of Columbia University for the purpose of studying the progress of reconstruction in various European countries, including England, France, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. He intended to conduct a similar tour in 1948, but the work at Cleveland College was then in a critical stage so he postponed the tour until 1949. In 1949, however, there were insufficient applicants to make an official World Study-tours group; Mr. Field then decided to go alone in order to keep alive his professional contacts on the continent. Further impetus was added to this decision by his appointment as an American delegate to the International Congress for Modern Architecture which was to meet in July in Bergamo, Italy, and his wife's plans to visit her parents in England.

He left Cleveland July 14 as scheduled and went first to London to see his wife and children who had gone ahead. He then left for the conference at Bergamo, stopping first in Geneva to visit his sister-in-law, Herta Field. From her it is presumed that he learned for the first time that her husband, his brother Noel, had been missing since May when he had gone to Prague. Since he was accustomed to traveling freely in Europe and hence felt he was in no personal danger, Mr. Field went on to Bergamo and continued his trip as planned stopping in Prague and then in Warsaw.

It was in Warsaw on August 22 that he was last seen. Prominent Polish architects with whom he had been staying there drove him to the airport and left him at the customs. He has not been seen again. He planned to take a non-stop plane from Warsaw to Prague, where Herta Field was waiting to meet him at the airport. When he did not show up, Herta cabled and wrote Hermann's wife, Kate Field, still in England, to that effect. Mrs. Kate Field immediately took the case to the American Embassy in London and investigation was begun. At the same time, Herta Field disappeared from Prague.

Why did Hermann Field disappear? It is certain that it was not voluntary, since his tremendous enthusiasm for his work in Cleveland and his many plans for his future there make this inconceivable. The only other conclusion possible is that he was arrested or kidnapped in Prague or Warsaw on August 22. (The post cards from Mr. Field, mailed from Warsaw to acquaintances in the United States, and his two $10 traveler's checks cashed there on August 27 can only be regarded as blinds to confuse the search for him. They may be either forgeries or actions forced upon him while under arrest.)

Subsequent news provides the reason for such an arrest. In Prague on February 25, 1950 Vilem Novy, former editor of Rude Pravo, was denounced officially as a traitor on the basis of his collaboration with an agent of a western power with whom he had escaped in 1939. This "agent" fits the description of Hermann Field. But to the best of our knowledge Mr. Field has never been employed as an agent for any country. In the course of his work with the British Committee for Refugees from Czechoslovakia, previously described, Hermann Field rescued many

refugees without regard to political affiliation, since England then gave asylum to all. Many of these refugees were "London Czechs", who returned after the war to take prominent positions in Czech politics. Novy was one of these, having fled with Hermann Field before the German army advancing across Poland. They then traveled together from Rumania to London. Novy was not an intimate friend of Hermann Field, their only association having been through Field's refugee work, and it was on this basis that Hermann visited him while in Czechoslovakia in 1947 and planned to do so again in 1949.

From this it seems evident that Hermann Field is being used as a convenient nail on which to hang the guilt of people in Iron Curtain countries whom it is now expeditious to purge as western collaborators.

U. S. State Department action to date in trying to trace and recover Hermann Field has been to no avail. Although there is no absolutely conclusive evidence on the point, it seems highly probable that he was arrested in Prague, at the end of the plane journey, rather than in Warsaw before he boarded the plane, since the denunciation of Novy provides a motive for his arrest by Czechoslovakia. Until such evidence is definite, however, the United States can hold both Poland and Czechoslovakia responsible.

On January 6, 1950, the Czech government sent its final official reply to U. S. diplomatic notes asking for information on Hermann Field, saying that he had left Czechoslovakia on August 15. This note was confirmed in May, but no answer to the specific question of whether he was arrested at the Prague airport on August 22 has been given.

The Polish government's last official reply is simply that they are still investigating the matter, although in September 1949 a Polish Foreign Office official had said informally that Hermann Field was not then in Poland.

It should be stressed that the case of Hermann Field is independent of other members of his family who have also been arrested. Because he has been used to denounce Novy, it is certain that he would have been arrested whether his brother Noel had been or not. Hence his case may be pursued as a separate item.

The first step is to establish definitely in what country he was arrested so that that nation may be held responsible for his welfare -- as it now stands, Poland and Czechoslovakia have succeeded in shifting the blame each to the other. When this has been established, the United States may properly inquire on what grounds he is being held and demand that he be released or brought to public trial.

1. A further firm request to the Polish Government that a prompt report be furnished as to the knowledge of that Government concerning Mr. Field's whereabouts and the evidence connected with his disappearance at Warsaw on August 22, 1949. It would seem reasonable that a sufficient time has now elapsed for the Polish Government to have completed its investigation and furnish a reply to the inquiry of the United States Government.

2. That the possibility of using the machinery of the United Nations for pursuing Field's case be fully investigated and if any feasible way presents itself that it be followed up with all promptness.

3. That consideration be given to action on the part of the United States Government in banning travel of its citizens in Poland and Czechoslovakia, or, if that should be deemed unwise, that wide publicity be given the fact that the United States Government discourages travel by its nationals in those two countries.

CLEVELAND PLAIN DEALER, FRIDAY, MARCH 17, 1950

Field No Spy, Wife Says, Asks Aid to Stop 'Mistake'

"I want my fellow Americans to know that Hermann is worthy of their fullest support, a loyal American who has never spied for anybody, whose only fault is his belief in mankind," Mrs. Kate Field, whose husband has been missing behind the Iron Curtain, wrote to the Plain Dealer yesterday.

Field is an architect who had been working for Cleveland College, Western Reserve University, before his disappearance.

In her letter, dated March 12, from 82 Corringham Road, London N. W. 11, Mrs. Field wrote:

"I want to thank you for the interest you have shown in the case of my husband, Hermann Field, and beg space to say the following words to our fellow Americans.

"When Hermann failed to arrive in London last August, I told the American Embassy right away. I have been trying to get him traced ever since. But although we knew the actual plane he planned to take and his name was on the signed manifest, the State Department has not found him.

On Way Home

He was flying from Warsaw to Prague on his way home, and I know he wasn't free after going to catch the plane on Aug. 22 because he did not get in touch with Herta Field (who went to meet it) or with me.

"At first I did not make a press statement because I was told it was not necessary. My first statement, in December, was not published anywhere and hardly quoted at all. The same has happened to later statements by me.

"It now looks as if the Czechoslovak government is being persuaded that Hermann was spying. I want everyone to know that he has never been connected in any way whatsoever with the intelligence service of any country. If the Czechoslovak government makes this ghastly mistake Hermann will not be the only victim, but many innocent Czechs too.

"Hermann is a warm-hearted fellow. That is why he volunteered to save refugees fleeing from Hitler in 1939. That there were Communists among them was because the policy of the refugee committee for which we worked (I, too) was to let all types of refugee have British asylum.

"It is not Hermann's fault that the international situation has changed; he is a victim of that change.

"Hermann is an architect, not a politician. Since he led a Columbia University tour of architects in 1947, which included Czechoslovakia, it was not unnatural for him to think he could go again. He was reluctant to believe that the world was so far divided into two camps that even cultural interchange was no longer possible. He went there after he knew his brother was missing, being shown around, taking photographs and asking questions, some of the time with his brother's wife, Herta.

"Doesn't this show that he did not think Czechoslovakia had any cause to arrest his brother, nor had caused his disappearance? Clever spies don't behave like this, only blessed innocents.

"I still hope to stop this horrible, tragic mistake. I want my fellow Americans to know that Hermann is worthy of their fullest support, a loyal American who has never spied for anybody, whose only fault is his belief in mankind."

Field, director of building plans at Cleveland College, left his British-born wife in London with his two sons and went to the continent in July, 1949.

Last Seen in Warsaw

He as last seen boarding the plane at Warsaw. He was to have been met in Prague by Herta Field, wife of Noel, who is Hermann's brother. Noel and Herta are now missing. 1

Repeated inquiries by the American State Department about Hermann's whereabouts have been met with denials from the Czech and Polish governments. 2

In 1938-39 Field and his wife worked with the British Committee for Refugees from Czechoslovakia. Thousands secaped Nazi persecution and were given haven in England through efforts of the committee, supported by voluntary contributions. 3

Among those who escaped Hitler through work by the Fields was Vilem Novy. Novy was editor of Rude Pravo, Communist daily in Prague. He is now awaiting trial in Prague as a western collaborator.

1. He was not actually seen to board the plane. His friends left him at the customs.

2. The State Department has not made public the texts of the replies by these governments.

3. 1939 - 1940.

July 1950

REPORT ON THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE FIELDS

Three American citizens disappeared in Eastern Europe last summer:

NOEL FIELD (May, 1949)----one week after his arrival in Prague, where he planned to gather material for a book on Eastern Europe.
HERMANN FIELD (August, 1949), Noel's brother----three weeks after he came as tourist to Czechoslovakia and Poland.
HERTA FIELD (August, 1949), Noel's wife----three weeks after she arrived in Prague presumably to make on the spot inquiries about Noel.

The three Fields are presumably being held in custody but have not yet been traced.

Background of the individuals involved

For an understanding of the following it should be realized that the Fields have Quaker antecedents, and relief work comes naturally to them. The father of Noel and Hermann was a biologist, yet he did relief work with the Hoover Commission at the end of World War 1.

Noel Field, after graduation from Harvard was employed in the State Department from 1926 to 1936, then in the League of Nations Secretariat. During World War II and thereafter until 1947 he served as European Director of the Unitarian Service Committee's medical and relief organization in Europe. He and his wife, who was co-director, saved thousands of refugees from Germany and German occupied countries. He gave some help to O.S.S. (Office of Strategic Services) in its wartime effort to overthrow Hitler's puppet regimes in the occupied countries. This was his only connection with O.S.S. and ended with the end of the war in Europe. After the war he organized for the Unitarian Service Committee a modern medical center in upper Silesia, Poland, and set up a number of children's homes in Poland and Czechoslovakia.

At the end of 1947 he was released from the Unitarian Service Committee, in part because of a need for retrenchment, and in part because of political differences with the Committee. He decided to use his intimate knowledge of Poland and Czechoslovakia, acquired during his work for the Unitarian Service Committee, to write a book on these countries. For that purpose he remained in Europe, residing in Switzerland, and spent part of 1948 in Poland and Czechoslovakia working up material for his book. This period of study was made possible by a legacy from his mother who died in 1947. In May 1949 he returned to Prague to continue his studies and to get his Ph.D. at Charles University, with the expectation of going into the teaching profession as an expert on Eastern Europe.

In the United States he has been recently named as a subversive agent and a Russian spy. Only Noel himself can challenge these rumors successfully, and his family is confident that he will do so if his freedom is secured.

Hermann Field, is an architect, Director of Building Plans for Cleveland College, Cleveland, Ohio, (a division of Western Reserve University). After graduating from Harvard Architectural School and taking post-graduate study in Switzerland, he supervised the construction of a chemical plant in England. This was completed in 1939. When Hitler occupied Czechoslovakia in the spring of 1939, Hermann volunteered to work for the British Committee for Refugees from Czechoslovakia, an organization supported initially by voluntary subscription of the British public, later renamed the Czech Refugee Trust Fund and brought under the ~~general~~ financial control of the British Government.* Hermann was employed by the Committee as head of the sub-office in Krakow, Poland, which dealt with hundreds of refugees from

* Hermann was never employed by the British Government

Czechoslovakia who had escaped across the frontier into Poland. Czech refugees were granted temporary asylum in England by the British Government, regardless of race or political beliefs. When Poland was invaded, he tried to move the remaining refugees out of the firing line, but the German advance was too rapid. He narrowly escaped with his life, and returned to England. In the summer of 1940 he finished his work for the Committee, returned to the U.S., and resumed his practice as an architect.

In the summer of 1947 Hermann led a European tour of architects, sponsored by World Studytours of Columbia University. Various countries were visited, including England, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, and the problems of reconstruction of devastated areas were studied at first hand. A similar tour was planned for 1949 and had been approved by the Czech Government, but was cancelled because there were not enough applicants. Since Hermann had already made his travel arrangements, and his British born wife and two children had arranged to visit her parents in London, he decided to tour the continent anyway. He attended an architectural conference in Italy (Congrès Internationale des Architectures Modernes) which had delegates also from Poland and Czechoslovakia, and he went on to those countries, being shown around freely and staying with friends.

Herta Field is a (German born) childhood friend of Noel, whom he married in 1925. (The Fields were brought up in Switzerland by their American father and English mother until they moved to the United States at their father's death in 1922).

The Disappearances

On May 5, 1949, Noel went to Prague from Switzerland. There is no information on his whereabouts after May 12, when he did not keep an afternoon appointment. We do not believe he left his hotel voluntarily, because:

1) his room showed no signs of an intended departure;
2) he did not get in touch with his wife in Geneva, who was to join him in a few weeks. He had told his wife he would inform her if he intended to leave Prague, and according to Herta's report to Swiss friends, he did not do so;
3) he did not get in touch with the friend with whom he had the appointment.

Reports of later telegrams from Bratislava and Vienna to Noel's hotel, purporting to be from Noel, must be viewed with suspicion.

In the middle of May Hungary started a series of arrests in preparation for the Rajk trial, which began September 16, 1949. At this trial Rajk and other officials were convicted of treason against the Hungarian Government. It was alleged that they were acting under the leadership of Yugoslav, American, and British agents. Noel was referred to as being "the chief helpmate and closest collaborator of Allan Dulles [war time head of O.S.S. in Switzerland] in his work of organizing spies from among the political emigrés".

In July, 1949, on his way to an architectural conference in Bergamo, Italy, Hermann stopped off in Geneva, where he learned of Noel's disappearance from Herta. We do not know what she told him. He continued his trip, arriving in Prague August 1, flew on to Warsaw August 15, and planned to return to Prague on August 22, en route to London and the U.S.A. Friends accompanied him to the Warsaw airport, and Herta met the plane (which made no intermediate stops) in Prague, but he did not appear with the other passengers. There has been no information as to his whereabouts since. It is obvious that he did not disappear voluntarily because:

1) he did not get in touch with Herta, who was expecting him in

Prague August 22;

2) nor with his wife, who was expecting him in London August 25.

Hermann's confidence that he was running no personal risks in going to Czechoslovakia is testimony to his innocence, and, similarly, it demonstrates his belief in his brother's innocence. Hermann knew that Noel's intentions were so manifestly harmless, that it was inconceivable to him that Noel could be suspected as a Western agent.

On February 25, 1950, L. Kopriva, of the Central Committee of the Czech Communist Party, denounced Vilem Novy, editor of the Prague Communist newspaper, Rude Pravo, and holder of other official positions, as a man who had betrayed state secrets to an agent of a Western espionage service. Novy has not yet been brought to trial. Although the "Western agent" was not named, enough details of his having helped Novy when the latter was a refugee in Krakow in 1939, and of visiting Czechoslovakia twice since the war, were given to make it certain Hermann was the man referred to. Mr. Kopriva's attack on Novy appears to be based on the false assumption that Hermann was an agent of a Western intelligence service.

Herta left Switzerland August 3 and joined Hermann in Prague, presumably to try to find out what had happened to Noel. She dropped from sight in Prague on August 26 or 27. We know she did not disappear voluntarily because:

1) she was waiting for Hermann. She reported Hermann's non-arrival to his wife in London, and in her last letter to London gave her hotel address and telephone number;
2) she also gave her address and telephone number in a letter dated August 26, to a Swiss friend. This is Herta's last known letter.

When Noel disappeared in May, Herta stayed on in Geneva waiting for news from him. She appeared frantically worried to her friends in Switzerland, but neither discussed the situation nor sought official help. We do not know what information she was given when inquiring at the Czech Legation in Bern, or whether she was misled by the telegrams allegedly sent by Noel to his Prague hotel. It may have been suggested to her that she would endanger her husband should she seek help of any kind. When she finally decided to go to Prague, she was given her Czech visa with unusual promptness.

Inquiries

As soon as her husband failed to arrive in London, Mrs. Hermann Field informed the American Embassy that he was missing. The State Department started to investigate, asked Poland for information, and subsequently Czechoslovakia.

While at first some Polish officials indicated that Hermann had left for Prague as planned, its only answer now is that they are "investigating".

The Czech Foreign Office claims there is no record of Hermann's return after he left the country August 15. This reply was not given till January 6, 1950.

The Czech Foreign Office claims that Noel must have left Prague before his 10 day permit expired in mid May. As regards Herta; the Czech Government says that she left the country via Bratislava September 6, but does not know for which country.

Hungary and Austria deny officially that any of the Fields have been in or through those countries since May 1, 1949.

Personal Efforts

Mrs. Hermann Field has appealed to the Czech and Polish governments for assistance in the name of justice. Personal appeals have been made to their Embassies in

London and Washington. These appeals have brought no results. The case has been brought to some members of Congress. The American Institute of Architects decided recently to send no delegates "to Poland or anywhere within that area" until something was heard concerning Hermann. The Union Internationale des Architectes was notified of this decision.

Conclusion

As sovereign states, Poland and Czechoslovakia are responsible for arrests taking place in their capital cities. If Poland is responsible for Hermann's arrest, it must produce him, either for release or trial. If Poland is not responsible, it must furnish the information which will enable the State Department to pin the responsibility on Czechoslovakia, (since he was detained either at Warsaw airport or Prague airport). Since it is certain that Noel and Herta did not leave Prague voluntarily, the Czech Government must carry the responsibility for their disappearance.

Unless there are ways of protecting American citizens in countries where it is perfectly legal for Americans to travel, such travel should be prohibited.

But no country has been willing to admit responsibility for the Fields, who were American citizens, traveling legally on duly visa'd American passports. If there had been any basis for a case against them, they surely would have been put on trial many months ago. However, even though innocent of any activity against the country holding them, they may be held secretly indefinitely, being used, as in the past, to incriminate nationals who once had the misfortune to be saved by them from the Nazis.

Field, E. H., Dr.

July 10, 1951

Dear Dr. Field:

I regret to report to you the obvious, that I have been unable to acquire no information regarding your two brothers, nor have I had any communication with Mr. Guy Martin of Washington.

If there should occur to you any method or manner in which I could acquire information about your brothers, you need but command me.

Sincerely yours,

Dr. E. H. Field
208 West High Street
Urbana, Illinois

ELSIE H. FIELD, M. D. 208 WEST HIGH STREET URBANA, ILLINOIS

March 4, 1951

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

Dear Mr. Murrow:

When I spoke to you on the telephone a few weeks ago about about my brothers, Noel and Hermann Field, arrested in Eastern Europe in the summer of 1949, you said you would like the name of the lawyer I was planning to retain in Washington, so that should you have any information on the situation, you could contact him.

He is Mr. Guy Martin, 910 Ring Building, 1200 18th. Street, Washington, D.C.

He indicated that he would very much appreciate being in touch with you provided he was given no publicity.

Thank you for your interest and any help you may be able to give. It means a great deal to me.

Sincerely yours,

Elsie H. Field

1. Farewell Statement.

Friday, September 22, 1950

2. Statehood for Hawaii and Alaska.

Thursday, September 21, 1950

3. An American National and International Program.

Saturday, September 23, 1950

Statements of

Hon. Frank P. Graham

of North Carolina

in the

Senate of the United States

Not printed at Government expense

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Farewell Statement

REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK P. GRAHAM

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, September 22, 1950

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point as a part of my remarks a statement which I have prepared on the eve of my departure from the Senate.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF FRANK P. GRAHAM, SENATOR FROM NORTH CAROLINA

Mr. President, in support and appreciation of the trust of my colleagues in the Senate, who have generously given me their faith and friendship, I wish to make a statement from the record of my opposition during the last 20 years to fascism, communism, imperialism, and other forms of special privilege and totalitarian tyranny. As I am about to take my leave I am moved to say that I shall treasure all the days of my life the associations, the faith and friendship of dear friends on both sides of the aisle. When over a year ago I expressed my interest in appearing before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, the chairman of the committee told me that there was then no one on the committee or in the Senate who had any question about my loyalty or my Americanism and that he saw no need for such an appearance.

In appreciation of this faith, I am making this simple statement of facts in their balanced context in the RECORD for reference by those whose own faith needs no statement.

This statement will not consist of protestations of patriotism. Rather it will mainly be a record of facts, as I recall them, which tell their own story of loyalty, in whatever presence, to the things for which America was founded and to the substance as well as to the forms of our Americanism. I have run the risks of taking sides in the midst of events which could not wait for certificates of safety and conformity while freedom itself was embattled by fascism, communism, imperialism, privilege, and monopoly on many fronts in a fearful world.

I would be lacking in candor if I did not express the hope that the present hazard of the smear will not cause any of us so to fear the free impulses of the human spirit and voluntary enterprises and associations of Americans in humane causes that we will stay safely on the sidelines and refuse to take part in the struggles and the hopes of the people for a fairer world.

Along with countless loyal Americans I took sides, on committees and off committees, against fascism, communism, and imperialism. I took sides for the freedom of the human mind, the dignity of the human being, and the autonomy of the human spirit. I took sides in the South and in the Nation for the fairer consideration of Jews, Catholics, Negroes, and the foreign born; for fairer consideration of children, teachers, industrial workers, farmers, little-business people, and consumers.

The facts herewith presented are organized under the six main topics: (I) The Committees, A and B; (II) The Moscow Summer School; (III) Three Letters; (IV) The Attack by Moscow Radio and Press; (V) The Oak Ridge Institute: and (VI) Excerpts From Talks and Statements, made by me during the last 20 years.

I.

THE COMMITTEES

When Mussolini, Hitler, and Franco were the aggressors I joined committees against fascism and nazism. When Stalin was the aggressor I joined committees against the Communist dictatorship and to aid Finland against Communist aggression. When Japan

was the aggressor I joined a committee to aid China against Japanese imperialism. During the infamous Stalin-Hitler pact I joined committees to aid Britain when the little island home of our democracy, almost alone, held the lines of hope for freedom in the Western World. I supported providing the 50 destroyers for Britain, lend-lease, and selective service, and joined committees and made statements against any and all Fascist, Nazi, Communist, and imperialist aggressors.

In the last 20 years I joined perhaps 100 organizations in expression of many educational, religious, economic, social, agricultural, industrial, scientific, political, historical, international and humane interests and in behalf of many causes and movements. Under Executive Order 9835, the Attorney General has listed 159 subversive organizations of all kinds. Of all the organizations I joined, or sponsored, four were later placed on the Attorney General's list as Communist fronts.

A. The four on the Attorney General's list

I never knowingly joined a Communist-front organization. Along with many loyal Americans I was connected with four later to be listed as front organizations under the President's Executive Order, 9835. I was not a member or sponsor of any of the four either at the time or for some time before they were placed on the Attorney General's list under this order. I have, of course, not joined any after it was placed on the list. One of the four I resigned from 7 years before the Attorney General placed it on this list. I was a sponsor of a 4-day conference held under the auspices of one. The four on the Attorney General's list under Executive Order 9835 were:

1. The Medical Bureau and the North American Committee To Aid the Spanish Democracy. The Medical Bureau was largely sponsored by loyal American professors in the medical schools of Hopkins, Chicago, Northwestern, Illinois, Harvard, Yale, Columbia, California, and Stanford. I became a sponsor when Mussolini, Hitler, and Franco were combined. As a sponsor of this committee I sent a contribution for a hospital in Madrid. When this committee, which had combined with another committee to aid the Spanish Democracy, died, I did not join the successor organization. My position on Spain may be summarized as follows: I was for lifting the embargo so that the Spanish Government could look to the western democracies rather than lean on the Soviet Union. I was appalled by the atrocities and tyrannies of both the Communists and Fascists in Spain which undermined the cause of the self-determination of the Spanish people. On or off the committees to aid the Spanish Democracy, I was and am for the self-determination of the Spanish people through free elections and other democratic procedures of freedom.

2. The second of the four was the China Aid Council, which was affiliated with the American League for Peace and Democracy. As a sponsor of the council, but not of the league, I sent two contributions for hospitals in China where there were treated the wounded of the Chinese armies fighting the Japanese invaders. I refused to sign a statement favoring the collaboration of the Chinese Nationalists with the Chinese Communists.

3. The third was the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, the only one which continued in existence. I became a sponsor of the fourth annual conference of the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, which was held in March 1940. The New York Times on December 7, 1939, had said: "A committee headed by President Emeritus William Allan Neilson, of Smith College, with Ernest Hemingway as cochairman, plans a conference in Washington. * * * The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born deserves nonpartisan support. * * * Antialien campaigns of whatever nature are a sickening travesty of Americanism. We can contribute nothing of more value to a sick world than proof that men and women of different racial origins can get along together peaceably and democrati-

cally." The attitude of the New York World-Telegram in its editorial is summed up in this sentence: "The movement (the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born) for sanity and decency toward aliens is true Americanism."

In March 1941, I withdrew from the committee, as already had withdrawn its chairman and a number of others. My letter of withdrawal, dated March 29, 1941, was as follows:

"Since I have not been able to keep in first-hand touch with the work of the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, and since it seems that its principal purpose has been subordinated to or confused with other interest, I am writing this note to withdraw from the committee.

"When my good friend, Dr. William Allan Neilson, asked me to join. I gladly did so in view of an unfair drive against the foreign-born. I will continue to do what little I can in behalf of the rights and welfare of the foreign-born."

4. I sponsored a 4-day conference held at Tuskegee Institute in 1942 under the auspices of the Southern Negro Youth Congress. I find that the congress was later placed on the Attorney General's list. Although I was not a member of the congress, I feel that a conference to promote an all-out war effort held under the auspices of the congress should be noted here. This conference was not listed in connection with me in the statement of a member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, in his report to the House, but I list it here for the record. The slogan of the 4-day conference was "Negroes Fight for America." The chief of the advisers of this conference was the president of Tuskegee, Dr. F. D. Patterson, one of the most loyal and respected citizens of Alabama. I did not attend the conference, but President Patterson has written me about it as follows:

"It has recently come to my attention that the meeting of the Southern Negro Youth Conference held on the campus of Tuskegee Institute in April 1942, has been criticized on the basis that some of the participants in this meeting are now considered communistic. This is greatly disturbing to me, and since I know you joined me and other educators in sponsoring this conference, I feel that I, as president of Tuskegee Institute, should give the impressions that I gained of the meeting as it transpired on the campus of Tuskegee Institute. I attended most of the sessions though I could not attend them all. At no time did I see any action or hear any statement which would imply disloyalty to the United States or sympathy with any disloyal movement or subversive activity. * * * The Tuskegee conference was, according to my general impression, dedicated to the all-out participation of American citizens in the war effort."

B. Other committees cited either not a member of or not on the Attorney General's list

I was never a member or sponsor of the International Labor Defense. I declined to attend a conference held under the auspices of the International Labor Defense. I sent greetings in declining the invitation. Greetings to the conference were sent by the Attorney General of the United States, several Senators, Representatives, and other loyal Americans. Because of my championship of social legislation and the right of workers to organize in unions, some spokesmen for the industry wrongfully suggested that I was virtually a pro-Communist enemy of the southern textile industry; at the same time, when I and some other acknowledgedly loyal North Carolinians were interested in having the guilt or innocence of the defendants charged with murder determined on the basis of the law and the facts and were opposed to having the trials become a sounding board for Communist propaganda, we were no less wrongfully denounced by some representatives of the International Labor Defense as being tools of the southern mill barons.

I declined to sponsor the American League for Peace and Democracy on the eve of its southern drive. I signed a statement against aggression which was circulated by the league.

I was never a member of the committee to free Earl Browder. Although I opposed the Communist principles for which Mr. Browder stood, I signed a petition for his release, as did many loyal Americans, in view of the fact that he had served as long a period of his just sentence as was customary in such cases. Mr. Wendell Willkie issued a strong statement favoring his release. The President released Browder, who was later dismissed from the Communist Party because he favored international cooperation for winning the peace as well as for winning the war.

I was not a member or sponsor of the American-Soviet Friendship Council. As sponsor of a dinner given under the auspices of the council, I joined Secretary Cordell Hull, Secretary Henry L. Stimson, generals of the Army, Senators, Representatives, governors of States, and scores of other loyal Americans as sponsors of the dinner, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Red army, in the salute to the Red army for holding the gates at Stalingrad as did all Americans, not in tribute to totalitarian communism but in salute to the soldiers who bravely defended the soil they loved and who helped to win the war. King George of England and Gen. Douglas MacArthur in Australia joined in the world-wide salute to the Red army.

In 1939 I joined the Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom composed of more than 50 representatives of American colleges and universities. This committee was never listed by the Attorney General. Included in this list were the names of many of America's most distinguished scientists, some of whom were responsible for the decisive American development of atomic power. The purpose of the committee was to preserve intellectual freedom in America and provide a haven for refugee scientists. At its chief meeting in February 1939, it was presided over by the anti-Communist professor, H. C. Urey; was participated in by Jan Masaryk, later a martyr to the cause of anticommunism; and was sponsored by, among others, a professor who was to be twice wounded and cited for heroism in the crucial fighting as an officer of the United States marines in the Pacific.

I was never a member or sponsor of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, nor was I so listed by the members of the House committee, yet I wish it noted here that I find that I signed a statement circulated by the federation supporting Secretary Stimson and the War Department in its policies of commissioning officers without regard to political views. Since the close of the war and during the cold war I have supported the War Department in having a different policy which bars from receiving commissions anyone who is a member of the Communist Party or who has such totalitarian views.

I was a member, a chairman, and an honorary president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. My position with regard to this organization was expressed in a statement made in January 1949: "I have always been opposed to communism and all totalitarian dictatorships. I opposed both Nazi and Communist aggression against Czechoslovakia and the earlier Russian aggression against Finland and later Communist aggression against other countries. I was for aid to Britain against Germany when Germany had the pact with Russia. I was a member of the William Allen White Committee and the Fight for Freedom Committee.

"During the period of my active participation, the overwhelming number of members of the Southern Conference were to my knowledge anti-Communists. There were several isolationist stands of the conference with which I disagreed. The stands which I supported as the main business of the conference were such as the following: Federal aid to the States for schools; abolition of freight-rate discrimination against southern commerce, agriculture, and industry; anti-

poll tax bill; antilynching bill; equal right of qualified Negroes to vote in both primaries and general elections; the unhampered lawful right of labor to organize and bargain collectively in our region; agricultural cooperative societies; tenant farmers' union; soil conservation; the industrial development of the South; minimum wages and social security in the southern and American tradition. It was for a number of years one South-wide organization open to all citizens of both races in which whites and Negroes could work together simply as human beings for building up the South. There has been no general meeting for about 2 years.

"I have from the beginning been a member of Americans for Democratic Action which debars Communists from membership. I belong to the wing of the ADA which supported President Truman all the way [for the presidential nomination].

"I have continued to support the Baruch-Acheson-Lilienthal plan for the inspection and control of atomic energy resources and consider the Russian refusal to cooperate a major setback for whole world.

"I was on committees against Hitler, Mussolini, and Franco in Spain; for aid to China against Japan; against sending scrap-iron to Japan; for civil liberties and on other such committees during last score or more of years. I joined with generals of the United States Army during the war in sponsoring a salute to the Red Army holding the gate at Stalingard. I am still glad that the gate held and pray that the energies of Stalingrad will not be turned for further aggressions against freedom. The overwhelming majority of the people along with whom I sponsored these committees were well known as loyal Americans. If members of these committees had ulterior aims it was then without our knowledge and has never had our approval. From past experience I am aware of Communist technique of infiltration into organizations which have good purposes. However, I do not now renounce any stand I made for human freedom.

"I supported the major domestic and foreign policies of Woodrow Wilson and Roosevelt including such Roosevelt policies as lifting the embargo, providing the 50 destroyers to Britain, and lend lease to the Allies. I have from the beginning supported the Marshall plan.

"I support Mr. Jessup's strong statement of the American stand in the Security Council against Communist and Dutch attempts to destroy the Republic of Indonesia.

"At the University of North Carolina we stand for the lawful freedom of our students to have their own political organizations. The far largest number are Democrats, the next largest number are Republicans, and the third largest number are States Rights Democrats. There are a number of followers of Norman Thomas. There are a fewer number who are followers of Henry Wallace who include a dozen or so Communists to whom we accord and will continue to accord the lawful freedom of this community.

"Our faculty with all their intellectual freedom are conservative or liberal in the highest American tradition and will be protected in their freedom as honorable university teachers and lawful and decent American citizens.

"I have been called a Communist by some sincere people. I have been called a spokesman of American capitalism by Communists and called a tool of imperialism by the radio from Moscow. I shall simply continue to oppose Ku Kluxism, imperialism, fascism, and communism whether in America, Indonesia, or behind the 'iron curtain.' "

During the period of my active participation in the work of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, I wrote a resolution which, after a bitter struggle, was overwhelmingly adopted in 1940, as follows:

"We deplore the rise of dictators anywhere, the oppression of civil liberties, the persecution of minorities, aggression against small and weak nations, the violation of human rights, and democratic liberties of the people by all Fascist, Nazi, Communist, and imperialist powers alike which resort to force and aggression instead of the processes of

Frank Graham

law, freedom, democracy, and international cooperation."

Written in 1940, this resolution has not lost its timeliness in its stand for human freedom against totalitarian dictators and imperialists.

I opposed the American Peace Mobilization and protested with some other members of the Southern Conference against the unauthorized connection of the conference with the American Peace Mobilization. When some of the leaders of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare went into the Progressive Party the overwhelming majority of the members indignantly refused to go, and the conference soon came to an end.

I joined with a group headed by Mr. Harold Ickes in strongly condemning the Communist Party line positions of the Progressive Party. Previously I had joined a group of some 80 Americans in a public statement condemning the principles, the purposes, and methods of the Communist Party in the United States.

I have always been for the freedom of the human mind, the dignity of the human being and the freedom of economic enterprise, not as the privilege or monopoly of the few but with its freedom and opportunities open to all.

II.

THE CHARGE ABOUT BEING ON THE STAFF OF THE SUMMER SCHOOL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MOSCOW

With regard to the widely publicized charge that I was once a member of the staff of the summer school of the University of Moscow the following are the facts. I have never been on the staff of the University of Moscow or its Summer School. I have never been in Russia. I was for the 1 year of its existence a member of the national advisory council of the Institute of International Education in New York. The institute had established centers of international education in such capitals as Buenos Aires, London, Berlin, Paris, Prague, Vienna, Geneva, and Madrid. After the United States recognized Russia, the institute promoted an Anglo-American section of the summer session of the University of Moscow. The board of trustees of the institute, which, as a part of its general program of international education, sanctioned this summer session at Moscow, was composed of such patriotic and well-known Americans as John Bassett Moore, Thomas W. Lamont, John Foster Dulles, Frank Aydelotte, Virginia Gildersleeve, and Stephen Duggan, director. As advisors to these loyal American directors of the Institute, I was one of the sponsors of the summer session at Moscow, along with William A. Neilson, Harry W. Chase, R. M. Hutchins, H. W. Odum, Charles R. Mann, Susan Kingsbury, Edward R. Murrow, and others.

The institute had the simple purpose of promoting international understanding and preventing another world war. The Anglo-American section of the summer session, organized in 1934, came to an end in 1935 because of the opposition of the Soviet Government. Our advisory council was therefore dissolved.

The iron curtain was already falling in 1935 on projects for spreading international information so generously welcomed in many other capitals of the world. The Kremlin did not want American youth behind the curtain, even for a summer session. The project lasted 1 year and died by arbitrary action of the Soviet Government in 1935.

III.

THREE LETTERS TELL THEIR STORY

During the Russian aggression against Finland, I wrote, on December 20, 1939, the Committee on Boycott of Aggressor Nations:

"Thank you for your letter and the enclosure of Dr. Woolley's statement. I join unreservedly with her in the stand which she has clearly and fairly taken. I approve the extension of the committe's program to include a boycott of Russian goods, because Russia has become a ruthless aggressor nation."

On January 8, 1940, I wrote this to the Committee for Cultural Freedom:

"The freedom and fairness of the work of your Committee for Cultural Freedom has so impressed me that I am reconsidering a

recent resolution not to join any more committees for the season. If it is in order to reconsider your invitation, I wish to accept membership on your committee.

"One of the things that has impressed me most is that your committee recognizes the dangerous nature of totalitarian aggression and totalitarian restriction of freedom, whether Communist or Fascist, whether German or Russian.

"In case you do not need additional membership, I am nevertheless enclosing a check for $5 toward the work of your committee as my small support of the sound principles of freedom for which you stand."

On February 12, 1949, I wrote to the Secretary of State as follows:

"This little note is simply to express my deep appreciation as one citizen for your clear and timely protest against the conviction of Cardinal Mindszenty. There appears to be a concerted policy to crush the freedom of religion not only in Russia, but also in the satellite nations. The defenseless churches and religious groups in these satellite nations especially need a bold voice speaking out which will be heard behind the iron curtain. I am sure George Allen has made your protest a part of the Voice of America!

"Another purpose of this note is to say to you that I know Bishop Garber, former dean of the School of Religion at Duke University, and know that he would not do a dishonorable thing even in the cause of human liberty. He and his associates need the support of us all at this time.

"I am glad that you are there to give the moral content of your voice and the Voice of America to the bewildered and stricken peoples whose religious freedom and civil liberties are being ruthlessly struck down wherever the Communist dictatorship asserts its ruthless power. I sometimes fear that the Communist dictatorship has become an even more monstrous threat to the freedom of the human mind and the moral autonomy of the human spirit than the dictatorship of Hitler, Mussolini, and the Japanese war lords, if possible. Secretary Marshall, for whom I came to have the highest esteem and affection, with the backing of our great President, laid out the ground work for stopping external and internal aggression. The opportunity and the challenge have come to you with his continued backing and through the able support of James Webb, Dean Rusk, George Allen, and their associates for helping people to recover themselves and through continuous broadcasts of the ideas and the ideals of freedom and democracy to push back the iron curtain to Russian frontiers and to undermine dictatorships in the minds and hearts of people everywhere."

IV.

WHAT THE MOSCOW RADIO AND THE COMMUNIST PRESS IN MANY PARTS OF THE WORLD HAVE SAID

The magazine Red Fleet, February 13, 1949, contained an article entitled "After the Conclusion of the Armistice on the *Renville:*

"At the beginning of last December, Dutch-Indonesian talks began on the American warship *Renville*, in the harbor of Batavia, with the participation of the so-called Good Services Commission appointed by the Security Council. The Commission includes representatives of the United States, Australia, and Belgium, and all its efforts were directed toward helping the Dutch colonizers to smash the resistance of the Indonesian Republic. The American delegate, Graham, played the first fiddle. The United States succeeded, having undertaken to protect the Dutch imperialists, in dragging through the Security Council a decision to cease military operations while leaving the troops of both sides on the line which they occupied at the moment the decision was passed.

"Nevertheless the provocative activities of the Dutch were not condemned by the Trilateral Commission of the Security Council, although they sounded as a clear challenge to the UN. Moreover, somewhat later the Commission approved the new Dutch proposals. Their significance is that the Indonesian Republic must become a component part of the Dutch colonial state—the United States of Indonesia—and must thereby give up its independence. The American dele-

gate, Graham, was particularly insistent that the Republic should join the United States of Indonesia. It is no matter of chance that this same condition became the main point in the armistice agreement. * * *

"This new and latest agreement for an armistice bears the label 'Made in the U. S. A.' It encourages the Dutch aggressors. The Indonesian press points out that the consent of the Republic to join in the so-called United States of Indonesia is the result of direct pressure from the United States of America.

"Further developments have confirmed this. Graham used the usual devices of dollar diplomacy. All his attention was devoted to cementing reactionary elements and creating reliable assistance from them for United States penetration of Indonesia. Where coaxing did not help, Graham had no hesitation in using ordinary threats.

"American intervention has considerably complicated the situation in Indonesia. At the end of January, under direct pressure from Wall Street, the Government of Sjarifuddin, which had represented all the democratic forces of the country, resigned. The new Government formed by the leader of the national party, Hatta, was organized under pressure of the three-power commission and of Graham in particular. Representatives of the Socialist and other left parties did not participate in this government, which the Indonesian telegraph agency called a right cabinet without the support of a majority of parliament. The accession to power of the pro-American Government of Hatta was greeted with indignation all over the country. In many cities demonstrations took place demanding that the people's government of Sjarifuddin return to power.

"Thus the armistice concluded under Wall Street dictation has merely aggravated the situation in Indonesia. The good services Commission dispatched by the Security Council has rendered an extremely doubtful service to peace. Acting on the United States program it supported the Dutch imperialists, who are helping American monopolists to seize the riches of Indonesia."

Tass, February 21, 1948:

"Discussion of the Indonesian question was renewed on the 17th of February in the Security Council. Statements were made by the members of the Trilateral Commission of Mediation, consisting of representatives from the United States of America, Australia, and Belgium. The representatives of the United States of America, Graham, and the Belgian, Van Zeeland, sought to whitewash the Dutch aggressors and at the same time to minimize the concessions made by the Indonesian Republic."

Pravda, under the heading "Colonial deal under the sign of the UN," carried the following:

"The attention of the world public is again fixed on Indonesia, whose 70,000,000 people have become the victims of a foul colonial deal accomplished aboard the *Renville*. As a result of gross pressure exerted by the so-called good services commission, which acted under the stamp of the UN, and in which the American delegate played first fiddle, the Government of the Indonesia Republic was compelled to sign an enslaving agreement with the Dutch aggressors who invaded the country.

"The Commission really did give good services to the American-Dutch imperialists, and no wonder the State Department hastened to express gratitude to it."

The following item is translated from the Communist Daily, De Waarheid, The Hague, January 31, concerning an address of the Communist member, Paul de Groot, in the Second Chamber of the Netherlands Parliament on January 30:

"Mr. Graham, of the Committee of Three, has misused his position in order, under cover of the Security Council, to strive for an expansion of American power in Indonesia."

A Moscow broadcast by Tass of January 28, 1949, in English Morse to Europe, said:

"JAKARTA.—Press circles report that the situation in Indonesia is growing increasingly complicated, owing to the intervention of reactionary Wall Street circles. Reportedly the resignation of the Sjarifuddin Cabinet came as a result of direct American pressure.

Graham, American representative in the three-party commission, is attempting to muster reactionary elements from the Nasjoemi Party and National Party which are assigned the role of reliable bulwark for Wall Street's expansion policy in Indonesia."

The following is taken from broadcast of U. S. S. R. station Tashkent, in English to India, Pakistan, and the Middle East, on February 11, 1948:

"A few weeks later United States representative Graham, instead of carrying on his work of mediation, gave a lecture in Jakarta. He attempted to intimidate the Indonesian public by stating that America has 'the most powerful atom bomb in the world'. Such are the activities of the United States imperialists in Indonesia. By means of threats, blackmail, arms, and atomic psychosis they are attempting to dismember Indonesia and convert it into a colony of theirs."

These charges broadcast over the Moscow radio and published in the Communict press that I was a tool of Wall Street in a conspiracy against the Indonesian Republic were of course a characteristic part of the Soviet propaganda line of misrepresentation to discredit the United States of America. These charges were as false as the charges in some of the Dutch publications in Java and in Holland that I was in a conspiracy with the Indonesian Republicans against the Kingdom of the Netherlands, or the charges of some representatives of American and Dutch business interests that I was prejudiced in favor of the Republic and unfair in my condemnation of the delays in negotiations and defiance of the United Nations by the representatives of the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

The talk in Jogjakarta and in Batavia on atomic developments was a plea for the international control and the humane use of atomic power. The conferences with the leaders of the major Indonesian political parties were in behalf of their support of the Renville agreement as the best settlement for which the agreement of the parties could be secured. These major parties staunchly supported the moderate Republican Government in its attachment to the Renville agreement.

At an appropriate time, the facts, now stored in restricted documents, will be the basis for the story of the efforts of the United Nations Committee of Good Offices, without power to arbitrate or even to mediate, informally to guide the parties in the acceptance of a balanced settlement of this deeply bitter dispute.

The Committee of Good Offices need have no fear of, but rather welcomes, the day of the publication of the balanced story.

V.

CONNECTIONS WITH THE OAK RIDGE INSTITUTE OF NUCLEAR STUDIES

Inasmuch as the unanimous clearance of me as president of the Oak Ridge Institute Board was made by the Atomic Energy Commission against the recommendation of its Security Board, I should first make clear my relation to the Oak Ridge Institute.

When I resigned as president of the University of North Carolina to go to the United States Senate, my connection with the institute automatically ceased under the bylaws of the institute I had not been appointed president of the board by the Atomic Energy Commission. As a layman, I was unanimously elected chairman of the Council of University Representatives and president of the board of directors of the institute by the representatives of the 14 southern colleges and universities, including institutions from Catholic University in Washington to the University of Texas, which composed the institute.

My responsibility, with the other members of the council and the board, was to help make general policies and to uphold the hands of the director of the institute, who was the full-time executive, in carrying out these policies. The members of the council and the board serve gladly without compensation. Their satisfaction comes from having had and continuing to have a pioneering part in that portion of the program of the Atomic Energy Commission which seeks (1) to advance research in the basic physical and biological sciences in the colleges and universities, and in the agriculture and indus-

tries of the South and the Nation; (2) to utilize specifically atomic energy in the improvement of the soils and in the treatment of diseases such as cancer and leukemia; and (3) to emphasize the humane possibilities of atomic science in the service of all people.

With patriotic recognition of the development of atomic power as a major weapon for the defense of the Nation and of freedom in the world, the institute board was never unmindful of the universality of science, of the humane potentialities of atomic energy, and of the hope that atomic power might yet some day draw together the nations of the world in creative cooperation rather than drive them fatefully apart in mutual self-destruction. The members of the board included some of the preeminent scientists who had a part in the capture of atomic power for the United States in the struggle against the Fascist totalitarian tyranny. These patriotic scientists, who helped to crush one monstrous tyranny, would not later have unanimously chosen to serve with a chairman who could not have been trusted with the security of his country and the cause of human freedom in the present cold war between the free peoples and another monstrous totalitarian tyranny.

The representatives of the participating southern colleges and universities, who elected their chairman, knew him long before the members of the Atomic Energy Commission passed on him. The Atomic Energy Commission, with knowledge of the charges and allegations, unanimously cleared the chairman as an American whose loyalty to his country and to human freedom were tested by stands against Fascist dictators when they were the aggressors, by stands against Communist dictators when they were the aggressors, by stands against imperialism, and by other stands for the freedom of the mind and the liberties of the people.

VI.

REPRESENTATIVE EXCERPTS FROM STATEMENTS AND TALKS MADE BY ME DURING THE LAST 20 YEARS

It may be helpful to let the RECORD speak in statements made by me chronologically submitted here from 1931 to 1950.

July 23, 1931 to the North Carolina Press Association:

"It is the responsibility of the State administration to work out the ways and means by which State bookkeeping and State development are cooperative and not antagonistic parts of the same great processes in the building of this commonwealth. * * * Under the load of gigantic debts, deficits, and depressions we have cut expenses to the bone. We are calling on great latent resources of mind and spirit. Yet with all possible economies we cannot pinch our way through. If we would come through we must invest in intelligence, we must develop the untapped resources of the human mind and the human spirit, we must build, we must create our way out from the depression into prosperity and from poverty into general power.

"Basic as are the matters of deficits, debts, and the depression, there is something more fundamental at stake back of them all. In tightening up our budgets we must not lose our democracy. One of the greatest needs in America is a reassertion, in the teeth of cynicism, of our faith in Americanism and in a deeper and wider use of the ways and powers of democracy. Dictatorships encroach upon the ideas and processes of democracy all over the world, whether as fascism in Italy, bolshevism in Russia, the war lords in China, and special interests in America. The privileged interests would cut down on the equal opportunities of the people. The springs of American democracy were once kept running and open in the wide free lands to the west. For almost 300 years

that was the chief economic and social factor in American history. But the last territorial frontier has gone. Today the new frontier and the chief economic and social factor in American life is public education all the way from the primary grade through the university graduate school. The springs of American democracy will be kept open and free there or nowhere. If we go back there, if we fail there, we fail everywhere. We may unnecessarily sacrifice our democracy in the name of economy and sacrifice our children in the name of business. We may go forward in the forms of progress and go backward in the substance of our being, get obcessed in the financial, and neglect our public responsibility for the spiritual worth and capacity of every personality in this commonwealth. We may get bewildered by the outward mechanical contacts of our civilization and forget the inward spiritual content of our lives."

November 11, 1931, in the inaugural address to a university convocation at Chapel Hill:

"Freedom of the university means the freedom to study not only the biological implications of the physical structure of a fish but also the human implications of the economic structure of society. It means freedom from the prejudices of section, race or creed; it means a free compassion of her sons for all people in need of justice and brotherhood. It means the freedom of the liberated spirit to understand sympathetically those who misunderstand freedom and would strike it down. It means the freedom for consideration of the plight of unorganized and inarticulate peoples in an unorganized world in which powerful combinations and high pressure lobbies work their special will on the general life. In the university should be found the free voice not only for the unvoiced millions but also for the unpopular and even the hated minorities. Its platform should never be an agency of partisan propaganda but should ever be a fair forum of free opinion. Freedom should never mean a loss of the sense of lawful and moral responsibility to the trustees and the people from whom the university came and to whom her life returns manifold.

"But this freedom of the university should not be mistaken for approval of those who are merely sophisticated or who superficially exploit either the passing currents or great human causes or who fundamentally debase the deep human passions and poison the springs from which flow the waters of life. Such an abuse of freedom has the scorn of scholars whose intellectual integrity and wholesome life are a source of freedom. True freedom of self-expression is not the sort that leads to self-exploitation or to self-deterioration but rather to the self-realization of the whole personality for the good life. No abuse of freedom should cause us to strike down freedom of speech or publication which are resources of a free religion and a free state."

On November 14, 1934, spoken by me to the National Conference on Economic Security, Washington, D. C., called by the President to consider an American program of social security:

"A few of the American people desire present economic recovery without any fundamental social repairs or reconstruction. A few call for a violent reconstruction regardless of present recovery. Others consider that a sound reconstruction is the only basis for a real recovery. Most of our people are opposed to a mere recovery of the old regime and a false prosperity which would bring on another cruel collapse. This security is not to be achieved through tyranny and the regimentation of a dictatorship. It is not the security of the complacent privilege and power of the few, but the shared security of the many. It is to be a constitutional and lawful security through the cooperation of the government, management, and labor. Real security never comes at the sacrifice of real liberty. The people must preserve the substance and spirit of the old liberties through a new security. An increase in economic security should mean an advance in human liberty and social well-being. Human

beings in cooperating to win security against wild animals, the elements, and the wilderness did not thereby destroy their individual initiative and daring enterprise, but rather liberated for higher reaches the mind and spirit of man. Raising the levels of economic security widens the areas of intellectual enterprise and spiritual aspirations of the whole human personality. The road from savagery to civilization has been marked by victories for security against the hazards of the jungle and organized society.

"The American people, in response to a gallant but patient leadership propose to win this security for themselves without the illusions of a return to the old regime and its false prosperity and without a resort to violent revolution, dictatorship and the false security of tyranny. Neither do they propose to drift along.

"Earlier historic transitions have been more regional in their processes and slow in their world influence. The transitions and adjustments were processes of generations and slow centuries. Social drift did not then, as now, mean swift and wide social tragedy. The vast and dynamic mechanical framework now flung around the earth gathers up wars, revolutions, depressions and unemployment anywhere and implicates men everywhere. The pull of a trigger in a remote village or the press of a button in a financial capital may release pent-up forces that go on the wires of the world and engulf mankind in international murder or vast unemployment. Either we are to master our great industrial civilization and give human beings security or we are to see it drift into unregulated self-destruction. Americans who, with scientific knowledge and mechanical device, have won a physical mastery of this great continent, will not long stand baffled and afraid along the social frontiers of a civilization which has not yet mastered the hazards of modern society.

"We vitally need the information and views of public-spirited citizens. We bring, we trust, minds open for the facts and the experience of states and nations. The advisory committee seeks to learn before advising. We will keep our feet on the ground in the valleys of our day's work even while we look into the hills yet to be climbed. We must preserve and carry on the goods in the old society. We need to be patient for facts and fair to all interests and groups. We must work and think from day to day in a world of insecurity and grim realities and dream a bit sometime that the old society may yet become the great society of liberty and opportunity, security, and happiness, for more and more of the people of America and the world."

On August 28, 1935, at the Williamstown Institute of Human Relations;

"The present world crisis, immediately consequent upon the wreckage and miseries of the war and the depression, has called into question the values of liberal democracy as the valid way of life in the modern world. This crisis, in its several manifestations, brought into experimental being communism in Russia, the recent labor government in Britain, fascism in Italy, nazism in Germany, and the New Deal in America. * * *

"The New Deal, in the view of some, is simply one of the most dramatic of the exits of liberal democracy as it seeks to regear the American political system to the engines of a dynamic economic society. It is, in kindred view, both the tired sign of an era that is dying and the fresh breath of an age that is being born. In the view of others, it is but the futile finger in the hole in the dike, sooner or later to be overwhelmed by the oncoming flood of revolution which, it is held, will make a new and more adequate channel for the strong, swift currents of human life.

"In the view of others, the New Deal is a brave and hopeful attempt to bring into intelligent relation the existing frame of government, the economic structure of society, and the human spiritual needs of millions of forgotten men. In the midst of these many different views of contemporary processes, history is not in position to write either the epitaph of the old society or the preamble of the new.

"If this New Deal—by New Deal we mean not the mere measures of a party but the present struggle and democratic hopes of the people of all parties for readjustment—if some new deal or a modified or enlarged new deal fails to establish a new balance of 'technological abundance' and fair distribution, then neither historical perspective nor prophetic insight is required for the opinion that the road of wayfaring men does not lead back to the old regime. The juncture of the deep moving forces of war and depression, power engines and revolutions, misery and aspirations, have changed the world that was beyond the power of the recovery and restoration of the old regime. In the event of further calamities, will the American road be to the right toward a Fascist dictatorship with its promise of security through the power of the corporate or the totaliarian state, or will it be the road to the left toward the Communist dictatorship with its promise of social security and human development through a planned and integrated economy of work? * * *

"This country is unsuited to a political dictatorship of either the Communist or Fascist form. * * * The Americans are the most individualistic of modern peoples. The first Americans and millions since were selected on the basis of initiative and the will to get away from restriction of government or church or the stratification and regimentation of privilege. Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of Independence and Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations coincided to the year as the formal birth cries of American independence and economic freedom. Industrial liberty became a part of the philosophy of political freedom. The freedom of a continent opened a wide frontier to them and developed their robust self-reliance through the successive generations of three centuries.

"The frontier has left its deep mark upon the ideas, character, manners, and procedures of their children. The diversity of their economic life, their wide regionalisms with deep conflicts of interest, their far-flung centers of diverse opinions, newspapers, and universities, their historic federalism and constitutional checks and balances with a traditional set against political dictatorship, all combine to make improbable, though not impossible, any despotism that relies on military force rather than on the constitutional forms and methods of liberal democracy.

"Moreover, the farmers and industrial workers have enough power in combination to prevent a Fascist dictatorship. For a Communist dictatorship there appears less chance, even with a change in the traditional attitude of the American workers. The farmers and the urban middle class overwhelmingly outweigh the proletariat who are apt to recede in economic power before the technological advance. There is apparently no present prospect of a Fascist dictatorship of businessmen or a Communist dictatorship of the proletariat in America. * * *

"In this war-shocked and depression-ridden world, the people, disillusioned and despairing, ask for honest work and real security. If democracy can offer work, freedom and security, industrial enterprise and social control, then the way for America is straight ahead on the high road toward the new balance of the advancing technology and an expanding democracy.

"On the way up the high road, the American people are in the midst of what may be the saving readjustments of our political and economic system to the social and spiritual needs of the people. The need for readjustments involves the development of social controls correspondingly competent to cope with both the concentration of economic power and the failure in the distribution of the 'technological abundance'; provision for agriculture as an equal partner in our economic society; the wise management of money as the medium instead of the control by money as the master of the exchange of goods and services; the valid recognition of the responsibilities and values of managers and technicians, stockholders, workers and

consumers, in the organization of industry, the political mechanisms of the Government, and the economic structure of society; and the gradual and free development through education and religion of the higher incentives in economic enterprise to develop the spiritual worth of every personality and to share the abundant fellowship of truth, goodness, and beauty of the human brotherhood of the sons of God.

"As we meet in this college, historic with high traditions and distinguished for liberal learning, we are deeply conscious of the creative participation of the colleges and universities in the carrying on of civilization. Light, liberty, and the social impulse find their home with youth in the colleges or nowhere. Here the doors and windows must be open for the winds of the whole world. As the crosswinds of an age blow through the college halls, the colleges have the responsibility of keeping a balanced place in the curriculum, for the deep riches of the past and the wide social needs of the changing world. Under the wise guidance of teachers with cultural, social and spiritual insights, the revision of the curriculum, in the long run of history, can be one of the steps in the reconstructions of our civilization.

"Yet with all our efforts for human understanding and social adjustment through a compensating economy, Federal grants-in-aid to States, judicial reinterpretation, constitutional amendments, a new bill of human rights, and educational curricular revision, this chapel reminds us that without a sense of human brotherhood and the sacred worth of every personality, 'they labor in vain who build the house.' Our great religious communions search us through with their faith and ideals.

"The Jewish people who gave us the highest conception of the one God, the sovereignty of the moral law and the greatest book, the greatest life, and one of the greatest cultures in all history, speak to us today through their old and new prophets in the deep moral tones of personal goodness and social justice.

"The Catholics represent to us the unity of mankind and a universal sympathy for human beings everywhere in need of mercy and compassion. They bear the cross far and near with its call to sacrifice and heroism in the sharing and giving of life.

"The Protestants stand for the individual, his intellectual freedom and his spiritual autonomy. Without mediation of bishop or kind but as individuals in the congregation in direct communion with their Lord, they made over their churches and their states in the name of the people and under the authority of God.

"For them all there still speaks the Carpenter's Son, at once Jew, Catholic, Protestant, Son of Man and Son of God, who shared all that He had with all mankind. After 2,000 years we crucify mankind and crucify Him with our religious bigotry and persecution, racial hatreds, wars, and motives of gain for ourselves. Today, as sincere Jews, Christians, and human beings, without divisions in His spirit, as we stumble along on our human pilgrimage, may we ever press forward together in the eternal adventure toward the Kingdom of God."

August 29, 1939, at the Williamstown Institute:

"The religious conception of one God and one human family, of all men as brothers and as sons of God, is the source of the conception of freedom and democracy in the modern world. The Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant religions, despite all their failure and incrustations, have in unacknowledged brotherhood given to the world the basic spiritual conceptions of human dignity and human freedom and must stand together now in their spiritual defense against ideas and forces which would tear them down. Jews, Catholics, and Protestants, in the sincerity of their religion, have the responsibility of developing attitudes of mind and heart in individuals who will welcome and make common cause with ideas and movements making for the equality of opportunity basic to the freedom, dignity, and development of brothers of men and sons of God. The often cruel acquisitiveness of modern

society, the world war, the world depression, and world-wide human miseries, have combined to challenge the sincerity of our religion, the intelligence of our education, and to shake the very foundations of freedom and democracy in the present world.

"The Nazi government seeks to subordinate religion to the purposes of the national state in Germany; the Communist government seeks by law and policy to eliminate religion from the life of the people in Russia. Freedom and democracy, twin products of religious conceptions, are now crushed or renounced in more than half the world. Above the spiritual conceptions and humane spirit of religion rise the strident claims and cruel power of national glory and historic imperialism in Fascist Italy, ruthless racialism in Nazi Germany, atheistic materialism in Communist Russia, inhuman militarism in autocratic Japan, and much that is un-Christian in finance-industrialism in western European, British imperial, and American democracies.

"In democratic America we are asking ourselves searching questions. Why have people in so many parts of the world turned away from democracy with its universal suffrage parliaments, the rule of political majorities, its guaranties of freedom of worship, assembly, petition, speech, and the press, and the processes of law for persons and property? Why, in their stead, have people in so many lands turned to, or accepted, the tyrannies of dictators and the regimentations of the totalitarian state? Many and complex economic, social, political, military, psychological, and spiritual causes prepared the way for, and many diverse factors entered into, the rise to world power of the modern totalitarian states. Not the least of these causes, the one which concerns us now, is the long failure of democracy to satisfy some of the basic needs of the human body and some of the highest aspirations of the human spirit. Democracy had provided equality of suffrage but not equality of opportunity; the freedom to worship but not the right to work; the freedom of assembly and the right of collective petition but not the freedom of the self-organization of workers and the equality of collective bargaining; corporate privilege but not agricultural parity; and political liberty but not social security against the hazards of modern society.

"The democracies, in general, with their dominant position, and America, in particular, with its unparalleled possession of the resources of abundance, presented to the world the disillusionments of the insecurity of peace in a world of armaments, poverty of farmers in a world in need of food, child labor and sweatshops in the midst of unemployment, loss of farms and homes in a society largely based on them, poverty and dependence of men and women after lives of faithful work, injustice to Negroes and to other racial and religious minorities, oligarchic corporate manipulation of stockholders, regimentation of workers, and wide misinformation of consumers, the use of the historic documents of human freedom in behalf of economic power over the freedom of human beings, vast unemployment in the midst of universal need, hunger amid plenty, and disillusionment and despair in a world of youth and opportunity. The old political liberties and social drift of a more static society are tragically insufficient to meet the vast economic changes, the financial crises, and the deep human needs of our dynamic modern society.

"Despite this insufficiency, despite all the failure, frustrations, and betrayals of freedom and democracy, people everywhere held on to the hopes of freedom and democracy. Those who struck them down had to plead to the people that revolution and dictatorship were only transitions to a larger freedom and a more real democracy. The dictators, in recognition of the people's abiding dream, and in fear of the people's instruments of freedom, resorted to ruthless force, liquidated the opposition, abolished or subjugated parliaments, labor unions, and churches, and destroyed the freedom of the press, the radio, the schools and universities, and terrorized minorities and individuals, whose combined liberties would make impossible the maintenance of the dictatorship of a totalitarian state. * * *

"We find it more comfortable to overlook the fact that the ways of the Jewish-Christian teaching and the ways of the American dream have not yet been really tried. In fairness to this hope as an alternative to the Fascist and Communist ways of the totalitarian dictatorship, and in fairness to the youth and the future of the world, we must not in prideful complacency, cynical disillusionment or cowardly despair, deny and betray the early promise of the American dream. * * *

"The representatives of great corporate enterprises can recall with sincere and historic pride that capitalism was a decisive factor in the overthrow of feudalism, in the liberation of the common man, land and labor from the vested control of the feudal lords, and in the liberation of industry and commerce from the monopolies of the decadent guilds. A free capitalism is historically recognized as one of the main pivots in the transition from the medieval to the modern world. The liberated individuals of the rising middle and capitalist class moved from victory to victory in ideas, church, State, commerce and industry. With initiative, inventive genius, and far-flung enterprise they developed industry on a scale which required gigantic corporations for gigantic national and international trade. These corporations gathered the savings of people anywhere to meet the wants of people everywhere. Geared to vast reservoirs of capital and to steam, electric, and gas-power engines, they have thrown around the earth a mechanical framework, which, with all its economic strains and social failures, still holds up the structure of the modern but threatened world.

"This historic achievement provides part of the basis of a stanch devotion to the principles of economic individualism."

In September 1940, at the opening university convocation, I said:

"Our democracy is caught between the dynamic powers of fascism and communism. Our continent, placed between two great oceans, nevertheless reverberates with the mighty impact of forces in Europe and Asia. * * *

"The dictators have already with quick terrorism taught 12 little nations and two great historic democracies in Europe and one great Republic in Asia that there can be no peace for them in a totalitarian world. The case for the democracies is not all white and the case for the dictators is not all black. Yet the democracies with all their faults and failures give the world's peoples, including the German people, more hope of the opportunity to struggle for peace, freedom, democracy and humane religion as the basis of them all. The dictators magnify the philosophy of force, glorify war as an instrument of totalitarian power and expressly despise freedom and democracy. The democracies with their own imperfect freedom are struggling to save the freedom to struggle for freedom. In the present world struggle the issue for the democracies with all their failures, injustices and frustrations, and with their freedom now in the balance somewhat because of them, has been made cruelly clear. Stripped down to the most precious things of the human spirit and to the humane liberties of common men, the central issue is human liberty, the freedom to struggle for freedom and justice in the nations, and the freedom to struggle for the organization of justice and peace in the world."

June 18, 1942, in the Ryan Aeronautical opinion written by me for War Labor Board, the closing paragraph follows:

"Finally, this maintenance of a voluntarily established union membership provides three basic guarantees: First, it guarantees democracy in America against the tragedy both of the disintegration of responsible unions during the war and against the defenselessness of industrial workers after the war; second, it guarantees, through responsible union leadership and stable union membership in the crucial transition from war to peace, against a violent revolution and the rise in America of a Fascist, Communist, or imperialistic dictatorship; and third, it affords one of our chief hopes

that the all-out production for destruction in winning the war will be reconverted into all-out production for organizing plenty for America and the stricken and hungry peoples still hopeful for freedom, justice, and peace all over the world."

July 16, 1942, I wrote the opinion on Union Security Issue for the National War Labor Board in the Little Steel case:

"We have in this dispute the conflicting rights of the more than two-thirds majority of the workers who are in this union and of the less than one-third of the workers in each of the four companies who are outside the union.

"In this case the Board protects the rights of the majority and the minority, rejects the union's demand for a union shop and compulsory check-off, and rejects the companies' demand for no change in present union status. The Board decided in favor of the voluntarily accepted maintenance of membership and check-off of those members of the union who are in good standing on the fifteenth day after this directive order, or who may thereafter voluntarily join the union. This provision is not a closed shop, is not a union shop, and is not a preferential shop. No old employee and no new employee is required to join the union to keep his job. If in the union, a member has the freedom for 15 days to get out and keep his job. If not in the union, the worker has the freedom to stay out and keep his job. This freedom to join or not to join, to stay in or get out, with foreknowledge of being bound by this clause, as a condition of employment during the term of the contract, provides for both individual liberty and union security.

"This decision provides against coercion and intimidation of the worker into membership in the union. * * *

"High on Hitler's list of the institutions of democracy early marked for the destruction necessary to clear the way for the rise of the Nazi dictatorship were and are the church, the parliament, the corporation, and the labor union. These four institutions are the focal-motive force of the four main chapters in the rise of human freedom. The freedom of human beings to organize in autonomous groups has been won through long struggles in the fields of religion, politics, business, and labor.

"The power of the great Roman Empire struck down the unrecognized and despised organizations of early Christians but the little congregations of lowly believers became the Church Universal, which transformed the sackable city of Rome into the unsackable city of God, transmitted the ancient learning, resynthesized western culture, built the cathedrals, founded the universities, and despite all its faults and failures, with its Hebraic-Christian conception of the brothers of men and the sons of God, has been for the longest period the most beneficent organization in history.

"The church, in its turn of predominance, tried to block the rise to absolute power of the new autonomous nations within the ecclesiastical dominion. Then the new absolute national monarchies, having become entrenched in independent power, sought to check the rise to increasing power of the autonomous organization of the people's representatives in Parliament. Yet Parliament won its struggle for collective bargaining with the king, and their written agreement became the English Bill of Rights, which, since 1689, has been the charter of constitutional government for all nations which have followed the traditions of the English-speaking peoples.

"It was historically logical that the democratic idea of autonomous organization, which achieved victories in the fields of religion and politics, should become an issue in the fields of commerce and industry. The commercial and industrial middle classes, which, through autonomous corporations, soon established their dominant positions in modern society. The corporations helped to overthrow feudal serfdom and gathered the savings of people anywhere in the service of people everywhere. The English Parliament having become a

stronghold of the commercial and industrial leaders, and an instrument of corporate power, prohibited workingmen from organizing in behalf of better conditions of life and labor. The struggle of industrial workers to organize and win the reluctant recognition of legislative bodies, the courts, and the corporations, is the latest chapter in the democratic struggle of human beings for autonomous organization around a great human need. The movement of working people against heavy odds to win a simple share in the control of their own lives is one of the great human movements of the last 100 years and is at the center of the struggle for freedom and democracy in our time.

"The freedom and independence of the labor union is of the essence of historic Americanism. The little band of religious Pilgrims who, in seeking the right to organize for the worship of God without the consent of king or bishop, after many vicissitudes in a foreign land and across uncharted seas, still clinging to their principles of piety and autonomous religious organization, fetched up on the wintry shores of Massachusetts where their spiritual heroism made Plymouth Rock one of the foundation stones of self-government in America. One year before the Pilgrims reached American shores, Sir Edwin Sandys led a movement in the London Company to recognize the self-organization of the settlers in Virginia. The less-farsighted businessmen said it would ruin the business enterprise to give these workingmen the right to share in the regulation of their conditions of life and labor. But the intelligent idealism of Sir Edwin Sandys prevailed over the fears of the more practical minded businessmen. Thus was born the first representative assembly in the new world. The democratic idea of autonomous political organization, later federated in the American union, whose American standard was first raised on the banks of the James River in old Virginia, still flies its flag high in all the Western world. The freedom and security of the right of all human beings to organize in churches, legislatures, corporations, and labor unions is part of the basic meaning of our American freedom and is at the heart of what the war is all about. Hitler is out to destroy the freedom of America and the free basic institutions of democracy everywhere. The struggle over the freedom and security of the union is, therefore, one of the latest episodes in the American chapter of the rise of democracy in the modern world, and is at the very center of the global struggle between the United Nations and the Axis powers."

In June 1946, in the Harvard University commencement address:

"In this age of the power of machines we need to recognize the power of ideas. In this age of mechanical invention, we need the adaptations of political social inventions. In this age of the scientific mechanism, we need the saving values of spiritual idealism.

"In our insistent awareness of the many different factors and forces and their interacting power in the complex of history, we find an idea may often interfuse all other influences with its spiritual power. With due consideration of the powerful factors and forces—geographic, economic, political, religious, imperial and traditional—which focused upon the Eternal City as the center of the ecclesiastical dominion rising upon the ruins of the old political empire, it was an idea, a great idea, the idea and aspiration of a divine compassion and of a universal brotherhood of men which transformed the sackable city of Rome into the unsackable City of God. This noble and catholic idea represents the unity of mankind and a universal sympathy for human beings everywhere in need of mercy, and compassion. This idea became Flesh, became a Person in the Judean hills whose followers have carried the cross far and near, across seas and centuries with its call to justice and heroism in the sharing and giving of life. This idea for 2,000 years has interfused our medieval and modern western world with hopes of human brotherhood unfulfilled to this hour.

"Not only does the spread of ideas interfuse a whole society, but the lowering of the level of ideas lowers the level of the life and history of an age.

"It was not only the disintegration of the Roman Empire and the decline of the ancient learning in the disorder of the times but it was also the lowering of the level of ideas for adaptation to the untutored, though vigorous, minds of the barbarian conquerors which produced the intellectual recession called the Dark Ages. Scholasticism represents the far upward climb of the western mind, under the tutelage of the church, from the ideas of the Dark Ages to the ideas of the great medieval synthesis which found its stronghold in the universities of the later Middle Ages. The medieval universities, for all their ecclesiastical limits upon ideas, yet with an inner ferment of ideas and quest for learning, with their revival of Greek philosophy and medicine, Roman law and Arab science, along with the rise of towns, trade, and the handicrafts arts, prepared the way for the revival of learning.

"The ideas and spirit of the ancient learning, long lost or neglected, recovered to transcend medieval boundaries, blew like a fresh wind across the face of Europe, lifted to the sunrise of a new day. Scholasticism gave way to humanism, other worldly ideas to the ideas of the ancient world, ascetic self-repression to esthetic self-expression. Giving momentum and significance to the Renaissance was a great idea. The conception of the human being as worthy of the dignity and joy of living; the creative impulse for self-expression in scholarship and the fine arts; the noble appreciation of the human form and the human spirit, the beauty of nature and the grandeur of life—all these were a part of the revival of learning and the new liberation of old ideas in that efflorescence of the human spirit called the Renaissance. * * *

The compass made possible the discovery of America, the rounding of Africa, the circumnavigation of the globe, and converted the oceans from barriers into highways of trade between old and new continents whose vast resources have these centuries been pulsing through the trade arteries of the world.

"The little compass was thus a big factor in extending the commercial revolution whose capital and capitalism released the serf from the land, the land from the lord, and the lord from his own privileged power. * * *

"The compass expanded the commercial revolution. The commercial revolution gave a mighty impetus to the rise of the middle class. The middle class became a significant factor in the Renaissance, the Reformation, the rise of the national state, science, parliament, the revolutionary struggles for political, civil, and economic liberties, and in the coming of the industrial revolution. * * *

"The leadership or dominance of any group or race or nation based on special privileges, monopolies, tyranny rather than on the freedom and equal opportunity of all people, regardless of race, color, creed, or party, is a frustration of the American dream and Christian hope."

In mid-December 1948, these views were expressed by me on Indonesia:

"The real issue is between the United Nations, as committed both by its Charter and the Renville agreement, and the colonial powers, as presently committed by their votes in the Security Council. The United Nations has the moral power of the world's forum of free democratic nations.

"The two main sources of opposition to the democratic principles of the Renville agreement are two small but powerful combinations: (1) the Dutch financial-imperialistic-militaristic paternalistic combination which first misleads and then misrepresents the great Dutch people; and (2) the Soviet dictators, who first mislead and then misrepresent the great Russian people. Both the Dutch imperialists and the Russian imperialists are opposed to the basic principles of the Renville agreement such as civil liberties at all times, unhampered communication, transportation, and exchange, plebiscites or

free elections after full discussion, and a free constitutional convention organized by democratic procedure with representation in proportion to the population. The Dutch imperialists do not intend that these principles of freedom be available to all the leaders of Indonesia for free appeals to the Indonesian people. Free leadership in fair and open discussion would insure that the guiding principle of the United States of Indonesia would not be Dutch domination but Indonesian self-determination. The combination of Soviet dictators not only does not want these principles applied in Korea, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and Germany, but also does not want them publicized within the Soviet Union itself. Neither imperialism nor dictatorship can long exist with the morally enduring Renville principles of freedom, equality and self-determination. Imperialists, in their case, and dictators, in their situation, will violate agreements by which such principles might get high international sanction for application by peoples in colonies, in satellite states, or in the vast dominions behind the iron curtain.

"The Dutch imperialistic combination, powerful but not permanently in control of the government of the humane people of the Netherlands, have die-hard allies in France and Belgium, but the world is thankful in the faith that they are decreasingly fewer in those great nations and fewer still in Great Britain and even less in the United States. President Truman, unbeholden to any privileged group or vested power, fresh from his memorable personal victory as a common man for the common people, is by every profession of faith and sympathy, on the side of peoples struggling to be free. Secretary Marshall, his loyal right arm, is, on behalf of the United States in the United Nations, the champion of the peoples' peace and the peoples' freedom from the tyranny of hungry and fear, and is against totalitarian and imperialistic aggression anywhere. President Truman and Secretary Marshall stand together, with the moral weight of the American people, against both the subjection of weaker peoples and the dark cloture of the iron curtain over the light of the human mind and the moral autonomy of the human spirit. They stand for the fulfillment of the Renville agreement as signed by the Governments of the Netherlands and the Republic pledging the self-determination of the Indonesian peoples."

In March 1949, at the mass meeting of 5,000 North Carolinians, this excerpt from a talk:

"In this time of global crisis between the false appeals of totalitarian dictatorship and the ways of freedom and democracy, the best answer to the dictatorships of both the left and the right is to make American democracy and human freedom work in a world in need of the best which youth has to give."

On May 27, 1949, to the Dialectic and Philanthropic Literary Societies at the University of North Carolina, I spoke as follows:

"It is good to be in this place and to meet again with the members of these historic societies in whose halls will always cluster some of the happiest memories of my and your college days. The Di and the Phi have their foundations in the eighteenth century beginnings of the university which has given birth to the American Revolution. The self-government of a free people made necessary the democratic self-education of the people and their leaders in the university of the people.

"In the historic halls of the Philanthropic and Dialectic Literary Societies were born and nourished the freedom of inquiry, discussion and debate, the honor system and student self-government in this university. In keeping with these high traditions the student legislature passed its resolutions against any required oaths regarding the political, economic, or religious views of faculty and students. The trustees in their wisdom left matters which involve the balancing of such a complex matter as the freedom of the mind and the security of the Nation to the chief university administrative officers and their faculty advisers who are elected by the three general faculties of our

threefold university to advise the administration on basic policies. This wise decision maintains the historic academic autonomy of the university with its final responsibility to the trustees, the legislature, the people, and the brotherhood of all free universities in our modern world.

"The legislature wisely passed no laws and the board of trustees wisely passed no regulations against the freedom of the human mind. The trustees also wisely held that the question of the character, competence, values, and patriotic loyalty of members of the staff were a first responsibility of the able and devoted chief administrative officers of the university with their faculty advisers.

"At such a critical time it is well that the American people do not allow our well-grounded fear and hatred of the Communist dictatorship to subvert our free institutions and change our historic American way of life into totalitarian ways. It is our faith that the American people will keep the democratic perspective and the fair balance of a free people. Once in fear they passed the alien and sedition laws, but in a calmer mood they soon restored the basic freedom of petition, inquiry, discusison, and publication on which America was so largely founded. These precious freedoms have since been preserved to this hour.

"In time of actual war the people in self-defense have always safeguarded the security and future freedom of the country by restrictions on the freedom of those who would engage in treasonable, subversive, or disloyal activities. A nation cannot have freedom long without security and cannot have security long without freedom. The precedents of war restrictions on individual freedom are a clear part of our historic tradition of the self-defense of both security and freedom. The present world situation confronts America and all free peoples with an unprecedented situation in which we have neither the security of an assured peace nor the actuality of war. The American Union and the Soviet Union are engaged in a new kind of struggle called the cold war. We cannot have the unrestricted freedoms of peace and must not have the severe limitations of actual war. We devoutly trust that the twilight of the cold war will not turn into the darkness of the unthinkable tragedy of a third world war. In the struggles toward the dawn we are groping for free light and fair balance of both freedom and security.

"The responsibility of the cold war will ultimately be adjudged by better informed minds than my own. I am not unaware that America and the free nations have some responsibilities for which they are answerable to themselves and the God of history. The frustrations and deficiencies of our own Nation and the other democracies, the corruption in China, and the imperialism in the African, Pacific, and Asiatic world, are a part of the sins of the democratic world, in which we all must share. But in my limited view the largest blame for the cold war falls most heavily upon the government of the Soviet Union.

"The Soviet Union, instead of continuing the Allied cooperation which won the war and could have won, and could yet win the peace, obstructed the continuation of this cooperation; broke the pledge for the self-determination of peoples; subjugated little nations by force or threat of force and internal subversion; picked off nations, one by one, and locked them behind the iron curtain of the police state; carried on sabotage of European recovery; made war on religion; obstructed, by abuse of the veto in the United Nations, international procedures; blockaded Berlin; and in the midst of the world-wide hopes for peace and for the world-wide fear of atomic bombs, rejected the United Nations plan for the international control of atomic power.

"Atomic power and its secrets thus became one of the chief centers of tension and fear in the cold war. With international control and sharing of atomic knowledge and power against its use for the destruction of civilization and for its use for the con-

struction of a more productive, humane, and fairer world, all the people and their scientists would have these blessings of the freedom of the human mind and spirit adventuring along the farthest frontiers of free research and creative cooperation toward a better life for all people. Without this cooperation, without the international agreement for its control and use, atomic research and the industrial know-how for the production of its terrible power became one of the prime objectives of the espionage of the Soviet Union.

"Against this international, national, and psychological background, the resulting fears of the American people are understandable. To those officials of the Government who have been the objects of this fear, such an understanding, I feel sure, has been to them a source of perspective and forgiveness rather than rancor and resentment. They would agree it is important that the press, radio, and congressional investigation have clear freedom even if some individuals have to "take it" meantime. If they can stand and "take it" long enough the American people always rally in fairness to those individuals who, themselves are free, competent, and loyally devoted in the service of their country. In the invisible world of God and the human spirit truth is mighty and will prevail.

"The Atomic Energy Commission is by experience in a new field seeking to develop policies which will protect the freedom of scientific inquiry and the security of the Nation. Two principles have evolved: One for civilian control and the other for a security check for all engaged in the research program of the Commission. The universities are seeking to preserve their freedom and at the same time to find an answer to the question as to whether a member of the Communist Party is under such a discipline and party-line tyranny of a foreign power that he is not free to teach in accordance with the principles of a free university. Not the universities but the Communists themselves have made necessary the consideration by the Nation and by the universities their responsibility regarding the freedom of those who seek to destroy freedom. Upon the establishment of the fact and nature of this party-line control over the mind will depend the ultimate policy of our universities throughout the democratic world. In the field of atomic research during the period of the cold war, both the Atomic Energy Commission and the universities must safeguard both security and our freedom. No university will, we are sure, close its doors to any qualified student under the Constitution, laws, and Bill of Rights on account of his economic, political, or religious views.

"The Atomic Energy Commission, the National Research Council, and the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, have directed one of the most unprecedented and stupendous scientific and industrial enterprises of history with ability, patriotism, and dedication to America and the cause of freedom and peace in the world.

"May we not rely mainly on economic, military, and atomic power for the security of America. May we stand staunch and constant for the freedom, recovery, international cooperation and the peace of all people. Let us be strong and increasingly free and fair in our own democracy and thus raise the standard to which all people, even in this dark world, can look with hope for freedom, justice, and peace."

Nineteen hundred and forty-nine: Here is a concluding statement in my last report to the Board of Trustees of the University of North Carolina:

"The universities, along with parliaments and cathedrals, towering from the later Middle Ages across all the transitions of the modern age, still abide as among the most influential and noble institutions of western civilization. The medieval universities, for all their limits and lags, as centers of ideas, prepared the way for the revival of classical ideas in the Renaissance and of scriptural ideas in the Reformation. The recovery of old ideas led to the discovery of the New

World and gave impulse to a new movement in religion.

"The revival of learning led to the advancement of learning in the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century. The new conception of science which turned men's minds from accepting old ideas to finding new ideas, and from mere speculation to zestful experimentation with new instruments of precision, entered into the ideas of the philosophic revolution of the eighteenth century, which in turn produced the ideas, attitudes, and engines of the industrial revolution. These intellectual and economic revolutions led to the second scientific revolution of the last 50 years, during which the idea of the nuclear nature of the atom and the capture of its gigantic power have brought us to the outpost of the atomic age. In the long run of history, we find that ideas themselves are not only more powerful than engines; but that without ideas there would be no engines. Engines are subject to the hand of man and the hand of man is subject to the mind and spirit of man.

"America, whose thought was originally an inheritance of European thought, has long continued to inherit and borrow its basic theories from the Old World. In view of the destruction of much of the resources and vigor of European people it is now the imperative obligation of a powerful America to be the home of original ideas; of basic research; of the ideas and theories, upon which depend our spiritual and intellectual health and our scientific and technological progress. As the basic scientific, ethical, humane, and spiritual ideas and ideals of the American schools, colleges, and universities go, so goes America. As America and the other democracies go, so go up or down the humane and spiritual hopes of mankind. * * *

"Modern men find themselves as biological organisms in possession of unmastered dynamic scientific mechanisms; an unchanging human nature with a slow-changing social mind and motive caught in the meshes of a fast-changing mechanical civilization; the multiplication of mechanical contacts without a deepening of spiritual content; political and economic ideas evolved in the handicraft age reaching over with their lags and controls in the age of the power engine; and the shibboleths of liberty which came flaming from the soul of a Thomas Jefferson in behalf of forgotten men in the eighteenth century turned in reverse against the freedom and equal opportunity of forgotten millions in the twentieth century.

"As noble repositories of the great tradition of humane learning and as scientific guardians of the tested and true, the colleges and universities, reflective and creative parts of our modern society, are also parts of the social lag. The colleges and universities were mainly scholastic in renaissance times, dominantly classical in scientific times, powerfully but narrowly scientific in the midst of complex economic and social change and too often reluctantly social minded and apologetically philosophical and spiritual amid one of the crucial crises of human history. * * *

"The college curriculum needs more recognition of philosophy and religion as the basis of an intellectual and spiritual synthesis of the physical and moral, the vocational and liberal, personal freedom and social responsibility, stability, and progress, ethics and politics, work and justice, democracy and excellence, religion and learning, and man as belonging both to the world of nature and to the world of the spirit in our one world. * * *

"Grown on this soil, Americanism is not a frail plant that must be falsely protected with intolerance or terrorism by those without faith in the depth of its rootage or the robustness of its timber. Its roots are deep in the teachings of our religion, the traditions of our country, and the ideals of our university. Jesus said, 'Know the truth and the truth shall make you free.' He met fallacy with understanding and hate with His great love. The wise Gamaliel sought to calm his fearful-minded colleagues in the Sanhedrin who feared the subversive power

of new and fervent agitators, in these wise and reassuring words, 'If this counsel or this work be of men it will come to naught but if it be of God, you cannot overthrow it.' John Milton in the midst of a bitter public controversy over the threatened suppression of free speech and free opinion, said, 'Give me the liberty to know, to utter and argue freely according to conscience above all liberties.' Thomas Jefferson said, 'Truth is the proper and sufficient antagonist to error and has nothing to fear from the conflict.'

"The safety and welfare of America is imperiled by the irresponsible smearing of distinguished scientists who are the first line of both the national defense and the humane advance. The security of the Nation depends upon the quality of research. The men and women at these farthest outposts of research, in the interest of both the security of America and the welfare of the world, should not be besmirched without a chance to be heard. A fair hearing is the essence of Americanism. Any scientist or other person guilty of treason or betrayal of a public trust or guilty of any crime against the national security should be exposed and tried in the courts. The innocent should not be smeared in the headlines. The conviction of any traitor, not the smearing of many patriots, is the American way.

"To be American in the great American tradition is sometimes miscalled un-American. To stand by our historic American Bill of Rights is not a subversive activity. It is unfair to our religion and our Americanism to call communistic the most decent, humane, and spiritual hopes of mankind. The more Americans who understandingly and sincerely subscribe to the Constitution and its Bill of Rights, the better for America and the world.

"The freedom of the college means not only the freedom to inquire and publish the theological implication of the geologic structure of the earth, and the biological implication of the physical structure of a fish, but also the human and spiritual implications of the economic structure of society and the international moral implication of the nuclear structure of the atom.

"The Hebrews discovered the moral sovereignty of the one God; the Greeks made us aware of man as a person of noble proportions and creative capacities; and modern man has, with microscope, test tube, and telescope, uncovered the world of nature, matter, and things. The world of science, of things, of machines and gadgets, crowds hard upon the conception of both God and man. The world of science, technology, and things, needs the saving balance and deeper meaning of the liberal arts, the humane tradition and the spiritual conception of man and the universe. Without a sense of values, ethical and humane, and without the insights of the human spirit, the discoveries of one generation become glibly exalted above the wisdom and insights of 100 generations. Modern science, industrialism and materialism need the balance of the humane and social studies, need philosophy and religion to prevent a destructive impact upon the conception of the freedom, dignity, integrity, and moral autonomy of the individual human being.

"In our threefold university and in the modern world you have become acquainted with the discoveries and ideas of the scientific age which includes the seventeenth century mechanistic conception of the universe; the eighteenth century theory of the free and automatically self-balancing economic system; the nineteenth century theory of evolution with the identification of man with animals in their primitive struggle for survival; and the twentieth century behavioristic psychological conception of man as an organism of drives, reflexes, and reactions, developing amid the power of environment; the twentieth century theory of relativity in both the physical and the moral world; and the latest theories of the atom, once ultimate, now revealed as a whirl of undetermined energy and power. The ideas of biological evolution should be balanced with the ideas of spiritual evolution. The ideas of the physical descent of man from the lower ani-

mals should be balanced with the ideas of the spiritual ascent of man toward the likeness of the Son of God as the brother of all men. * * *

"Whether we start with machines or with ideas, we find ourselves with both at the same juncture of human affairs and look ahead with the same prayer and the same humane hope. As surely as the Italian and Iberian peninsulas were the home of the commercial revolution and Britain was the island home of the industrial revolution, so America is the continental home of the atomic revolution. May our country, with her ideas, her mechanisms and her universities not fail mankind in this tragic hour. Rather may America, in rising to the responsibility of her power, become more democratic in her own life, and, in responding to the opportunity for her greatness, become more enlightening in her own moral radiance in a darkening world. May our America, under God, in generous aids for the self-recovery of the nations, give the energies of food, and the hopes of freedom and peace to all the people of the earth."

I close my statement with some introductory and concluding paragraphs in my statement to the Senate for the Magnuson bill:

"PRESENT BACKGROUND OF THE NEED FOR INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

"Against the hopes of the American dream of human liberty and equal opportunity and against the faith of free peoples in the international organization for justice and peace on earth, there has risen the mighty power of the Communist totalitarian dictatorship for the domination of the world. The President of the United States standing in a great tradition and speaking courageously for the peaceful, productive, and hopeful people of America, has drawn the lines of freedom and peace against the aggressions and designs for world dominion of the Communist police state.

"In the confusion between the designs of dictators for war and the yearnings of the people for peace, amid disillusionment and hope, and confronted with the problems of internal security against subversion and international security against aggression, we need again and again to remind ourselves of what is in the minds and the hearts of the people.

"COMPARISON OF ATTITUDES OF AMERICAN AND SOVIET GOVERNMENTS

"The American people, with all our differences and all our faults, have the basic hopes of a common faith. The American people fervently desire freedom and peace for themselves and all the people on earth. With all their hatred of the totalitarian dictatorship, they yearn for peace with the great but tragically misled Russian people. They covet no land, intend no aggression, and want no war. With faith in their own ideas and way of life, they would have ideas free in the peaceful struggle between ideas in the world's free competitive marketplace of ideas without any tyranny over the bodies, the minds, and spirit of man. This freedom of the people to choose their ideas, their institutions, and their ways of life, is part of the heritage and hope of the human pilgrimage toward freedom, justice, and peace on earth. In the people's passion for peace the Government of the United States has gone far in its efforts for cooperation with the Government of the Soviet Union both during and after the Second World War.

"After the First World War the United States renounced the League of Nations and failed the hopes of mankind. After the Second World War the Soviet Union has obstructed the United Nations and has failed the humane hopes of the peoples of the world. * * *

"SIX FACTS STAND OUT

"Above all our own faults and frustrations, above all the charges and countercharges, six facts stand out for informing those peoples of the earth whose minds have not been twisted with misinformation and hate, which from behind the iron curtain day after day through the months and years, fill the air waves and the ears of the peoples of the world.

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"1. Instead of continuing the cooperation of the allied nations in winning the war, the Soviet Union deliberately obstructed the purposes and procedures of the United Nations for winning the peace.

"2. The United States, with the stupendous capacity for war productions and the mightiest fighting power, quickly reconverted for peaceful production most of its industrial war plants and demobilized most of its fighting forces while the Soviet Union kept its war plants in heavy production and its armies mobilized in larger forces than the combined armies of America and western Europe.

"3. The United States, with its then monopoly of atomic bombs, supported, and the Soviet Union blocked, the plan of the United Nations for the international control and inspection of atomic power for the production of the good life for all instead of for the destruction of all life.

"4. The United States supported, and the Soviet Union blocked, the holding of free elections under the United Nations for the self-determination of all the Korean people in one independent and united Republic of Korea.

"5. The United States supports, and the Soviet Union seeks to block, the policies of the United Nations for repelling the aggression by Communist North Korea against the Republic of South Korea.

"6. Instead of keeping its promise to stop the subversions of international communism against the internal security of the United States and other free peoples, the Soviet dictatorship, through its control of international communism, continues its conspiracies and subversions against human freedom in all lands."

A detailed presentation of the Magnuson bill was concluded with a general appeal.

"In this, the most critical time for freedom in the world, may our America be strong in industrial, agricultural, military, and moral power, in internal security, national defense, and in her leadership, through the United Nations, for international cooperation with all the free peoples of the earth. Let us without stint back up the brave young men in Korea with their backs to the sea and their faces to a foe backed up by a totalitarian dictatorship reaching across two continents. Let us stand for the freedom and self determination of big and little people, in east and west, in their fight against fascism, communism, and imperialism anywhere. While we hold and strengthen the lines to the utmost in this crisis, we must realize that ideas in the free minds and democratic faith in the hearts of the people, are more powerful and enduring than bombs. The best way, for the long hard pull, to fight godless international communism, which would engulf the world under the unresting tides of its uneasy tyranny, is to have faith in God against Whose moral sovereignty the most powerful dictatorship will break to pieces; to hate tyranny and injustice; and to love people everywhere; and yet be ready and determined to fight for human freedom and international cooperation against the most powerful and monstrous tyrannies organized in our time to subjugate the bodies, minds, and spirit of all men to the ruthless will of the totalitarian police state.

"Through faith in God and love of man, the light of liberty will, we trust, yet shine through the iron curtain of men's minds. The warmth of human brotherhood will yet melt away the iron curtain of men's hearts. The peoples with their hope of freedom and peace still fly their flags high in the western world and across the eastern seas, where people of all faiths, races, colors, and nations, look up in prayer to the God of us all for one free and federated world neighborhood of human brotherhood, we pray God in our time."

910632—37061

Statehood for Hawaii and Alaska

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK P. GRAHAM

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, September 21 (legislative day of Thursday, July 20), 1950

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, a statement prepared by me on the subject of statehood for Hawaii and Alaska.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF HON. FRANK P. GRAHAM, OF NORTH CAROLINA, IN FAVOR OF THE ADMISSION OF HAWAII AND ALASKA INTO THE UNION

STATEHOOD FOR HAWAII

The admission of Hawaii and Alaska into the American Union of States would have significant meaning for the people of these two Territories, for the people of the United States, and for the free peoples of the world. Hawaii has been a possession of the United States for 52 years; Alaska for 83 years. Both have served probationary periods as Territories longer than the average period served by the American States admitted since 1789. Both have most strategic geographic, commercial, and defense positions in relation to the Pacific-Asiatic world. Statehood would strengthen the Hawaiian and Alaskan position against communism. Now is a most strategic time for the admission of both as timely expressions of the self-determination of peoples and for the defense of freedom in the world.

Hawaii is composed of seven main islands which are the tops of volcanic mountains, some of which rise from the ocean bed to a height beyond the height which any other mountains in the world have risen from a land base. The original people were Polynesians and are related to the fine stock of Indonesian and Southeastern Asiatic peoples who came in their big boats with masterful seamanship across the great waters in the dim past of the dispersion of these remarkable people. The great explorer, Capt. James H. Cook, of the British Navy, discovered these islands in 1778.

American influence on the island began with the coming of 17 missionaries from New England in 1820. Under President Franklin Pierce, Secretary of State William L. Marcy's treaty for annexation of the islands failed because it provided for immediate admission as a State into the Union. Hawaii, by the special invitation of the Hawaiian Legislature, was annexed to the United States as a joint resolution of Congress in 1898, and was made a Territory in 1900.

Polynesian, American, Asiatic, and European peoples contribute to the robust variety of the civilization on islands which have become a proving ground of the values of a composite culture and the voluntary, harmonious relation of the races. In 1948 the population of Hawaii numbered 533,000, and is larger than the population of most of our States at the time of their admission. These people proved their loyalty to America in a crucial time. The heroic record of the Japanese-Hawaiian soldiers in World War II is almost unparalleled in American history.

The resources in sugar, pineapples, coffee, vegetables, fisheries, and shipping provide an economically self-sustaining basis for a prosperious and enlightened commonwealth. In production of pineapples Hawaii leads the world. The commerce between the mainland of the United States and Hawaii was surpassed in 1940 only by Great Britain, Canada, France, Japan, and Germany. The death rate of the Hawaiian people is lower than that of any State.

In education and the arts the people are well advanced. Their agricultural research agencies of Hawaii, the School of Tropical Agriculture, the Oriental Institute, the Art Museum, the School of Drama give expres-

sion to their advanced culture. They are an industrious, self-respecting people and have had 50 years of experience with an elected legislature.

Hawaii is 2,000 miles from San Francisco, most strategic as a way station for ships and planes en route to Australia, New Zealand, Indonesia, the Philippines, the mainland of Asia and Japan. It is an outpost and a stronghold of national defense in the Pacific Ocean. The admission of Alaska will tie these loyal Americans to the United States with even stronger bonds of freedom and democracy at a critical time. Hawaii is a meeting place for the synthesis of eastern and western civilizations. Not only is the position of Hawaii in maritime and aerial transportation and commerce important, but the admission of Hawaii now would be most strategic in time as an offset to false Communist propaganda.

The Hawaiian Legislature has petitioned for admission 14 times. The bill for its admission as a State was passed by the House of Representatives in 1947 and in 1949 by a vote of 262 to 110. When the liberties and self-determination of little nations are being crushed by ruthless dictators in the East and the West, the inclusion of Hawaii in the Union of States would be a signal to the whole world that we sincerely believe in the self-determination of the Hawaiian people and that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

STATEHOOD FOR ALASKA

No less significant would be the admission of Alaska. Secretary of State William H. Seward once observed: "The Pacific Ocean, its shores, its islands, and vast regions beyond, will become the chief theater of events in the world's great hereafter." The purchase of Alaska, called Seward's folly, has become, because of the values within Alaska and because of its present position in the world, one of the most farsighted acts of an American statesman. Alaska has become what the name means, "the great land."

After the acquisition of the American Pacific Northwest and of California, Americans on the Pacific coast had a special interest in the fisheries and furs of the Alaskan region. Baron de Stoeckl made a visit to St. Petersburg and soon after his return visited Secretary Seward in his home on the evening of March 29, 1867, and informed him that he had been authorized by the Emporer to negotiate for the transfer of Russian-America to the United States. Upon the Baron's suggestion that they meet next day for that purpose, Secretary Seward seized the night hour for immediate negotiations. At 4 a. m. in the morning of March 30, 1867, the Baron and the Secretary signed the treaty of purchase for $7,200,000.

Despite shortsighted and stubborn opposition, the Senate ratified the treaty May 28, and President Andrew Johnson proclaimed the treaty June 20. The actual transfer was made with solemn ceremonies at Sitka, October 18, 1867, since historic as Alaska Day. Civil administration was granted to the District of Alaska by the Congress in 1884. Alaska was made the Territory of Alaska by the act of Congress in 1912. Both major political parties have declared for the admission of Alaska. The last three Alaskan Legislatures have petitioned for statehood. A referendum of the people favored statehood. The House of Representatives voted to grant statehood to Alaska by the vote of 186 to 146.

The Territory has 586,400 square miles, three-fourths of which are in the north temperate zone. It is twice as large as the State of Texas, one-fifth the size of contineneal United States and is larger than Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Finland combined. Its population of around 130,000 people, approximately the population of Nevada, is larger than the population of 12 States when they were admitted into the Union.

Alaska is a picturesque region of Indians, Eskimos, Aleuts, and Caucasian peoples, of warm waters to the south and Arctic ice packs in the north, of majestic mountains, torrential waterfalls, and primeval forests, of temperatures ranging from 90° above and 70° below zero, of reindeer and dog trains,

railroads, bus lines, and airways. A great future beckons.

The present rich resources in fisheries, minerals, and furs provide the economic base of the Territory. Gold, silver, lead, tungsten, platinum, copper, and coal are the main minerals. Minerals to the value of $1,000,000,000 have been mined since 1867. Salmon, halibut, cod, and herring are the chief fish indigenous to Alaskan waters. The salmon pack is the largest in the world. Dairying and beef cattle are also important. Vast potential resources in forests, oil, and arable land are as yet undeveloped. The forest resources could annually provide 1,000,000 tons of newsprint.

The schools are a credit to the people, the churches and the civil administration of Alaska. The University of Alaska has the foundations for a distinguished State university. Agricultural experiment stations carry on important research at Fairbanks, Petersburg, and Palmer.

The admission of Alaska would give a new impulse to the enterprises and hopes of the peoples of Alaska and a new meaning to its position in our national defense. If there be any defect in this bill then let us correct the bill and not reject Alaska.

Alaska is the American outpost nearest Asia, with only the Bering Straits between. It is the bastion of defense from whose air bases planes could fly over the Arctic ice by the shortest airways to Asia and Europe. Just as the admission of Hawaii would recognize before all the world at a critical time that the Americans sincerely believe in the democratic principle of self-determination of the loyal people of the various western and eastern races on the Pacific islands, so the admission of Alaska would be both a just and timely act in the global war of ideas by the grant of self-determination to these loyal Americans in this our last and strategically important frontier at a strategic time in the history of America and in the cause of freedom and peace in the world.

The admission of Hawaii and Alaska into the American Union of States would have the effect of dropping the highest potential moral bombs on the propaganda line of Communist imperialism in Asia and the Pacific with democratic reverberations in both hemispheres for strengthening the American leadership of the free peoples of the world.

910632—37061

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An American National and International Program

REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK P. GRAHAM

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Saturday, September 23 (legislative day of Friday, September 22), 1950

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point, as a part of my remarks, a statement which I have prepared, entitled "An American National and International Program."

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF FRANK P. GRAHAM, SENATOR FROM NORTH CAROLINA

AN AMERICAN NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM

The present crisis for human freedom makes imperative (a) the national program for a stronger America as the leader of the free peoples and (b) the international program for a stronger United Nations as the chief hope of freedom and peace in the world.

A. America must be strong

1. In modern military, naval and air power and civilian mobilization and controls of prices, wages, man-power, materials, priorities, and rationing required to meet the world situation.

2. In atomic research; and in research on all the frontiers of knowledge so as to be ready for every emergency of national defense and for every call of human freedom.

3. In reorganization of the Government for efficiency and economy.

4. Fiscal policies with necessary economies and required revenues for balancing the budget as soon as possible without the destruction of the essential services of an effective civilized society, without bringing on a depression and without turning more of the earth over to the Communist dictatorship;

5. The constant energizing of our American free enterprise so as not to become the privilege or the monopoly of the few but so that its freedom, opportunities, and benefits shall be open to little-business men, big-business men and all people in the American way of fair competition.

6. Public power as an adjunct to the flood control of a few major rivers to supplement but not supplant private power as a basic resource of agriculture, industry, the communities, and the homes of the people.

7. Conservation of soils, forests, and water resources; agricultural education, research, extension, and home demonstration; rural electrification and rural telephones; the continuance and improvement of the agricultural parity price principle and the facilitation of the marketing of perishable commodities so as to keep in fair relation the prices the farmer receives and the prices the farmer pays in recognition of the people who "labor in the earth" (a) as equal partners in our economic society and (b) as creators of the foods and fibers which provide the sustenance, the clothing and shelter for all the families of men.

8. Sound industrial relations (a) through responsible freedom of working people whose self-organization is a great chapter in the modern history of liberty; and (b) through the equality of bargaining power between representatives of labor and management whose cooperation for gigantic production unparallelel in history helped decisively to win two world wars for human freedom and can yet win the peace for the peoples of the earth.

9. Local, State, and Federal cooperation (a) for the prevention of even one lynching by a mob in the South or by a gang in the North and (b) for the abolition of the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting; voluntary cooperation for the utilization of the most competent and available manpower for op-

timum production and national defense; and continuous progress in the humane relations of the races through the influence of religion and education in the minds and hearts of the people as the sound basis of enduring progress.

10. More equal educational opportunity for all children in all States by Federal aid to the States for the schools but without Federal control.

11. The prompt carrying through of a fair and decent housing program for veterans and people of low income to provide their families and children with the homes upon which depend the freedom and morale, the stability and progress, the health and happiness of many millions of the American people.

12. Decent minimum wages and the widening of the base of social security to lift the level of human liberty and increase the purchasing power and job opportunities for all people.

13. Private and public, local, State, and Federal cooperation now in building more hospitals and diagnostic facilities, in medical research; in the training of more doctors, nurses, and medical technicians under local and State control; in the Nation-wide promotion of voluntary health insurance; and a survey by a national commission participated in by eminent representatives of the medical and allied professions and lay groups, as a basis for recommendations to Congress for a hospital, medical care, and research program which would preserve the freedom of the medical profession on the highest levels of science and service and provide that no person in honest need would be without competent and adequate medical care in the Nation.

14. Requirement for the registration of the officers of all organizations which seek to control public opinion together with a statement of purposes, of membership, and itemized sources of financial support and expenditures.

15. Careful and prompt administration of the Displaced Persons Act as our fair and responsible part of the international agreement to provide refuge for the unfortunate human beings left homeless and hopeless by the march and countermarch of the armies of the Fascist and Communist dictators.

16. Continuation of the wise policy of reciprocal-trade agreements for the mutual reduction of tariff walls and the facilitation of trade between peoples to help close the dollar gap, to promote the economic prosperity of the nations as part of the larger program for the promotion of well-being of all peoples; for relieving economic and racial tensions, and for making more secure the foundation of freedom and peace in the world.

17. Adoption of the Genocide Convention to prohibit the extermination of a race as a crime against humanity.

B. The time for all people in America, as the leader of the free peoples of the earth, to stand united in support of stronger united nations

We are today confronted with a world in which over 700,000,000 people are under the orders of the imperialistic Communist dictatorship; in which approximately 700,000,000 stand with us on the side of human freedom, and in which over 700,000,000 are not clear as to which side they are on.

It is imperative in such a world not only that the people of the United States take some next feasible steps forward for fairer human relations in our own democracy, not only that America be made stronger in modern military power, in economic production and democratic morale, but also that Americans of all races, regions, economic groups, creeds, and national origins unite in support of a strong international program against all dictatorships, all aggression, for better international understanding, and for freedom and peace in the world. The American foundations, already well laid for such an international program, must be made more secure.

I. A Strong International Program

The people of America must make certain to the people of the Soviet Union that we

will go to war only in defense of freedom against aggression in fulfillment of our obligations under the Charter of the United Nations.

Let us make clear our faith in and support of:

1. The treaty of the Americas which bind together 21 republics of the Western Hemisphere for mutual defense and cooperation.

2. The Marshall plan to aid in the self-recovery of the free nations devastated by war to become renewed strongholds of freedom, the welfare of the people, and democratic self-defense.

3. The Atlantic Pact and military-assistance plan with provision of modern American military equipment and forces in Europe under a single command for the collective defense and mutual aid of any and all of the 12 Atlantic nations.

4. The self-determination of western Germany and West Berlin as now the best hope of a free and united Germany and as a bulwark of freedom and democracy in an economically integrated and politically united western Europe.

5. The recently established self-determination of the peoples of India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, the Near East, the Philippines and Indonesia and the potential self-determination of the people of Japan, Korea, Indochina, Malaya, and all the other Pacific and Asiatic peoples as the basis for the Asian conference and a devoutly to be wished democratic Asian pact for freedom and peace.

6. An international study of the status of Formosa under the auspices of the United Nations as a basis for recommendation to the United Nations.

7. As soon as wisely feasible an African conference in the interest of more self-determination of the peoples of Africa.

8. Point IV of the President's program for technical assistance to the people of undeveloped areas to lift the level of economic production and social well-being as the basis for a more general prosperity, freedom, and peace in the world.

9. The Voice of America and an international program of information about the American people, their yearning for peace with the Russian people, their good will and hopes for the freedom and peace of all peoples.

II. Through the Iron Curtain and to All People

The main purposes of the manifold American program is to strengthen freedom and democracy in America and to advance freedom and peace in the world. The peoples of America in particular and the democracies in general in the global struggle for the mind and spirit of man, must have the enthusiasm and fervor of a great devotion to the human freedom and dignity of all men as sons of God and brothers of men on both sides of the iron curtain. We must get through the iron curtain with the truth to the great Russian people to open their eyes to the dictatorship which cuts them off from the world, distorts their minds with falsehoods, embitters their hearts with hate, stirs their fears with alarms of aggression and war, and enslaves their bodies, minds, and spirits under the totalitarian tyranny of the police state. We must make clear again and again to the Russian people that the people of America with all our faults and frustrations have the freedom to struggle for freedom, that we covet no land, intend no aggression, and want no war. We must make clear again and again that we hate dictatorship, abhor aggression, and fervently want friendship and peace with the Russian people and all peoples on this earth.

The free peoples of the earth must make clear the nature of totalitarian dictatorship to the hundreds of millions of the people behind the iron curtain and to the bewildered hundreds of millions of people wavering between choosing, on the one hand, the slower but more enduring ways of freedom and democracy, and on the other hand, choosing the quicked ways and false promises of both fascism and communism. It must be made vividly clear that the revolu-

tion, which proclaimed the liberation of workers, has liquidated countless millions of workers and has enslaved millions more in enforced bondage; that the dictatorship, which declared itself the champion of little nations, has broken its promises to them, prohibited free elections and locked them behind the prison walls of the police state; and that the dictatorship which declared itself the transition to freedom, equality and peace has become a fixation for increasing tyranny, imperialism and war.

Fascism, communism and imperialism must be exposed and denounced for what they are. Denunciation is not enough. The Treaty of the Americas, the Western European Union, the Atlantic Pact, and the Asian Conference must be sustained. Treaties and pacts are not enough. National defense and military assistance programs must be made adequate against the monstrous threats of totalitarian tyranny. Armaments are not enough. More strategic than Formosa, stronger for defense than the Pyrenees, and more enduring than all the strongholds of reaction, are the stuff of the human spirit, the faith in the minds and hearts of the people, their democractic morale, their determination for self-determination against reactionary and colonial regimes, their will to resist aggression and dictatorship and to advance the freedom and well being of people everywhere.

America and the peoples of the whole free world must reveal themselves not only as defenders of human freedom but also as champions of human welfare, not only as woes of privilege and monopoly but also as promoters of the liberties and opportunities increasingly being made open to all people. The free peoples must stand forth, not only as stanch defenders of the old Bill of Rights for freedom of assembly, worship, speech, publication, elections, enterprise, and due process of law for equal justice, but also as advancing champions of the equal opportunity of the people to know, and of their children to be educated and to understand themselves, their fellows, and the world in which they live; to a fair chance to own and use the land; to organize and bargain collectively; to fair wages, decent conditions of life, labor, and housing; to security against disease, old age, and the hazards of modern economic society.

The free peoples must make clear to all men that the highest advances in the human pilgrimage from savagery to civilization have not been made by dictatorship, aggression and war but by the victories of free and creative cooperation for liberty and security against the common dangers of the jungle and the wilderness and then against the common hazards of our modern dynamic society. The broader the democracies make the base of economic opportunity and security the higher become the levels of individual initiative and human liberty.

In the transition from the household, local and regional economies to the national and world economies, modern democracy must safeguard both the freedom of the individual and the welfare of the people by making progressively intelligent adjustments of the local-national structure of our modern free dynamic society. They must also keep in progressive balance the rightful responsibilities and functions of both the local community and the Nation against the single consolidation of power in a totalitarian police state. The people of the free world must emphasize the historic fact that the advancing freedom of the individual and the increasing well being of the people, thus balanced, are the two sides of the shield of democracy which would protect the people from the false promises and the cruel power of the Fascist and Communist totalitarian states.

The resurgence of democracy in the British Commonwealth, in western Germany, in the western European—Mediterranean-Atlantic-American world, and the insurgence of nationalism in the Asiatic-Pacific world, are not, as the reactionaries fear and the totalitarians hope, the tired sigh of a democratic age that is dying, but, as all free men pray, the fresh breath of a new age that is

being born. The free peoples must make clear through their leaders in the West and in the East that they want for all nations freedom and security, justice and peace in a world in which the people, with lessening fear and despair, as part of the struggles of the human pilgrimage, can hopefully dream dreams of a fairer day for themselves and their children.

III. Resolute Support of the Principles of the United Nations

We have committed ourselves, with the other free peoples, to fulfill the obligations of the Charter of the United Nations. Let us make clear our resolute support of the United Nations:

1. By making clear to any and all aggressors that the United Nations, by its courageous stand in South Korea, risked the military disaster of a Dunkirk to avoid the moral disaster of a Munich.

2. By making clear its unshakable determination to stop aggression there and anywhere in fulfillment of the obligations of the Charter of the United Nations.

3. By proposing the establishment of the Voice of the World under the direction of the United Nations for the promotion of international understanding through accurate information regarding both the proceedings of the United Nations and the course of international affairs.

4. By working toward a world situation in which it would be possible and wise to hold an international conference of the nations for—

(a) International disarmament through the agreement of all nations;

(b) International control and inspection of the sources and production of atomic power;

(c) Amendments to the Charter of the United Nations for—

(1) The abolition or restriction of the veto against its abuse by any nation.

(2) The strengthening of the World Court to provide original jurisdiction against crimes committed in violation of the Charter of the United Nations.

(3) The widening of the responsibility of the Assembly so as, for example, to provide for the Assembly's right to make recommendations regarding matters on the agenda of the Security Council.

(4) The establishment of an international police force responsible to the United Nations strong enough to prevent aggression and preserve the peace of the world.

CONCLUSION

In the little Republic of South Korea an international police force is being assembled in response to the call of the United Nations and the moral opinion of mankind. Back of the local struggle of arms in Korea is the global war of ideas in our generation. Under the blue and white flag of the United Nations the physical boundaries of the little Republic of South Korea have been widened to the spiritual horizons of the free world. The aggression of international communism against the freedom of South Korea is an assault upon the moral foundations of the freedom and peace of the world. The United Nations, in taking a stand there, and the President of the United States, in giving the order for American troops to fight on that peninsula many thousand miles from home, in the face of the potential pressure of accumulated power reaching across the unbroken land mass of two continents, made one of the most heroic decisions of modern history. In a world darkened under the extension of the iron curtain over the hopes of the peoples in the west and in the east, the United Nations, in risking its existence, has saved its life with a moral idealism which rekindles the faith of free men everywhere.

The United Nations in resisting the aggression of a ruthless and cynical dictatorship, must, if necessary, fight on strategic fronts with modern equipped military forces, with technical and economic assistance for the increased opportunities and well-being of all people, and with the ideas of the freedom, the dignity, and spiritual autonomy of human beings everywhere. May the unfurling of the flag of the United Nations in South Korea mean the raising of the

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standard of freedom against aggression now and at all times, there and anywhere on this earth, however vast and unbroken be the land mass of the aggressor and however secret be the time-table of the dictator. We pray God that the stand of the United Nations against aggressors in Korea will make for freedom and peace in the world.

As the people of all races and regions, nations and stations, colors and creeds, look to the flag of the United Nations, may they have a new birth of the freedom to struggle for freedom, a new faith in themselves and their fellowmen, and a new vision, under God, of equal opportunities for their children and a new hope for justice and peace for all people on this earth. The peoples of the Nation and colonies, the islands and continents, white, black, yellow, red, and brown people, men, women, and their children everywhere, their freedom and dignity, opportunities and hopes, these are the sacred cause for which the flag of the United Nations calls us to the great crusade of the peoples against any materialistic, imperialistic, totalitarian, and ideological tyranny over the bodies, minds, and spirit of people anywhere on this earth.

As we look across our broken and desperate world and down the centuries of our modern times, we are reminded that our earth is being made one world in the interdependence of peoples either for the destruction of themselves and their civilization or for the creative cooperation of nations for the freedom, welfare, and peace of a fairer civilization for all peoples.

By the dynamics of the electromagnetic needle of the mariner's compass, the commercial revolution of the late fifteenth century and since, tied the continents, islands, oceans, seas, and all the nations together in one commercially interdependent world. By the dynamics of the steam, electric, and gas power engines. the industrial revolution of the late eighteenth century and since, has bound the nations together in one industrially interdependent world. By the high potentials of nuclear power, the atomic revolution of the mid-twentieth century, has linked the peoples of this earth together with the potential doom or the humane hopes of the common destiny of all the sons of men. By the moral dynamics of the peoples' aspirations for human freedom, the politically self-determining and the democratically interdependent peoples of the earth, confronted with the fact of the international Communist conspiracy and with the threat of a global totalitarian dictatorship, are drawn together by a common cause for the international defense of human liberty. The United Nations has taken its courageous stand against this monstrous threat and also seeks to bring under international political mastery the commercial, industrial, and atomic international framework of dynamic power for the weal rather than the woe of the peoples of the earth.

A dynamic, more powerful than the electromagnetic compass, stronger than the power engine, more potential than atomic power, and more fundamental than the controls and hopes of the United Nations, greater than all these, is the moral dynamic of the spiritual revolution in the teachings of Jesus who lived and died that people everywhere might be free and equal in the brotherhood of all men under the Fatherhood of God who "made of one blood all the nations of men for to dwell in all the face of the earth."

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I I 3 (Mos)

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

CBS--Matter of M
Moscow University

D. H. Rivkin April 8, 1954

The following is a rough index of the IIE files relating to the Moscow University sessions:

Folder "A"

Doc. No. Russia - Anglo-American Institute - 240

1 List of persons to be invited to become members of the Advisory Council of the Anglo-American Institute of the First Moscow University (no date)

2. Letterhead listing Director and Advisory Council

3 List of Advisory Council members

4 Memo by ERM summarizing (Dec. 11, 1933)

(a) Organizational tie-up between IIE and Anglo-American Institute.

(b) Establishment and function of Advisory Council.

(c) Function of A.A.I.

Dr. Duggan invited to visit Russia for 2 months during March-April or April-May to conduct study of higher education in U.S.S.R.

(d) A.A.I. and IIE to organize publicity program.

(e) Student registration through IIE; also fees paid to IIE.

Doc. No. Russia - Anglo-American Institute - 240

(f) Business arrangements concerning travel through Open Road and Bureau of University Travel.

5 Letter from SPD dated Moscow, April 29, 1934, to VDKS, Intourist and the First Moscow University summarizing agreement reached at meeting with representatives of above. Copies to IIE, Sollins, Intourist-N.Y., the Open Road.

6 IIE press release dated May 17, 1934 announcing first meeting of Advisory Council same date.

7 Minutes of meeting of Advisory Council Nov. 5, 1934, Town Hall Club, N.Y.C.

(a) SPD said project had less initial examination than others undertaken by IIE; his personal interest most genuine.

(b) Sollins read written report.

(c) SPD summarized answers to student questionnaires; travel facilities sharply criticized; physical accommodations generally good, some overcrowding; courses not well-organized, material too elementary, though faculty possessed high type of scholarship; field excursions late in starting, groups too large; Sollins' work sharply criticized on administrative and personality level; suggestions for future sessions.

(d) Sollins reply to criticism.

(e) Statement by Rubin of Intourist.

(f) SPD stated IIE would not continue sponsorship if Sollins were again affiliated. SPD, however, wholeheartedly in favor of continuance of project.

(g) Organization of next year's program.

Doc. No. Russia - Anglo-American Institute - 240

8 Correspondence Nov. 1934 between SPD and Russian Embassy re their request for list of Advisory Council members and copy of minutes of Nov. 5 meeting.

9 Announcement of 1934 Summer Session of Anglo-American Institute of the First Moscow University.

Folder "B"

Russia - Anglo-American Institute - 276

1 Student questionnaires (apparently selected) October 1934.

2 Correspondence Oct.-Nov. 1933 ERM and Hamburg American Lines.

3 Copy of cable Dec. 10, 1932 from Openroad N.Y. to Open Road in Moscow stating that IIE and Open Road ready promote Moscow University Summer School under conditions listed.

4 Copy of memo Dec. 15, 1932 from the Open Road (JR) to Rosa Laddon Hanna (Moscow representative of Open Road), summarizing agreement reached at meeting of Intourist representatives, ERM and JR (John Rothschild) "a few days ago".

5 Notes on conversation April 21, 1933 between Miss Hanna, Miss Pickering (Intourist) JR (Open Road) and ERM. ERM and Rothschild will try to go to Moscow in October.

6 Letter April 22, 1933 from Open Road to ERM enclosing notes of conversation same date, to be used as basis for preparation of memo by ERM.

7 Memo April 29, 1933 from ERM to SPD transmitting statement by ERM, to be submitted to Moscow University authorities. "Facilities are available through the IIE for the dissemination of information concerning the summer school and the acceptance of registrations."

Doc. No. Russia - Anglo-American Institute - 276

8 Letter May 9, 1933 from ERM to Rothschild transmitting memo (Doc. No. 7 above). "The attached has the approval of my chief."

9 Letter July 19, 1933 from Rothschild to ERM requesting that April 29 memo be rewritten as a letter to the Director of the Open Road, to be taken to Moscow by Intourist official leaving for Russia July 20.

10 Revised notes July 20, 1933 by Rothschild "superseding all previous memoranda". Defines IIE role as follows: give its auspices, disseminate information, accept registrations, assist in securing American professors needed to accompany students, deal with question of credits and generally exercise supervision in the U.S."

Also defines role of Open Road and Intourist.

11 Letter July 20, 1933 from Rothschild to ERM advising that Linda Lewis of Intourist taking with him to Moscow Doc. No. 10 above.

12 Letter Sept. 30, 1933 from Rothschild to ERM advising that New York University Summer School in Moscow "has been made the basis of the official summer school to be run next season by Moscow University. Our plan is in the discard". Irving Sollins of NYU School of Ed., who headed 1933 school, "has been made the American director of the new school". Asks ERM for his opinion of new plan before agreeing to Sollins' proposal that Open Road cooperate.

13 Statement by Sollins October 3, 1933 listing academic program, organization of courses and tuition fees.

14 Letter Oct. 24, 1933 from Rothschild to ERM reporting talk with Sollins. "Sollins got word from the Institute a few days ago that the matter is now in Dr. Duggan's hands and that Dr. D. will not be able to see him for several weeks." Sollins reported to be anxious to work with IIE, but if that would involve delays, with ultimate decision on part of IIE still in doubt, Sollins broached idea of independent committee with member from IIE.

Move on foot to revive Am-Russian Institute.

Doc. No. Russia - Anglo-American Institute - 276

15 Memo Nov. 13, 1933 from Lisowski to files re interview with Rothschild and Sollins. IIE to represent Anglo-American Institute at Moscow. Leaflet to be submitted to SPD for OK, then mailed to colleges and universities by Open Road in IIE envelope. Open Road not to appear.

16 Letter Dec. 21, 1933 to ERM from Rothschild requesting info on instruction and living expenses at other European summer schools, for meeting at IIE on Friday of that week.

Folder "C"

1 Letter Sept. 5, 1935 SPD to Judge John Bassett Moore regarding cancellation of 1935 session: SPD does not know real reason for cancellation. Remainder of letter re Hull's letter to Soviet Government warning it about activities in U.S. of Communist International. SPD thinks it (State Dept. action) "unfortunate and stupid".

2 Correspondence Oct. 1935 between SPD and Dr. Henry E. Sigerist re cancellation of 1935 session. SPD has written to Ambassador Bullitt asking for report.

Folder "D"

1 Instructions to students - undated.

2 Flyer announcing 1934 session "under American auspices of Institute of International Education".

3 Flyer announcing 1935 session "American Representative Intourist Inc." "American Advisory Organization Institute of International Education."

4 Mimeographed announcement Nov. 1933 by Anglo-American Institute of the First Moscow University. Under "Origin", gives history of 1933 session "conducted by a group of American educators". Called American Summer School in Russia.

Doc. No.	Russia - Anglo-American Institute - 276
5	List of 1934 participants.
6	List of 1935 participants.
7	Report August 1935 by I. Henry Shapiro of 1934 session.
8	Mimeographed document of Open Road, "suggestions and instructions for Open Road Travelers to Soviet Russia 1934".
9	Letter Nov. 27, 1934 from SPD to Prof. Helen Harper transmitting Nov. 5 Advisory Council minutes.
10	Preliminary draft, undated, unsigned, "Summer School and Handbook Report," addressed to SPD. Page 3. "The Proposed Summer Session of Moscow University". On July 18, 1935 the writer was informed that "it had been decided to abandon the Summer School program".

Folder "E"

1 Minutes of Dec. 6, 1934 meeting of Advisory Committee of the Anglo-American Institute. Topics discussed for 1935 session:

(a) Organized group discussions.

(b) Handbook..

(c) Curriculum.

(d) Criticisms by Soviet leaders of Anglo-American Institute.

(e) Library.

2 Minutes of Dec. 14, 1934 meeting of above committee. Discussion continued of above and related topics. [Note that Sollins present in spite of SPD's statement of Nov. 5, 1934 that IIE would not continue sponsorship if Sollins again involved.]

Folder "F"

Doc. No. Russia - Anglo-American Institute - 276

Not catalogued. Contains correspondence, reports and other material concerning details of administration, and some duplicates of material in other folders. Contains also SPD letters written from London in June 1934 after his visit to Moscow, covering Sollins-Shapiro-Habicht disagreements and dissatisfactions, and letters to SPD from Shapiro and Habicht about Sollins, and in particular

1 Letter Sept. 18, 1934 from SPD to Boris E. Skvirsky, Narkomindel, Moscow, relating circumstances in which he was invited to Moscow, his dissatisfaction with administrative failures, and indicating withdrawal of future IIE sponsorship if reports from students warrant this. Letter should be carefully read for statements which might be isolated from context and attacked.

Folder "G"

1 Memo May 24, 1934 from KRM to SPD (then in Moscow?) reporting status of project and recommending that IIE "assume complete responsibility for promotion, organizing and recruiting in this country, or consider seriously the advisability of dissociating ourselves from the entire venture".

2 Letter Aug. 15, 1934 from H. D. Roberts, Chrm. of Student Council of American Institute, Moscow University, to Prof. Pinkevitch, suggesting improvements in planning and organization.

3 Letter Sept. 3, 1934 to SPD from Dr. Krans, Director Am. Univ. Union in Paris, enclosing newspaper clipping from Paris Herald and notes of a conversation concerning Professor Roland H. Spaulding, a lecturer at the Institute.

4 Letter Nov. 3, 1934 to SPD from Prof. Spaulding re suggestions and criticisms re 1934 session.

Minutes of the Board of Trustees

Nov. 2, 1933 p. 7	-	"The action of the Director with reference to the Institute's becoming the American representative of the Anglo-American Institute of the First Moscow University."
Oct. 25, 1934 p. 9	-	"It was voted to continue the sponsorship of the Anglo-American Institute of the First Moscow University provided the conditions outlined by the Director of the Institute of International Education are met."
Oct. 25, 1934 p. 9	-	"The Director gave an oral report of his visit to Institute representatives in Europe and of his survey of educational opportunities in the Soviet Union."

"In the Annual Report for 1934, mention was made of the establishment by the University of Moscow of the first Summer Session ever organized in a Russian university. It was organized for American and English students and the lectures and discussions were to be carried on in English. The experience of the Session in the summer of 1934 was successful and justified the Institute in again acceding to the request of the Soviet educational authorities to sponsor it in the United States. Partly as a result of that sponsorship, a well selected group of two hundred Americans registered for the courses. They were joined at Leningrad by some thirty English students, only to be informed upon their arrival that the Summer Session would not be held. The reason given by the Soviet officials was that the Government had to commandeer professors, who were to give the courses, for government work and no other English-speaking professors were available for their summer session. The Soviet officials made as adequate alternative disposition of the students as it could, apparently to the satisfaction of the majority of them. But the Director of the Institute does not feel justified in sponsoring an activity characterized by such inefficient administration. He has therefore notified the Soviet educational officials that the Institute has severed its connection with the Moscow Summer School."

The above is extracted from the Sixteenth Annual Report of the Institute of International Education dated October 1, 1935

"The Institute is the representative in the United States of nearly all the important summer sessions of universities in foreign countries. Most Americans attend these summer sessions to study the language of the countries involved. The American Institute of the First Moscow University has just been established with a different point of view, viz., to offer courses on many aspects of Soviet civilization. Moreover, the courses are given in English, there being few Americans who could understand Russian. The interest in the new regime in Russia that prevails in the United States is made evident by the fact that some two hundred persons attended this summer session, more than is true of any other foreign institution. Moreover, they included college professors, research students, teachers and undergraduates. The Institute was asked to sponsor this enterprise and I was invited to Russia primarily to help in its organization. This was necessary because of the great difference between Russian and American standards of living and methods of instruction. It was a difficult task on account of the ignorance that prevails in Russia of our conception of scholastic work. The Institute agreed to sponsor the enterprise for a year as an experiment and then to determine what its permanent relation to it would be."

The above is extracted from the Fifteenth Annual Report of the Directors of the Institute of International Education dated October 1,1934

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AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF MOSCOW UNIVERSITY

SUMMER SESSION OF 1934

REPORT FOR

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF MOSCOW UNIVERSITY
SUMMER SESSION OF 1934

REPORT FOR THE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

The American (formerly called Anglo-American) Institute of Moscow University functioned under the auspices of

1. The Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries "VOKS"

2. All-Union Company "INTOURIST"

and was sponsored in the United States by the Institute of International Education. The administration of the Institute consisted of:

1. The Directorate
   a. Professor A. Pinkevich who represented the University of Moscow
   b. Y. L. Rabeina who represented VOKS
   c. I. V. Sellins who represented New York Intourist

2. The Faculty *
   a. Balcova, instructor in English, Pedagogical Institute
   b. Brusilovsky, member of the Institute of Criminology
   c. Galaiswich, director of the Institute of Polytechnization
   d. Galousky, member of the Institute of Criminology
   e. Gourlandff of the Moscow Pedelogical Laboratory
   f. Hellerstein of the Institute of Psychology
   g. Hubnitskaya, director of the Psychological Laboratory of the Commissariat of Heavy Industry
   h. Khariteonova of the Institute of Psychology
   i. Lewit, professor at the Institute of Journalism
   j. Lifschitz of the Communist Academy
   k. Mints, professor at the Institute of Red Professors
   l. Mirsky, art critic and essayist
   m. Novitsky, director of the Department of Theatres of the Commissariat of Education
   n. Petrovsky of the Commissariat of Heavy Industry
   o. Pinkevich, of the presidium of the Committee for Higher Technical Education for the USSR
   p. Ritslina of the Krupskaya Pedagogical Institute
   q. Spilerein, of the Institute of Psychology
   r. Smith of the State Planning Commission
   s. Sradkovsky, assistant director of the Central Pedagogical Institute
   t. Utevsky, member of the Institute of Criminology

3. Council
   General Council consisting of the members of the directorate, the faculty and the executive committee of the student organization. Its function was advisory.

4. Student Committees
   a. Editorial Julia Older of Hartford, Courant, chairman. The committee prepared two issues of the student wall newspaper "Soviet Summer". The issues contained editorials, announcements, sketches, cartoons, poems, etc.

*All the members of the faculty are connected with various other institutes. I have mentioned only one for the purpose of identification.

4. Student Committees Continued

b. Social. Lillian Christie of Smith College, chairman. The committee organized several dances and a costume-ball to which Soviet students were invited. Among other social activities were two picnics organized jointly by the committee and the "Proletarian Student Organization", and tennis and volley-ball tournaments. The activities of this committee were especially significant because they provided what was virtually the only contact the American students had with Soviet students.

c. Technical. Blanche Brown of New York, chairman.

d. [illegible]. Holland Roberts of Stanford University, chairman

e. Executive. This committee consisted of one representative of each committee and six members at large. The function of the committees were mainly advisory but the administration was very deferential to student opinion. A case in point is the list of demands regarding service at the Institute the executive committee made soon after arrival. The demands were promptly satisfied.

5. Service Bureau.

a. General representative of Intourist, Miss Semakhvalova

b. Manager of Service Bureau, Miss Angarskaya

c. Staff of clerks, interpreters, etc.

CURRICULUM

The curriculum consisted of eleven courses and one hundred and thirty field-trips and excursions. Following are the courses:

Courses	Lecturers	Registrants	Passed *
1. Art 1	Mirsky, Novitsky, Lifschitz	60	12
2. Education 1	Khmritsnova, Ritzlina	10	6
3. Education 2	Pinkevich, Gaisinovich, Petrovsky	15	9
4. Education 3	Rudnitskaya, Hellerstein	12	8
5. Education 4	Svadkovsky	20	6
6. Psychology	Spielrein	15	6
7. Sociology 1	Levit	70	14
8. Sociology 2	Mintz	15	8
9. Sociology 3	Brusilovsky, Golunsky	20	6
10. Economics	Smith	30	16
11. Russian	Belaeva		
a. elementary		25	2
c. advanced		8	3

In addition to the regular courses there were the following occasional lectures:

1. Vishinsky, Assistant Prosecutor of the USSR on "Soviet Law"
2. McDowell, American farm specialist on "Collective Farming"
3. Lukatch, of the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute on "Dialectic Materialism"
4. Strashun, professor at the Medical College on "Soviet Medicine"
5. Mintz, professor at the Institute of Red Professors on "National Minorities in the USSR"
6. S.Levit, director of the Institute of Biology on "Genetics in the USSR"
7. P.Levit, psychologist on "Problem of Personality in the Soviet Union"

*Less than one-half of the students took the examinations. Most of those who took them passed.

In connection with the visits to various institutions the students heard a great number of local lecturers such as Kamenoff of the Commissariat of Education, Bidzenna of Gosnavkhoz, etc. Two lectures, one by professor Rabinovich on the "Soviet Union's Foreign Trade" and the other by Professor Gromp on "Higher Schools in the United States and the USSR" scheduled for August 16, did not take place because of lack of attendance.

Under the directorship of Professor Pinkevich several small groups met and discussed the following subjects, using the seminar method:

1. Education	12	members
2. Medicine	6	"
3. Architecture	2	"
4. Agronomics	5	"

The members of the groups met irregularly and discussed a variety of questions with the Soviet authorities in their fields. No continuous study of a particular subject was made. The program of the Medical Group is enclosed.

THE SESSIONS

The students began to arrive in Leningrad on July 16th. Most of them left Leningrad on the 19th and arrived in Moscow on the 20th when the formal opening of the Institute was to have taken place. Lack of adequate preparation prevented the opening on the scheduled date. It took place on the evening of the 21st. At the meeting arranged for the purpose the students were greeted, among others, by Director Pinkevich, Arosoff, the president of VOKS, Kurz, the president of Intourist, a representative of the American embassy, a representative of the Soviet "Proletarian Student Organization", and William S. Gordon, an American student. A mistaken reference by Gordon to the educational crisis in America was misinterpreted by Ralph Barnes of the Herald Tribune and reported to his newspaper as a soap-box attack on American institutions. Gordon's remarks were considered tactless by the Administration as well as by members of the student body.

The lectures were to begin on the 22nd but it took several days before the classes functioned with regularity. Now and then a lecture would be postponed without sufficient advance warning. The schedule of classes had not been prepared in New York and students had been registered without consideration of the possibility of conflicts of hours. Most of these difficulties, however, were solved by the beginning of the second academic week.

Most of the lectures took place between 9 A.M. and 1 P.M. Several were given afternoons. Every lecture lasted two hours with a ten minutes' recess at the end of the first hour and was continued two days later. Approximately one-third of the lecture time was devoted to discussion, at the discretion of the lecturer. Time was wasted in some of the courses because the lecturer spoke Russian and his lectures had to be translated. Most of the lecturers spoke English fairly well, some like Mirsky, Smith and Petrovsky spoke excellently, but others, like Gnisinovich and Novitsky spoke only through an interpreter. The principal interpreter was Kerchmar. He is a master of both Russian and English but often took liberties with the text. He took no notes of the lectures and translated from memory. Consequently, his errors of omission and commission were numerous. Some of the lecturers had had their lectures translated and read them to the class.

The afternoons were devoted largely to field trips. Approximately 130 excursions took place. The students travelled either en masse or in groups arranged in accordance with the courses they were taking. Most of the excursions proved very

valuable in supplementing the information the students had gathered in the lecture-room but sometimes the students merely heard another lecture by the director of the institution they were visiting instead of taking full advantage of the opportunity to observe the institution at work. A schedule of excursions is enclosed.

There were no lectures on August 14th and 15th. These days were devoted to examinations. On the evening of the 14th the final exercises were held. Again Mr. Arensoff and Mr. Marx addressed the students on the achievements of the Institute. Professor Pinkevich reviewed the work of the Institute and read the school statistics some of which are contained in this report. In his address Professor Pinkevich intimated a reorganization of the Institute next year. A basis of selecting the students is to be determined in advance and the curriculum changed. Several members of the student body were called upon by Mr.Sellins to speak of their experiences in the USSR. They all spoke with enthusiasm. The meeting was followed by a dinner and dance.

A majority of the students left Moscow on the evening of August 15th. Some of them did not wait until the end of the sessions and drifted away earlier. The itineraries follows

1. Kharkov, Yalta, Sevastopol, Odessa, Kiev	15 days	39	students
2. " " " " "	10 "	66	"
3. Gorki, Volga, Rostov, Kharkov, Kiev	15 "	40	"
4. Leningrad, Baltic and White Sea Canal, Kharkov and Kiev	15 "	24	"

Tours 1 and 2 are conducted by Professor Svadkovsky and Miss Semchevalova, tour 3 by Y. L. Robbins of VOKS and tour 4 by Professor Grump. Professor Pinkevich is leaving for Kiev to arrange for the farewell to the students, by the Kiev authorities and to award the certificates of credit to those who passed the examinations.

THE DORMITORY

1. Rooms. 196 students were registered at the American Institute. 37 lived at the New Moscow Hotel and all the others at the dormitory of the Third House of Soviets. The lectures were also held at the dormitory, four rooms having been set aside for that purpose. The building consists of two wings the left one of which contains 13 rooms and an auditorium. Two rooms, the auditorium and occasionally the library were used for lectures. One room was converted into an office for the directorate and another for the secretarial staff. The remaining nine rooms were used by the men students for living rooms so that the average room contained eight men. The rooms are extremely large and airy (they are surrounded by a large garden) so that there was sufficient breathing space and elbowroom but, of course, no privacy. Students returning late disturbed their room mates. There was also insufficient closet space and students had to hang their clothes on beds, chairs, etc., nor was there sufficient space for study in the rooms.

The right wing of the building contains 18 rooms and a dining hall. The rooms were used by women's quarters exclusively. The average room housed seven women.

There are long and wide corridors in both wings of the building. They were furnished nicely and converted into Lounge rooms. There was also a kiosk at the end of each corridor at which articles of interest to the students were sold.

2. Sanitary Conditions

The building is provided with a shower house in the court yard, two minutes' walk from the main building. Originally, there was equipment for two showers only. Alterations were made so that four showers, hot and cold, could be taken simultaneously. Since there was only one shower room it was arranged by a student committee that the women use it mornings and men afternoons. A Russian "sweat bath" proved useful to those who wanted to do their own laundry.

There are four lavatories, two in each wing of the building. Each lavatory also contains four wash-stands supplied with running cold water. The lavatories were whitewashed and cleaned and a large container of hot water placed in each room. There was an insufficient number of mirrors on the walls of the washrooms but upon request additional ones were installed.

A room was used for medical service only and a trained nurse was in constant attendance. There were the usual cases of minor stomach disorders common to most travellers soon after arrival in the country. They were treated and cured immediately and thereafter the services of the medical staff were superfluous.

3. Meals

During the first few days in Moscow the meals gave the students cause for complaint. They were adequate in quantity but of questionable quality, the food was not balanced and the service was poor. Upon calling the case to the attention of the authorities conditions were so changed that the meals became the envy of even second class tourists. The National Hotel that is accustomed to cater for first class tourists took charge of the dining hall. American dietetics were considered. There was sufficient variety and choice of courses. Following are three typical meals.

Breakfast 7:30-9:30	Dinner 1:00-3:30	Supper 6:30-9:30
Choice of	Choice of two soups	Roast pork with
Omlette	and	stewed cabbage
Fried Eggs	Choice of	and
Cheese	Fried Fish	Strawberry cake or
Stewed Fruit	Roast veal with vegetables	Ice cream
and	Vegetable Plate	and
Cereal (upon request)	and	Coffee or tea
and Zwieback	Ice Cream or Pudding	and
and Butter	and	bread
and Tea or Coffee	Coffee or Tea	
	and	
	Bread and Russian meat cakes	

A staff of waitresses served the students during meal hours with courtesy and dispatch. The dining hall was well furnished and clean.

A buffet was installed in the dining hall at which extras and refreshments were sold until midnight. In the beginning the prices at the buffet, as well as at the kiosk, were unreasonably high, higher than at Torgsin. Later, the prices were reduced and some of the articles such as books were even sold at a discount.

4. The Library

As mentioned above one of the rooms on the men's side was used as a reading room. The room was open all day and evening. The library contained only

about 300 titles in several languages. This, of course, does not fulfill the needs of a reference library. There was also on display a variety of model programs of the Soviet schools, assigned as collateral reading in the courses on education, duplicates of government decrees on education, posters, charts, etc. The students were also referred to the well equipped foreign public library but as far as I have been able to ascertain very few of the students availed themselves of the opportunity to use either the public library or that of Moscow University.

GENERAL SERVICES

Under the able direction of Misses Samshvalov and Angarskaya the Service Bureau of the Institute functioned with a maximum of efficiency possible under the circumstances. But the lack of sufficient preparation and the fact of widely diffused responsibility were evident throughout the term and particularly during the first week. A few examples suffice: On the day of arrival of the students in Moscow there was general confusion in the dormitory. Several members of the administration and of the service staff were giving contradictory orders. Students found it difficult to obtain information about courses or about anything else. Several of the students lined up before the shower room ready to take showers but after considerable waiting were told that it had not been decided yet when the showers were to be used by men and when by women.

Conflicts of schedule have already been mentioned. Contrary to the attitude of the Soviet officials who were invariably courteous and obliging under the most trying circumstances a typical attitude of Mr. Sullins to whom many of the students went to complain about the conflicts and other matters was a shrug of the shoulder and a consoling remark "charge it up to experience".

No satisfactory provision had been made for incidental services to the students such as laundry, car fares, etc. It took unreasonably long to have their laundry done through their maids who were to take them to the Hotel National. Because of the complicated currency problem it was difficult, in the beginning, for the students who did not wish to speculate, to move about the city, for no tram or bus tickets had been distributed.

There was no dearth of busses for the transportation of students in the course of the official programs but often there was much delay in getting started. Either because the students themselves were not well disciplined to be punctual or because there was delay in the arrival of busses or of the interpreters, valuable time was lost in just waiting.

As the term advanced the service improved very rapidly. Most of the early defects were remedied and towards the conclusion of the term, the students, had forgotten the initial difficulties and retained the impression that all the Soviet authorities, from Professor Pinkevich down to the humblest maid had made extraordinary efforts to make them comfortable.

THE STUDENT BODY

The student body was extremely heterogeneous. Evidently, little or no selection had been exercised. All ages, from seventeen to seventy and all degrees of academic background, from preparatory school to university professorships, were represented. The students came from 60 universities and colleges and lived in 30 states in the Union. Columbia University led with 30 members, New York University with 13 was second, then followed Dartmouth, Smith, etc. 82 of the students were

teachers, 64 were undergraduates and 12 professors. They held the following academic degrees:

A. B.	57	M. D.	7
A. M.	40		
Ph.D.	11	LL. B.	2

Obviously, the Institute suffered because of the lack of homogeneity. It was difficult for the lecturers to find a common denominator. Nor was it fair to impose such motley group on the faculty without previous warning. Not only was the quality of the student group unknown to them, but some of them were drafted immediately before the arrival of the students to join the faculty. The lectures were, of necessity, elementary. That was satisfactory to a majority of the students, but the older students, specialists in various fields, instructors and professors, found the courses wanting. To those who had some familiarity, for example, with the economics of the USSR, or even to those who had merely read Stalin's report to the Seventeenth Party Congress, Professor Petrovsky's lectures on the Five Year Plan were a waste of time. To all others the lectures were very illuminating.

With regard to their reaction to the summer's experience the students may be divided roughly into three categories:

1. A very small group of sophisticates who scoffed at everything indiscriminately. They drank much and learned little. Ring Lardner, Jr. is a good representative of this group.

2. A somewhat larger group of serious minded, critical men and women who had come to study and who took their work seriously. Some of these students were disappointed in the elementary nature of the courses, the quality of the student body and the defective organization of the Institute. But they enjoyed their contact with the members of the faculty, all of whom are distinguished by their scholarship, as well as their general experience in the country.

3. The majority of the students who were undergraduates or recently graduated. They combined a mild interest in their study with a greater interest in amusing themselves. Because of their preponderance the authorities had to cater to this group. Among these should be included a number of tourists who had no interest in the lectures, who would have come to the Soviet Union as ordinary tourists but who took advantage of the lower rates and of the superior facilities of the Institute and joined it.

The special efforts made on behalf of the students, particularly during the last two or three weeks, the large number of excursions, the generosity of the lecturers with their time and the social activities arranged for them combined with novelty of life in the Soviet Union to create a very favorable impression on a majority of the students. Many of them assured me that they were leaving Moscow with regret.

CONCLUSION

The facts described in this report indicate that the American Institute was defective chiefly in organization. It need not be pointed out again that in spite of the experimental nature of the Institute and the numerous difficulties under which it operated, its achievements were considerable. It is regrettable, however, that so many of the difficulties, which could have been avoided, were not done so, because of improper organization. It was not before June 21 that the Third House of

Soviets was selected as quarters for the students. At that time the House was utterly unfit for the purpose. By extraordinary effort it was made ready on time for the arrival of the students and it proved to be quite satisfactory. It could have been infinitely better if the work had begun earlier and all the efforts of the administration that were spent on preparing the building had been applied to other uses.

Nor did the Institute benefit from excessive "bossism". Professor Duggan's suggestion that responsibility be individual and undivided, in educational matters in the Educational Director and in material matters in the Manager for Material Affairs was adopted. Had it been carried out many blunders would have been avoided.

Better organization in the future will provide for more contact with Soviet students. Many of the American students were disappointed because they had expected to live among Russians and experience Russian student life but found themselves in practically an American colony that had very superficial, if any, contact with the native people.

There should be better coördination between the lectures and the field programs and the excursions should not be merely a repetition of a lecture on a subject already covered in the class room.

Of course better discipline should be expected from the students. A basis for selection should be agreed upon before the students are enrolled. Half hearted interest in the courses may thereby be avoided and if the student body were homogeneous better results would be obtained both from the faculty and the students.

If the errors of the present year are not to be repeated an administration should be set up long before the arrival of the students. There should be close coöperation between the American representatives and the Moscow office whilst last year when the Moscow authorities had no definite information about the number, quality and interests of the American students until the end of June.

EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

ART 1

1. What is the Marxian view of art and fiction literature?
2. What are the most characteristic features of socialist realism?
3. What are the main periods in Soviet literature?
4. Outline the literary career of Gorki.
5. Analyze a work of Soviet literature you have read.

ECONOMICS 1

1. What are the problems of the Soviet state during the transition period between capitalism and communism?
2. What are the principal periods of development of the national economy of the USSR?
3. What are the basic problems and results of the First Five Year Plan?
4. What is the aim of the Soviets in the collectivization of agriculture?
5. What is the basic political problem of the second Five Year Plan?
6. What are the basic problems of the second Five Year Plan in industry?
7. " " " " " " " " " " " in agriculture?
8. " " " " " " " " " " " in the field of cultural and social service?
9. Wherein is the rôle of the State Planning Bureau of the USSR?
10. Why is there no unemployment in the USSR?

EDUCATION 1

1. What are the aims of Soviet pre-school pedagogics?
2. What types of pre-school establishments do you know in the USSR?
3. What are the methods of work in the pre-school establishments in USSR?
4. What stages of development of school programs do you know and what constitutes the substance of each stage?
5. Characterize briefly the programs at present in force in the elementary schools.
6. What methods of instruction and education are applied in the Soviet school?
7. What are the rôle and significance of child self-government in the school, how organized and wherein does its work consist?
8. What is the "Pioneer " organization and what is its rôle in the school?
9. Wherein is the difference between the polytechnical school and the labor school?
10. What are the structure and management of the mass elementary school?
11. The rôle of the teacher in the school. How are elementary school teachers trained in the USSR?

EDUCATION 2

1. Place of secondary school in the system of popular education of the USSR.
2. Characterize the traits of the school under tsarism. Basic traits of construction of the Soviet elementary school
3. Substance of polytechnism of the Soviet secondary school.
3. Substance of polytechnism of the Soviet secondary school.
4. Conscious discipline in the Soviet school.
5. System of vocational and technical training in the USSR.
6. How academic plans and programs of the higher schools are constructed.
7. Methods of teaching in the Soviet higher schools.
8. Status of student body in the higher school. Characterize rules of admission, social composition, scholarships, professional and public organizations of the students, etc.
9. Connection between theory and practice in the Soviet higher schools (continuous production practice).

Education 2 Continued

10. Scientific research in the higher schools. Connection between the higher schools and the scientific research institutes.

EDUCATION

1. Are you familiar with the following authors in the field of experimental education: Meumann, Baldwin, Stein, Hall?
2. Are you familiar with the following Russian authors who have written on the subject: Uchinski, Trushin, Nechaev, Bunsilimo, etc?
3. Did you ever work in the field of experimental education? What type of work in particular did you do?
4. Name the principal problems in experimental education.
5. With what particular fields of education are you especially well acquainted?
6. Name several contemporary authors on experimental education with whom you are familiar.
7. What do you know of the work of the Central Institute of Labor in the field of vocational training?
8. Are you familiar with the psychological research work of Vigutski, and with his school for defective children?
9. What suggestions can you make pertaining to the course in experimental education?

PSYCHOLOGY

1. Why do Soviet psychologists relate the theory of psycho-physical parallelism to the number of idealistic theories?
2. Which were the two schools of "objective investigation" in the USSR that denied the conceivability of subjective phenomena?
3. Which (wherein) is the difference between these two schools?
4. Can you formulate the critical materialistic appraisal of the empirical point of view formulated by Professor Nechaev?
5. Which of these systems was emphasized by behaviorism?
6. How do you conceive the division of people into psychological types from the reactological point of view?
7. How does instrumental psychology explain the statement "speech is a weapon of thought?"
8. How has the question of the application of intelligence tests been solved in the practice of the USSR?
9. What is the point of view that is opposed by the definition of psychology as a bio-social or a socio-biological science?

SOCIOLOGY 1

1. The structure of pre-war industry in Russia; the correlation between the different branches of industry and the correlation of the workers engaged in these branches.
2. The tasks of the First Five Year Plan.
3. What are the three fundamental problems of the Second Five Year Plan?
4. To what extent was the work fulfilled for the first 18 months and how does this accomplishment insure the successful fulfillment of the Plan during the second five years?

SOCIOLOGY 3

1. What is the view of Soviet law on crime?
2. What is the view of the Marxist-Leninist theory on the problem of criminal repression generally and during the period of transition from capitalism to communism particularly?

EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

Sociology 3 Continued

3. What are the basic principals in the organization of the Soviet judicature and wherein does it differ from the judicature in capitalist countries?
4. How are cases tried in legal sessions and what are the rights of the accused during the trial?
5. Organization and character of the defense in a Soviet court.
6. What is Soviet prosecution, its organization and problems?
7. What concrete measures of repression are provided by the Soviet criminal court?
8. What are the principles of the Soviet system of education for juvenile offenders, their organization and character?

SOCIOLOGY 1

1. What do you know about the basic law of the USSR?
2. What are the Soviets?
3. What are the causes for drawing women into industry?
4. Connection between emancipation of women and general emancipation of the of the proletariat.
5. What privileges are enjoyed by women in industry?
6. How is the problem of protecting mother and child solved in the USSR?
7. What is the status of the press in the USSR?
8. What is a Subbotnik?
9. What is meant by the socialist attitude towards labor?
10. What is shock brigade work?
11. What is socialist competition?
12. What, according to the doctrine Marxism-Leninism, is the rôle of the individual person in history?
13. The Marxist-Leninist doctrine on equality under socialism.

SOCIOLOGY 2

1. What do you know of the revolutionary movement before the advent of bolshevism in Russia?
2. What do you know of the revolution of 1905?
3. What do you know of the February and October revolutions of 1917, and what is the difference between them?
4. What are the Soviets? When did they appear?
5. Describe the character of the October revolution.
6. What is the foreign policy of the USSR?
7. What is the national policy of the USSR?
8. What is the nature of the Soviet Constitution?
9. What is the teaching of the founders of scientific socialism about the dictatorship of the proletariat?

SUBJECTS OF LECTURES

COMPARATIVE ART AND LITERATURE IN THE SOVIET UNION

1. July 22. 2 hours. Basic principles of Marxism-Leninism regarding art.
2. " 23. 2 " Socialist realism
3. " 25. " " Basic stages in Soviet literature. Discussion 2 hours
4. " 26 " " Gorki-Sholokov
5. " 27 " " The industrial theme. Discussion 2 hours
6. " 28 " " Multinationality of Soviet literature

The lectures on literature were delivered by Professor Mirsky; those on art by Professor Novitsky.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION (Ed.1)

1. Fundamental principles of elementary education in USSR
2. Organization and management of the elementary schools
3. Programs of the elementary schools
4. Polytechnical training in the elementary schools
5. a. Methods of work
   b. Checking and planning.

   The lectures were delivered in the course of 10 hours by Professor Kharitonova. 5 hours were spent on discussion.

6. Children's self-government. Extra-curricular activity.
7. School and Society
8. Teachers' training and retraining.

SECONDARY AND HIGHER EDUCATION (Ed.2)

1. Brief historic outline of the development of the secondary school
2. Plans and programs of the secondary school
3. Work in the secondary school. Out of school activities among the children. Methods of work.
4. School regime. School discipline. School self-government.
5. Communist education. Development of the secondary school during the second Five Year Plan.
6. Training and role of the secondary school
7. General structure of the higher school
8. Teachers' training and retraining
8. Methods of theoretical instruction.

   Time similar to Education 1

POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE CONSTRUCTION PERIOD (Economics 1)

1. From capitalism to socialism. Theory of the transition period
2. From the October revolution to the first Five Year Plan
3. Period of the first Five Year Plan
4. Period of the Second Five Year Plan
5. " " " " " " "
6. Industry, mastery of technics, new organization of labor
7. Development of socialist agriculture
8. Material and cultural conditions of workers
9. " " " " " "

   11 hours of lectures and 6 hours of discussion

SUMMARY OF LECTURES -Continued

HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL FORMULATES OF SOCIAL CHANGES OF USSR (Sociology 2)

1. Peasant revolutions
2. "People's" revolutions
3. Inception of Bolshevism
4. First Russian revolution (1905)
5. Socialist revolution of October 1917
6. " " " " "

16 hours of lectures and discussions

Hotel Metropole,
Moscow, USSR.,
August 25, 1935

Professor Stephen P. Duggan
American University Union,
London, England

Dear Professor Duggan:

Two days ago I mailed you a preliminary general report on the Summer School. It supplemented the information I forwarded to you on August 1 and August 7. Unfortunately, I did not know more specifically what information you were interested in so that the report was really a mere outline. I hope that after reading it you will be good enough to ask me a number of questions which will enable me to write a more detailed and thorough account of the activities at the Summer School.

As is indicated in the report physical conditions improved very much during the last two or three weeks of the term. I have no doubt that as a result of your letter to Washington the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs became actively interested in the School. That explains the vigor with which reforms were instituted. Complete confusion reigned during the first week of the sessions. Had conditions remained as they were then a student rebellion would probably have taken place. May I refer you again to the unanimous student executive committee protest of the first week. The authorities took the appropriate measures and spared no efforts to pacify the students so that by the end of the term most of the students who had remained were thoroughly satisfied. Professor Pinkevich was given complete charge of educational matters and instituted the necessary changes. All, Professor Pinkevich, Mr.Kurz and Mr.Aresoff, with whom I had frequent conferences, were very anxious that I communicate to you their efforts and the change of student sentiment.

It was Professor Pinkevich particularly who did the utmost to cooperate with me and to facilitiate my work. I had daily conferences with him and I have seen him a number of times since the close of sessions. He has pointed out that he is not responsible for the disorganization of the beginning for he was appointed director of the School only in July. He, as well as Intourist officials have been unanimous in attributing to Sellins most of their difficulties. They are fully aware of the discredit Sellins has brought upon the School and they have assured me that he will no longer be permitted to do so. They are all, of course, very anxious to establish permanent relationship with the Institute of International Education.

In your letter of July 31st you write of a possible report by the students. Please inform me whether you have a list of the students and their addresses and whether you wish me to send you one.

I am enclosing a list containing the most important student excursions, and a schedule of classes. Again, I hope that you will request additional information.

With kindest regards and looking forward to the pleasure of hearing from you, I am,

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) I. Henry Shapiro

SCHEDULE OF EXCURSIONS

Date		Place	Course	Lecturer
July	21	Tretyakoff Gallery		
	22	Botkinsky Hospital	Medical Group	
	22	Park of Culture and Rest	All	
	23	Museum for Protection of Mother and Child	Medical Group	
	23	Children's Village	Education 1	Ritzlina
	23	Exhibition of Children's Drawings	Optional	
	23	Home of Infants	Medical Group	
	23	Institute of Pedology	Psychology	Spielrein
	23	Pedological Laboratory	Education 4	Svadkovsky
	23	Aviation Technicum	Aeronautics	
	23	Night Sanatorium	Medical Group	
	23	Abortion Clinic	Medical Group	
	23	Institute of Polytechnization	Educational Group	Kanzel
	23	Children's Room at Railroad Station	Education 1	Ritzlina
26	23	Museum for Protection of Mother and Child	Education 3	Rudnitskaya
	23	Subway Construction	Aeronautics	
	27	Prophylactorium for former Prostitutes	Medical Group	
	27	Mus.Protection of Mother and Child	Sociology 1	Mintz
	27	Osoaviakhim	Aeronautics	
	27	Museum of the Revolution	Education 1	Ritzlina
	27	Children's Village	Education 4	Svadkovsky
	28	Museum of Children's Books	Education 1	Ritzlina
	28	Kindergarten	" "	"
	28	Children's Village	" 3	Rudnitskaya
	28	Children's Room at Railroad Station	Educational Group	
	28	Osoaviakhim	Aeronautics	
	29	Hospital	Medical Group	
	29	Elementary School	Educational Group	Svadkovsky
2	29	Kindergarten in country	Education 1	Ritzlina
	29	Institute of Criminology	Sociology 3	Brusilovsky
	29	Workers' Prophylactorium	Sociology 1	Levitt
		Institute of Political Education	Education 3	Rudnitskaya
	30	Park of Culture and Rest	Aeronautics	
	30	School-Colony	Educational Group	
	31	Pioneer Camp	Educational Group	
	31	Methodological Laboratory	Education 1	Ritzlina
	31	District Soviet	Sociology 2	Mintz
	31	Collegium of Lawyers	" 3	Brusilovsky
	31	Lenin Museum	All	
August	1	Airplane Factory	Aeronautics	
	1	Medico-Biological Institute	Medical Group	
	1	Factory	Sociology 1	Mintz
	1	Summer School	Education 4	Svadkovsky
	1	State Planning Commission	Economics	Smith
	1	Museum of Eastern Culture	All	
	2	Institute of Statistics	Educational Group	
	2	Clara Zetkin House (Maternity)	Medical Group	
	2	Vocational Guidance Bureau	Education 3	Rudnitskaya
	2	Elementary School	Education 4	Kharitonova
	2	Children's Village	All	
	2	Planeterium	All	

SCHEDULE OF EXCURSIONS

Date		Place	Course	Lecturer
August	3	Airport	Aeronautics	
	3	Abortion Clinic	Medical Group	
	3	Pedological Laboratory	Education 3	Rudnitskaya
	3	Museum of Children's Literature	Art	Mirsky
	3	Psychological Laboratory	Psychology	Spielrein
	3	Reform Colony Bolshevo	Sociology 3	Levitt
	4	House of Rest	All	
	4	Sanatorium	Medical Group	
	4	Summer School	Education 1	Kharitonova
	4	People's Court	Sociology 3	Golunsky
	4	Institute of Political Education	Education 4	Gourianoff
	4	Factory-Kitchen	All	
	4	Workers' District	All	
	4	Commissariat of Education	Education Group	
	5	Institute of Architecture	Architecture "	
	5	Reform Colony Bolshevo	Sociology 3	Levitt
	5	Commissariat of Education	Education 2	Pinkevich
	5	Psychiatrical Station	Psychology	Spielrein
	5	Children's Village	Optional	
	5	Night Sanatorium	Medical Group	
	4	Subway Construction	Aeronautics	
	6	Picnic	All	
	7	Pioneer Camp	Educational Group	
	7	Prison	Sociology 3	Utevsky
	7	Institute of Polytechnization	Education 1	Kharitonova
	7	Children's Nursery	All	
	7	Aviation Club	Aeronautics	
	8	Kremlin	All	
	9	Museum of Western Art	Art	Mirsky
	9	Institute of Polytechnization	Education 2,4	Gaidinevich
	9	Supreme Court	Sociology 3	Golunsky
	9	Reform Colony Bolshevo	Sociology 1,3	Utevsky
	9	People's Court	All	
	9	Bureau of Marriage and Divorce	All	
	10	Children's Nursery	Education 3	Rudnitskaya
	10	Clinic for Venereal Diseases	Medical Group	
	10	Dynamo Factory	Economics	Smith
	10	Criminal Research Institute	Sociology 2	Golunsky
	10	Student Commune	Education 2	Gaidinevich
	11	Collective Farm	3 groups	Smith
	11	Institute for Organization of Labor	Psychology	Spielrein
	11	Psycho-Technical Institute	Education 3	Rudnitskaya
	11	Civil Aviation Institute	Aeronautics	
	11	Commissariat of Education	Educational Group	
	11	Institute of Polytechnization	Educational 1	Kharitonova
	12	Association for Extra-Curricular Work	Education 2	Pinkevich

COURSES

Date	Courses	Hours	Professor	Room	Excursion
July 25	Art I	11-1	Mirsky	Aud.	1) Pedol.
	Educ IV	9-11	Svadkovsky	4	labor.
	Soc.I	11-1	Lovit	8	2) Instit.
	Soc.II	9-11	Mintz	Aud	Ped.,Paid,
	Soc.III	9-11	Brusilovski	8	and Psychia.
	Psych.I	11-1	Spielrein	4	
	Adv.Russ.	1-2	Belaeva	8	
	Ele.Russ.	2-3	"	8	
26	Art I	9-11	Mirsky	Aud.	1)Nursery
	Educ.I	9-11	Ritslin	8	at North
	Educ.III	9-11	Rudnitskaya	4	Station
	Soc.II	11-1	Mintz	Aud	2)Museum of
		6-7		8	Protec.of
	Econ. I	11-1	Smith	8	Moth.and
	Adv.Russ.	1-2	Belaeva	8	Child
	Ele.Russ.	2-3	"	8	
27	Art I	11-1 A2-5	Mirsky	Aud.	1)Exibit of
	Educ.IV	9-11	Svadkovski	4	Mother
	Soc.I	11-1	Lovit	8	and
	Soc.II	11-1	Mintz	Aud.	Child
		6-7		8	2)School
	Soc.III	9-11	Celunski	8	3)Museum
	Psych.I	11-1	Spielrein	4	of
	Adv.Russ	1-2	Belaeva	8	Revolu.
	Ele.Russ.	2-3	"	8	
28	Art I	9-11	Mirsky	Aus.	1.Museum of
	Educ.I	9-11	Ritslin	8	children's
	Educa.III	9-11	Rudnitskaya	4	books
	Soc. II	11-1 A6-7	Mintz	Aud.-8	2.Kindergarten
	Econ.I	11-1	Smith	8a	3.Poly.Mus.
	Adv.Russ.	1-2	Belaeva	8	
	Ele.Russ.	2-3	"	8	
29	Educ.IV	9-11	Svadkovsky	4	1)Work Proph-
	Soc.II	9-11	Mintz	Aud.	ylactorium
		6-7		8	
	Soc.III	9-11	Brusilovski	8	2)Sokol.Pris
	Psych.I	11-1	Spielrein	4	3)Kindergarten
	Adv.Russ.	1-2	Belaeva	8	
30	Free Day				
31	Educ. I	9-11	Ritslin	8	1)Method.Lab.
	Educ.III	9-11	Rudnitskaya	4	2)Lawyers'
	Soc.I	9-11	Lovit	Aud.	Collegium
	Soc.II	11-1	Mintz	Aud.	
		6-7			
	Econ.I	11-1	Smith	8	
	Adv.Russ.	1-2	Belaeva	8	
	Ele.Russ.	2-3	"	8	
August 1	Art I	11-1	Mirski	Aud	1)Colony for
	Educ.IV	9-11	Svadkovski	4	Juvenile
	Soc.II	11-1	Mintz	Aud	delinquents
		6-7		8	

SCHEDULE

Date	Courses	Hours	Professor	Room	Excursion
August 1	Soc.III	9-11	Krusilowski	8	2)Commit.for Juvenile protection
	Psych.I	11-1	Spielrein	4	
	Adv.Russ.	1-2	Belaeva	8	
	Ele. Russ. 2-3	2-3	"	8	3)Profess. Consult.
					4)Summer Sch.
2					
	Educ.I	9-11	Kharitonova	8	
	Educ.III	9-11	Rudnitskaya	4	1)State Plan Bureau
	Soc.I	9-11	Levit	And.	2)Vocat.Guid. Center
	Soc.II	11-1	Mintz	And.	
		6-7	"	8	3)School
	Econ.I	11-1	Smith	8	
	Adv.Russ.	1-2	Belaeva	8	
	Ele.Russ.	2-3	"	8	
3	Art I	11-1	Miraky	And.	1)Pedol.Lab.
	Educ.IV	9-11	Svadkovski	4	2)Psych.Lab.
	Soc.III	9-11	Golunski	8	3) Child. Book Mus.
	Psych.I	11-1	Spielrein	4	
	Adv.Russ.	1-2	Belaeva	8	4)Dresser Factory
	Ele.Russ.	2-3	"	8	
4	Educ.I	9-11	Kharitonova	8	1)People's Commis. of Educ.
	Educ.II	9-11	Pinkewitch	Libr.	
	Educn.III	9-11	Rudnitskaya	4	
	Soc.I	9-11	Levit	And.	2)People's Court
	Econ.I	11-1	Smith	8	
	Adv.Russ.	1-2	Belaeva	8	3) Summer School
	Ele.Russ.	2-3	"	8	
5	Educ.II	9-11	Pinkewitch	4	1)Institute of Poly.Educ.
	Soc.I	11-1	Levit	8	
	Soc.II	9-11	Mintz	And.	
		6-7		8	2)Commit. Prot. of Workers Health
	Soc.III	9-11	Utewski	8	
	Psych.I	11-1	Spelirein	4	
	Adv.Russ.	1-2	Belaeva	8	
	Ele.Russ.	2-3	"	8	
					3)Com.Juven. Protection
6 Free Day					4)Mos.State Univ.
7	Art I	9-11	Miraky	And.	1)Ins.For Poly.Educ.
	Educ.I	9-11	Kharitonova	8	
	Educ.II	9-11	Pinkewitch	Lib.	2)Ame or Dynamo Plant
	Educ.III	9-11	Helrstein	4	
	Econ.I	11-1	Smith	8	
	Adv.Russ.	1-2	Belaeva	8	
	Ele.Russ.	1-2	"	8	
	Educ.IV	11-1	Svadkovski	4	

COURSES

Date	Courses	Hours	Professor	Room	Excursions
Aug. 8	Educ.II	9-11	Pinkovich	Lib.	1)Central Labrat.at Railway
	Soc.III	9-11	Golumski	8	
	Soc.I	11-1	Levit Petrovsky	8	
	Psych.I	11-1	Spielrein	4	
	Adv.Russ.	1-2	Belasva	8	
	Ele.Russ.	2-3	"	8	
9	Educ.I	9-11	Haritonova	8	1) Central Institute of Labor
	Educ.II	9-11	Pinkovitch	Lib.	
	Educ.III	9-11	Helerstein	4	
	Soc.II	9-11	Mintz	Aud.	2)Pedag.Lab.
		6-7	8	8	
	Econ I	11-1	Smith	8	3)Kolkhoz
	Adv.Russ.	1-2	Belasva	8	4)Supreme Court
	Ele.Russ.9	2-3	"	8	
10	Art I	11-1	Mirski	Aud.	1)Criminal Research Inst.
	Educa.II	9-11	Petrovsky	Lib.	
	Soc.I	1101	Petrovsky	8	
	Soc.III	9-11	Golumski	8	2)Summer camp
	Psych.I	11-1	Speilrein	4	
	Adv.Russ.	1-2-	Belasva	8	
	Ele,Russ.	2-3	"	8	
11	Educ. I	9-11	Kharitonova	8	1)Inst.Polytech. Education
	Educ.II	9-11	Pinkovitch	Lib.	
	Educ.III	9-11	Helerstein	4	
	Econ.I	11-1	Smith	8	2)Workers' dis.
	Adv.Russ.	1-2	Belasva	8	
	Ele.Russ.	2-3-	"	8	3) Comm.for Extra Curricular wok
	Educ.IV	11-1	Svadkovski	4	
12	Educ.II	9-11	Petrovsky	4	1) Ass.for extra-Curricular work with children
	Soc.I	11-1	Levit	8	
	Soc.II	9-11	Mintz	Aud.	
		6-7		8	
	Soc.III	9-11	Utievski	8	
	Psych.I	11-1	Speilrein	4	
	Adv.Russ.1	1-2	Belasva	8	
	Ele.Russ.	2-3	"	8	
13	Educ.I	9-11	Haritonova	8	1)Mental Defect. Research Inst.
	Educ.II	9-11	Pinkovitch	Lib	
	Educ. III	9-11	Helerstein	4	2) Institute for Polytechnical Education
	Educ.IV	11-1	Svadkovski	4	
	Econ.I	11-1	Smith	8	
	Adv.Russ.	Belasva		8	
	Ele.Russ.	2-3	Belasva	8	

14 and 15 Examinations in all Courses

SCHEDULE OF EXAMINATIONS

Education I	August 14	9-11 A.M.	Room 8
Education II	" 14	9-11	Library
Education III	" 14	9-11	Room 4
Education IV	" 14	11:30-1:30	Library
Sociology I	" 14	9-11	Audit.
Sociology II	" 14	3-5	Room 8
Sociology III	" 14	11:30-1:30	Room 4
Economics I	" 14	11:30-1:30	Audit.
Art I	" 14	3-5	Audit.
Psychology I	" 14	11:30-1:30	Room 10
Bus. Seminar	" 14	1-2	Room 8
		2-3	

The OPEN ROAD inc.

56 WEST 45th STREET
NEW YORK

Tel.: MUrray Hill 2-2022
Cable Address: OPENROAD

Suggestions and Instructions for Open Road Travelers to Soviet Russia 1934.

PASSPORTS

Applications:

An application must be executed personally, at the office which is receiving it.
(a) At a United States Passport Agency in New York, San Francisco, Chicago, Seattle, New Orleans, Boston. The New York agency is located in the Sub Treasury Building on Wall Street. Or
(b) At the offices of the Clerk of County Court in the Bronx, Queens, Kings and Richmond. Or
(c) Outside New York or the other cities named, applications may be executed before the clerk of any United States District or State Court authorized by law to naturalize aliens.

FEE for new PASSPORT, $10.00.

Documents Required and Identifying Witness:

When making application for a passport, the applicant must bring with him (a) 2 photographs printed on thin paper with a light background, 3" x 3" in size. (b) A copy of birth or baptismal certificate or an affidavit sworn to before a notary, by either parent, brother or sister or some other relative, preferably an older person. When an affidavit of a relative is not obtainable, some other person may make such affidavit, basing his knowledge on acquaintance, not only with applicant, but with applicant's parents, brothers or sisters, etc., and the place and date of applicant's birth in the United States.

NOTE: A naturalized citizen, or one claiming citizenship through naturalization certificate of husband or parent, must submit the naturalization certificate or an official copy of the court record of the naturalization. Birth or baptismal certificates are not required in these cases.
(c) An identifying witness, who must fill in and sign the affidavit (on the back of application form) and appear in person with applicant, before the passport agent or assistant. The identifying witness should be an American citizen (either man or woman) who must swear that the applicant is the person he represents himself to be. A relative may act as witness. Expired passport, bearing signed photograph, may be used as identification in lieu of identifying witness.

Separate Passports Required:

(a) If applicant does not intend leaving or returning to the United States with his family (if more than one person is

traveling on the same passport) it will be necessary for his family to obtain a separate passport or passports.

(b) A son or daughter, upon attaining the age of 21, must in all instances apply for passport in own name.

Amendments and Renewals:

A passport is valid for two years from date of issue. Upon expiration it can be renewed for another two years at a charge of $5. At the end of four years from date of issue a new passport must be secured.

For an amendment or renewal, a passport should be presented in person at an Agency or be forwarded by registered mail to Washington, with a written request signed by the owner of the passport. There is no charge for an amendment.

VISAS

Travelers will save themselves much inconvenience by securing all European visas before leaving for the Soviet Union. The Open Road will gladly procure all such visas without charge for its services, provided the passport is in hand not less than two weeks before sailing, together with a list of visas required. Consular fees for all visas will be charged to the traveler and must be paid for prior to sailing.

For the trip to the U.S.S.R., the following visas generally are needed by Americans, charges being approximately as follows: RUSSIAN - included in the cost of the tour. GERMAN - regular visa 50¢, good for one year from date of issue, permitting unlimited entries into Germany and return trips, provided the traveler does not intend to make his or her domicile in Germany. FINNISH - Transit or regular visa, free. Transit visa allows one entry only and a stay of three to five days. Regular visa allows any number of entries within one year for a stay not exceeding two months. Two signed passport pictures and two application blanks are required. POLISH - $1.05 for transit, $4.05 for regular. The transit visa is valid for one year from date of issue, for numerous passages, in and out, both ways, four days between borders for each passage; the regular visa is good for one year for numerous passages. FRENCH - Transit visa, 34¢, good for one entry only and a stay of thirty days; regular visa, $3.49, good for any number of entries and a stay of two years. ENGLAND - Regular visa good for any number of entries and a stay of one year costs $10. An ordinary transit visa costing $1. may generally be secured for those who pass through Great Britain en route to Russia. This visa is valid for one entry only and the holder is allowed to remain in Great Britain only for a sufficient length of time to make reasonable steamer connections. A Special transit visa costing $1. is granted to members of organized Tourist or Third Class tours with a fixed itinerary whose stay in Great Britain does not exceed fourteen days. One application form is required of applicants for any kind of British visa.

Visa information regarding countries not herein covered or visa fees for passports other than American will be furnished upon request.

The Soviet visa application forms furnished by The Open Road are to be filled out and returned to the New York office of The Open Road, together with three signed passport pictures. The completed application forms should be in the hands of The Open Road as soon as possible, and at least two weeks before the traveler is scheduled to sail from New York, to allow time for procuring authorization from Moscow for the granting of the visa. This is done by cable if there is not time for correspondence with Moscow by post, the charge for cables being $2.00 per visa. Applications made by mail for Soviet visa require three to four weeks for reply; by cable four to seven days. On receipt of authorization for the issuance of the visas, The Open Road secures it at the Soviet Consulate in New York. It is stamped on the passport.

PASSPORT PHOTOS

It is well to have a dozen made and to carry abroad any that are left after passport and visa formalities have been complied with. Travelers are required to present one after arrival in the Soviet Union.

U.S.S.R. CUSTOMS AND CURRENCY REGULATIONS

All baggage carried by the visitor to Soviet Russia undergoes the usual customs examination at the frontier. Articles of personal use, in reasonable quantity, enter free of all duty.

The traveler is required to declare to customs officials the amount of money he carries with him, including currency, letters of credit and travelers checks. He must also declare any articles of value such as jewelry, watches, cameras, moving picture apparatus and typewriters. At the time of declaration, the traveler is given a receipt for the money and valuables taken in or they are listed on the passport. This evidence is to be shown upon departure from Russia at the exit border point, and entitles the traveler to take out the currency or articles declared when entering the Soviet Union. Receipts and sales slips for purchases made in the Soviet Union should be saved to show at the border as evidence that the traveler is taking out less money than he brought in.

Travelers are urged not to exchange their American or European money into roubles except on advice of The Open Road representative or an Open Road leader because: (a) Almost everything one needs costs a fraction of its rouble price, if it is paid for in dollars or European currencies. (b) Many necessities such as are found only in Torgsin Stores can only be purchased for valuta (American or European currencies). (c) Roubles cannot be taken out of Russia and cannot be changed back into dollars so roubles unexpended at the end of a trip are a total loss.

If there is occasion for the use of roubles, they must be purchased at the established rate through an authorized government agency such as a bank or hotel. To acquire them outside the country or in an unauthorized manner within the country would be illegal and would be construed as an unfriendly act.

The traveler should (1) take with him sufficient funds. The necessity of receiving remittances from home should be avoided as the procedure of collecting on such remittances is most inconvenient. (2) Carry as much of his money in small denomination American bills as possible, (the more $1.00 bills the better) and he should have at least $5.00 in silver. Change is scarce in the Soviet Union and the nearer one comes to having the right change, the less loss of time and money. (3) Carry his reserve funds in small denomination American Express Travelers Cheques. They are accepted at par by hotels and Torgsin stores in payment of purchases, but can only be changed into currency at the State Bank. This is very time-consuming and there are charges. Letters of credit are even more impractical and are disadvised.

Travelers who disregard these advices will have difficulties which consume more time than The Open Road representative can give without neglecting more important services to travelers.

PHOTOGRAPHY

Cameras and moving picture apparatus (16 m.m.) for personal use only may be taken into Soviet Russia, duty free. All exposed films must be developed before leaving Russia. 16 m.m. reversible film cannot be properly developed in the Soviet Union. On expert technical advice, we recommend the purchase only of 16 m.m. negative which the Russians are equipped to develop. Those taking cameras should provide themselves with a sufficient supply of films before entering the country as films cannot be bought in the Soviet Union. All unexposed films may be taken out of the country, provided the seals are unbroken. If sufficient time is not allowed for the developing of films before departure from the U.S.S.R., the developed film is shipped out to the traveler at his expense.

OPEN ROAD REPRESENTATIVE

The Open Road is represented in the Soviet Union by Mr. Hermann Habicht. From July 1st to September 10th The Open Road maintains an office in the Hotel Metropole, Moscow. At other times Mr. Habicht is addressed: Philipovski Per.4, Apt.6, Arbat, Moscow,U.S.S.R.; telephone number: Arbat 1-50-48.

NOTIFICATION OF ARRIVAL

The Open Road representative in Moscow is advised of every traveler's plans in advance of his arrival and he makes preparations accordingly. If, after leaving the United States, any change in plans occurs, The Open Road representative must be advised telegraphically. If this is not known promptly, The Open Road representative is powerless to make the necessary adjustments. Such telegrams should be addressed "OPENROAD, MOSCOW."

MAIL & CABLES

Letters to Open Road travelers should be addressed as follows:

Full Name (Mr. John Doe)
The Open Road
Hotel Metropole
No. 4 Sverdlovsk Square
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

At least 2 weeks' time should be allowed for letters to reach Moscow from New York. Friends or relatives who have matters of importance to communicate may do so by cable. Night cable letter (NLT) costs $2.50 plus 10¢ tax for 25 words or less. Cables should be addressed as follows:

NLT
Full Name (John Doe)
OPENROAD
MOSCOW (USSR)

A cable received in the Moscow office for an Open Road member is immediately forwarded by wire to the Addressee, by the Open Road representative, wherever the addressee is in Soviet Russia at the expense of the traveler.

Cables may be sent from Soviet Russia (MOSCOW) to New York. The rates follow (as of June 1,1934--there may be a slight difference as time goes on-):

NLT: Minimum words - 25:	$2.50
LCO: Deferred	.15 (per word)
STRAIGHT CABLE (prompt)	.30 " "

BAGGAGE

Each traveler is limited to 2 pieces of hand baggage (up to 70 pounds)- which are transported free of charge. Trunks or excess baggage are charged for in accordance with the weight and size. However, the less impedimenta the traveler has to bother with, the easier the trip.

INSURANCE

Accident and Health Insurance and Baggage insurance may be secured through The Open Road, which acts as agent of the companies in the interest of its travelers. These forms of protection are strongly recommended.

SUGGESTIONS AS TO HEALTH AND EQUIPMENT

Outside of the big cities one should drink boiled or bottled water. Raw fruit and vegetables everywhere should be washed and peeled before eating. If these precautions are observed, and overeating and over fatigue avoided, health hazards are no greater in Soviet Russia than elsewhere in Eastern Europe.

Russia is warm in summer, especially in the South. However, nights may be cool. It is not always easy to get laundry done especially in the provinces, and clothing should be such as does not soil easily or require special laundering.

The following personal equipment is suggested for summer travel, particularly for travelers going to the Provinces:

WOMEN Two pairs of comfortable shoes. A good supply of stockings. Pair of woolen hose. Two thin wash dresses - at least one should be dark. A suit with blouses that launder easily. Underwear easily laundered. Fairly warm coat that will shed rain. Sweater. Bathing suit. For the South, a hat with a brim or sun glasses.

MEN Two pairs of shoes. Two suits - at least one light weight. Pair of grey flannel trousers will be convenient. Polo shirts or dark, solid color shirts. Supply of soft collars. Good supply of socks and underwear. Sweater. Bathing suit. Medium weight coat that will shed rain. Cap with brim. Razor blades and shaving soap. A warm traveling rug always comes in handy. Travelers will find evening clothes quite superfluous in the U.S.S.R.

MEDICAL Aspirin, vapex, cascara, castor oil capsules, bismuth, iodine, bandages, adhesive tape; any medical supplies ordinarily needed.

MISCELLANEOUS Toilet and laundry soap, toothpaste, extra tooth brush, towels, toilet paper, sufficient supply of toilet necessities and articles of personal hygiene. Zipper money belt, made to accommodate a passport, obtainable from B. Altman & Co., New York, price $2.25. Writing material, fountain pen ink. 100 American cigarettes may be taken in. George Washington Coffee (crystals). Klim (powdered milk) sweet chocolate, dried fruit and nuts. Camera films. Pocket size English-Russian dictionary. Consumable goods should be carried in metal containers as paper containers don't stand up. Many articles of common use are very good. Canned goods, chocolate and cigarettes can be purchased reasonably at Torgsin Stores which are conveniently located in all centers.

RECOMMENDED READING

INTOURIST POCKET GUIDE TO THE SOVIET UNION. Vneshtorgisdat, Leningrad and Moscow, 1932. $1.00. Obtainable from The Open Road, postpaid.

History and Political Structure

Chamberlin, William Henry: SOVIET RUSSIA: A LIVING RECORD AND A HISTORY. Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1931. $3.50.

Hopper, Bruce: PAN-SOVIETISM. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston and New York. 1931. $2.50.

Reed, John: TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD. International Publishers, New York 1919. $1.50.

Vernadsky, G: A HISTORY OF RUSSIA. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1930. $4.00.

PSYCHOLOGICAL BACKGROUNDS

Duranty, Walter: DURANTY REPORTS RUSSIA. Viking Press, New York, 1934. $2.75
Halle, Fanninaw: WOMAN IN SOVIET RUSSIA. Viking Press, New York, 1934. $4.50
Hindus, Maurice: GREAT OFFENSIVE. Smith & Haas, New York, 1933. $3.00
Mehnert, Klaus: YOUTH IN SOVIET RUSSIA. Harcourt Brace & Co. N.Y." $2.00
Ward, Harry F: IN PLACE OF PROFIT. Chas. Scribner's Sons, N.Y." $2.50

TECHNIQUE AND ORGANIZATION

Farbman, Michael: THE FIVE YEAR PLAN. New Republic, New York. 1931. $1.00
Fischer, Louis: MACHINES AND MEN IN RUSSIA. Harrison Smith, N.Y. 1932. $2.50
Yakovlev, Y.A.: RED VILLAGES. The Five-Year Plan in Agriculture. Moscow, U.S.S.R. $1.50.

FICTION

Valentine Kataev: Time, Forward. Farrar and Rinehart, New York, 1933. $2.50
Eugene Petrov and Ilya Ilf: Little Golden Calf. Farrar and Rinehart, New York, 1932. $2.50
M. Matveyev: Commissar of the Gold Express. International Publishers, New York, 1934. (Paper Edition) $.50.
Boris Pilnyak: THE VOLGA FALLS TO THE CASPIAN SEA. Farrar and Rinehart, New York, 1930. $2.50.

TAKING THINGS AS THEY ARE

Americans visiting the Soviet Union should bear in mind that in the last twenty years the country has been through a devastating and unsuccessful war, a great revolution, a great famine--that a new society is being built on the ruins of the old--that a backward agricultural civilization is being transformed into a modern industrial civilization--and that the tasks, psychologically and materially, are not completed.

Five years ago there was no systematic organization of tourism in the Soviet Union. Today, under the energetic administration of Intourist, there is a network of hotels for foreign visitors, a fleet of cars at their disposal, a corps of interpreters trained to assist them. There is no feat in tourism to compare with the accomplishment of Intourist in five short years. However, the traveler must not expect things to move with the ease and celerity to which he is accustomed. Great patience is required at times to avoid irritation at apparently unnecessary delays and unevenness of service. Loss of temper only puts up human barriers.

The traveler who approaches the vicissitudes of travel in the Soviet Union in a spirit of scientific inquiry and with a tolerant sense of humor, and who endeavors sympathetically to understand why a thing happens will turn all his experiences to good account, and will, as a consequence, always enjoy himself.

INTOURIST CANCELLATION REGULATIONS

If a traveler cancels his tour after his visa has been applied for and before he enters the Soviet Union, Intourist refunds what he has paid less 5%.

If, after arrival in the Soviet Union, the traveler cancels part of his tour, refund is made by Intourist provided he can show that circumstances beyond his control oblige him to leave the Soviet Union before completion of the tour, the amount of refund being at the discretion of Intourist.

Refunds are paid in New York through The Open Road. However, travelers are advised to consult with the Moscow representative of The Open Road.

The O

ROA

56 WEST 4

N E W

OPEN

AD *inc.*

45th STREET

YORK

3-15-54

to McLean

fr Donick

re - see att'd

Incredible but in my old Czechoslovak file is a copy of the translation of the article which appeared in Lidova Obroda of Feb.12.1949. Att'd.(only copy)

As you will see from my memo of 5-5-49 to Shank etc., the original clipping and the translation went to him, eventually for the IIE "clipping book."

There was also an article in Mlada Fronta of Feb.10.49 which I do not have, but apparently much the same tenor.

Nor do I have the article which appeared in the Moscow Press of 1948. That, I believe, was more virulent.

2-5-49

Czech

MS OK JMK (MMP had seen the clipping)
from MMc

SUBJECT.- Att'd translation of article in LIDOVA OBNORA, Czech paper, Feb.12,49, which reprinted the article in "Oesterreichische Zeitung", Vienna (date not given) -

You wanted to see the original Czech clipping: this is now att'd to the translation.

The clipping came to us with a letter from a Czech MP in Paris (V.Ovrh-Bob Dean has this). Could now go into the IIE clipping book?

The Dept.State sent us an article which appeared in NLADA FRONTA Feb.16,49 about stipends to Czech students, etc. which is now circulating town. Was in the same tenor.

Both seem based on the article in the Moscow Press against IIE last year.

Czech

Article appearing in Czechoslovakian Newspaper,
"Lidová Obroda", February 12, 1949, No. 38
~~(translation by friend of [redacted])~~

"AN AMERICAN FIFTH COLUMN."

"IP. The 'Oesterreichische Zeitung' in Vienna published an article describing the activities of the American 'Institute of International Education'. This institute was founded by the philanthropic organizations of Morgan and Rockefeller and is under the leadership of professor Stephen Dogan. Among other things this article says:

"Since 1926 the 'Institute of International Education' has been an international center of reactionary American propaganda and 'education' of pedagogic correspondents and spies with the purpose to create in all countries an 'American fifth column'.

"In its yearly reports the Institute states that, since the time of its foundation, it had sent 2500 students abroad and enabled more than 3000 students from Europe, Asia, and South America to study at American universities.

"Students coming from abroad are permitted to study only after a thorough investigation has been conducted by three different commissions. Every student sent abroad has to submit to the Institute two reports: the first during his stay abroad, and the second one after his return. Both reports are confidential.

"An important requirement for the selection of candidates who are to be sent abroad, is their 'political reliability' and their ability at making contacts. If a student passed all hearings and examinations conducted by the commissions, he is considered to be deserving of a scholarship. Then he is put at some American university under the guidance of the Institute and its agents. More or less he is ordered to the American university at which he has to study. He is placed in the charge of an especially selected professor as adviser in all matters, even in the selection of newspapers and periodicals. Everything is done to create in the student enthusiasm for the American way of life and American civilization. Only a few students have the strength to resist this psychic terror. This is understandable as the majority of the students come from the ruling classes of foreign countries and are presumptive rulers.

"By these activities of foreign students the Institute apparently pursues the aim to create a net of American agents in the leading circles of other countries. That the expectations of the Institute have been realised in the Second World War may be concluded from professor Dogan's assertions that the majority of the Institute's students have proved to be faithful friends of the USA.

"In the arsenal of the expansionist activities of the American imperialists this Institute occupies an important place. Its goals are manifest and its methods known."

May 5, 1949

TO: Robert Dunn

FROM: EHK

Returned attached is letter 3-11 from V. Ovrk, the Czech in Paris, together with translation of the article he had sent from "Lidová Obroda" 2-12-49. I am giving DMS the original clipping as he had requested it. This clipping and translation will probably be filed in the IIE clipping book. I am not sure whether you wanted the letter back in order to answer it. (My comment on the letter had meant to indicate that I would be glad to get the clipping translated for you by one of the Czech students now here)

Cook

April 1, 1949

Mr. Donald B. Cook, Acting Chief
Voluntary Programs Branch
Division of Exchange of Persons
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Cook:

The information which you sent in your letter of March 28 regarding the article in Mlada Fronta on February 10, 1949 concerning stipends to Czechoslovak students was read with much interest, and I appreciate your forwarding this to me.

I note Mr. Kolarek's comment on the students applying for United States scholarships for 1949-50 and should be glad to have an opportunity to discuss the student exchange program with him while he is in the United States.

Kolarek never called. HHE

Sincerely yours,

Harry H. Pierson
Director of Student Program

EIK:ML

+ Lidova Obroda Feb 12-49

Ans Dr Sachs & W h p
HE

COPY

September 18, 1934

Mr. Boris E. Skvirsky
Narkomindel
Kuznetzki Most 5-21
Moscow

Confidential

My dear Mr. Skvirsky:

Laurence wrote to me late in July that you had discussed with him some interviews I had given in Europe concerning Russia which caused you disturbance of mind. I answered Laurence but find he did not inform you of my views. As I do not wish you to be in ignorance regarding my lack of gratification at the visit I am sending this letter to you now.

First, as to my invitation there. The invitation was first extended to me in the name of Intourist and Voks by Mr. Sollins who he informed me was connected with New York University. I did not know Mr. Sollins personally and I should have looked up his record. I now learn that he has never had any instructional connection with New York University but was for a time connected with their "Boys' Study Group". Certain traits of character displayed by Mr. Sollins while acting in that capacity were distasteful to the University authorities and therefore his connection with the University was severed.

When Mr. Kurtz visited the United States he invited me to meet him at Intourist in New York; Sollins described the invitation that had been extended to Russia and what it was hoped I should do. Mr. Kurtz was very enthusiastic about the matter and confirmed the invitation. It was stated that it was hoped I should do three things: (1) Establish the Anglo-American Institute upon a firm basis. (2) Develop the same kind of cultural co-operation between Russia and the United States that I have developed between other European countries and the United States, with reference to the exchange of students, professors, books, the holding of conferences, and so forth. (3) Write the first booklet to be published by the Anglo-American Institute, which was to be a survey of higher education in Russia.

May I say right here that for every statement I make I have a documentary proof in the form of correspondence with the Russian authorities.

Before I left Berlin a very eminent and practical American whom you know, and practically everybody else in America knows, warned me that since my invitation was purely verbal (and that I admit was a mistake), I had better write ahead to Mr. Kurtz to find out just what was to be covered by the invitation. Hence, I wrote a letter to that effect to Mr. Kurtz. In return I received a very impudent letter from Mr. Kurtz. In that letter, among other things, he stated that he had consulted the Foreign Office, who had never heard of me from you. I understood you had notified the Russian Foreign Office of my coming.

After many vexatious delays in Berlin I finally secured my Visa. A few days before I left I received a letter from Hermann Habicht, the representative of the Open Road in Moscow, a most honest and honourable man. He informed me that he had been hurriedly called up by Voks and by Intourist, from which Mr. Kurtz was then absent, to find out who Dr. Duggan was, and what the Institute of International Education was! All this after I had received an invitation the previous November! The result of Mr. Habicht's representations was that several representatives of Voks were at the station to meet me, and to express their apologies for Mr. Kurtz's letter. Intourist then had my daughter and myself lodged in the National Hotel, where we received excellent treatment, including the use of an automobile. The day before I left Moscow I made enquiries to find out who was bearing the expense of my stay, and learned that it was Voks, and not Intourist.

Let me state right here that I consider Intourist, both at Moscow and New York, and I presume elsewhere, to be a mere profit making scheme of the ordinary capitalistic kind, viz: they want to get the biggest return for the least possible outlay. Voks throughout my stay did everything possible to make it pleasant and profitable, though that was a difficult thing to do. Voks presented my letters of introduction to the various people to whom I had letters. The letter of introduction to Mr. Bubnoff, Commissar of Education, was from Professor George Counts, who stated in it that my visit was considered of very great importance in the United States, and that he hoped every attention would be given to me. The Commissariat ignored my presence during the whole five weeks of my stay in Moscow. Two days before I was to leave Moscow the new head of Voks, whom I had not met, having dealt entirely through Mr. Apletin, sent for me and we had a very realistic talk. He said he wanted me frankly to know that if what I hoped to do in the way of developing exchanges was to be realised, the money necessary to realise the exchanges would have to be forthcoming from the Commissar of Education. He arranged, therefore, that the next day I should have an audience at the Commissariat of Education with Mr. Bubnoff. I went the next day and was told by Mr. Bubnoff's assistant, Mr. Epstein, that Mr. Bubnoff had been called to a conference and that, therefore, I would hold my conference with him, Mr. Epstein. I found Mr. Epstein to be very intelligent and courteous. He was full of apologies for Mr. Bubnoff's absence, when, lo, who should walk in in a most leisurely manner but Mr. Bubnoff himself! When I told Mr. Bubnoff that I wished to discuss these matters with him, he excused himself and said that whatever Mr. Epstein would report, he would approve.

Considering that, not upon my own initiative, but upon the invitation of the Russians, I had travelled 5,000 miles from New York to Moscow, not for the benefit of my Institute, but to render assistance to the Russians, my experience in Moscow has filled me with resentment. Considering, moreover, that in the case of every one of the twenty countries with whom we have cultural relations, upon my first visit to develop them I had been met at the railroad either by the Minister of Public Instruction, or his chief assistant, it is obvious that the Russians are wholly unaware of the influence of this Institute in higher education. However, you know me well enough, to be aware that, as in the past, I should never allow any mean spirit of resentment to interfere with the development of good cultural relations with any foreign country. You know that long before anybody in the American Russian Institute was ready for recognition of Russia, I approved it and voted for it, and before going to Russia everything I said and did was in the interest of close cooperation. The Russian attitude can hardly be called one of gratitude. So that you may not forget what my position was I am sending you a copy of the letter I wrote and of the editorial in our Monthly Bulletin concerning recognition.

In my discussion with Mr. Epstein I told him of the three important things which I had discussed with the authorities at Voks on the second day after my arrival, and which I have outlined above. We agreed that as I had a written contract with Intourist, Voks, and the University, for the proper conduct of the Summer School this summer, it should be considered a closed incident. He asked me upon my return to London to send him an outline of what I thought might be done in the way of developing the matter of exchange of students and teachers, and particularly of the placing of advanced research scholars in the great institutes of Russia and the United States. As no mention was ever made by any Russian from the day of the first conference until the day of my departure about a brochure by me on higher education, which would have necessitated visiting other universities than those of Moscow and Leningrad, that matter was entirely dropped. I may say that since returning to London I have sent Mr. Epstein a letter containing an outline of what I believe should be done. As he appeared to be an efficient person, I expect to get an answer in due season.

Now as to the chief cause of my irritation. The delays in Moscow in having things done were interminable. This I expected. I had several very important conferences, first in Mr. Kurtz's own office and afterwards in the office of Voks. At all these meetings representatives of Intourist, Voks and the University were present. At the meeting held under Mr. Kurtz's auspices I insisted upon certain things being done. I had visited Russian dormitories and knew that they would not fit the needs of American students from the standpoint of living conditions. I insisted, therefore, that our American students be put in a hotel. This was agreed upon, and my daughter and I visited the New Moscow Hotel with the representative of Intourist and the Manager of the Hotel, and selected definitely the rooms in which our students should be housed, and the separate dining-room which was to be placed at their disposal. At the same meeting at Mr. Kurtz's, I insisted that because of the differences in the standard of living between Russian students and American students, and because of the inevitable complaints that would be made by American students in so many directions, an American who knew Russian should be

appointed Manager of Material Conditions, who should be something in the nature of a buffer between the Russian authorities and the American students. Mr. Kurtz agreed to this, and agreed to pay his salary. At another meeting at Voks, where it was agreed that all those who were to give lectures were to appear, I met but three of the nine lecturers. The Russians cannot be blamed for this, because some, like Pinkevitch, were lecturing in foreign countries, and some were out of town. The statement made to me in New York by Sollins was to the effect that all the lectures were to be given by English-speaking Russian professors. As a matter of fact, this was not so. It was suggested at Voks that the Russian professors, unfamiliar with lecturing in English, read their lectures in English, or have them read by someone. I objected, and insisted that either an American or an Englishman who was of university status should go over the lectures carefully with the Russian professor, and then deliver the lectures, the Russian professor answering questions that might be asked. I stated that otherwise the Americans would either go to sleep, or get up and walk out. This was also agreed upon. In fact there was no one of the conditions which I laid down as necessary to the success of the Summer School which was not accepted by Intourist, Voks and the representative of the University. You can see the copy of the agreement signed by Mr. Apletin as representative of Voks. Mr. Kurtz could not sign it because he had been taken badly sick while I was there and was away in the country, but his representative, Mr. Mourasheff, was present when the agreement was made, and stood for everything in it.

On his way to Moscow Mr. Sollins had two long discussions with me in London. I explained the whole situation as I left it in Moscow, and showed him the agreement. He made no objection to anything that I said, or to any part of the agreement. To my amazement, when he arrived in Moscow, I discovered that he had advised and secured the reversal of practically everything I had decided upon. He stated that the Americans wanted to be in Russian dormitories. He never mentioned that to me in London. If he had, I should have asked him whether he had informed the Americans of the kind of place a Russian dormitory was. Whether as a result of his statement, or not, the American Manager of Material Conditions was given "a month's leave of absence", which is exactly the amount of time that the Summer Session is held in Moscow, the last two weeks being used for travelling throughout Russia. I forgot to mention that in discussing the Summer Session with Mr. Bullitt, our Ambassador, he insisted that it would be utterly impossible for Intourist to take care of 100 American students, because of the influx of foreigners into Moscow during the summer. As a matter of fact, the Summer School numbered 200. They took over a dormitory which they hastily put into shape according to the urging of my representative there, and gave up all idea of using the New Moscow Hotel. Nothing that I insisted upon was carried out. It looks to me as if the Russians thought a great deal more of the opinion of Mr. Sollins (which opinion saved them money) than of my own (which will probably save them money in the future).

Because of the reputation of my own Institute, and because of the promises that I feel the Americans would hold me responsible for, I invited my American representative to continue on the job at our expense. The Institute paid his salary.

It may be that everything has turned out all right. I shall do nothing more now until all the American students write me confidential reports. If these reports are favorable I shall continue to sponsor the Anglo-American Institute at Moscow. If these reports are unfavorable, I shall cut off all connection with it. Moreover, I shall feel in duty bound to notify all the colleges and universities of the reasons for my discontinuance, namely, that the promises made me were broken and the commitments not honored. I think you know the reputation of the Institute and the esteem in which it is held, and I should fear that such a statement on my part would have unfortunate consequences for the future of the Anglo-American Institute. I impressed Mr. Kurtz, and everybody else in Moscow, of the supreme importance of making a great success of this first year's effort,,so as to stimulate the desire in future years to attend the Summer Session. I hope that it has turned out favorably.

Now as to Ammende. He visited me in England, as have so many others, explaining the terrible situation in various parts of Russia this year. My answer to him was that I knew nothing about a famine this year, but of course there was no question of their having been a famine in early 1933. Moreover, I emphasized to him that under no conditions was my name to be used in any way for political purposes, or for propaganda for or against the Soviet government. Obviously, in his letter to the Times he skilfully phrased the letter in such a way as to avoid all appearance of political animus, and placed his statement upon a basis of philanthropy. My letter to the Times explained my position. The Russians might as well understand that a different kind of critic will speak and write in the future about Russia. The period of bitter denunciation on the part of reactionaries who knew nothing about the problem, and of vague visionaries who spoke and wrote in exalted language concerning the Russian experiment, has passed. In the future, there will be a really objective evaluation of what has been accomplished. That is where I stand. Some of the things I saw in Russia are magnificent, some I consider stupid. Whenever speaking or writing about the situation I shall tell the truth as I understand it. Just now I am under terrific pressure from America to cut off all relationships with Germany. I shall do no such thing. The fact that the German Government, or the Russian Government, or the Italian Government, have systems different from our, is no reason at all why we should not cooperate in matters of cultural education. The Communists at least have their faces turned to the future, the Fascists to the past. For neither am I an adherent.

It may interest you to know that in next November's Harper's Magazine, I shall have an article on Russia which the editor wanted for its "obvious fairmindedness". On November 9th and 10th, the Academy of Political Science and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace will hold a joint session and I have been invited to read a paper on "Russia and Peace". Moreover, the Columbia Broadcasting System has engaged me to give a weekly broadcast on foreign events with a national hookup beginning Friday, October 26th, and lasting until May 3rd. I sincerely hope that I shall be able to speak of Russian affairs in commendatory terms.

With warm regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Director

SPD:ML

(Copy - Translation)

"U C H I T E L S K A Y A G A Z E T A"
("Teacher's Gazette")

No. 5, 30th January, 1948.

THE "HIGH AIMS" OF MR. DUGGAN
(Full Summary of 2-1/2 column article)
by Prof. M. Bernstein.

The magazine "America" published for Russian readers by the US Information Bureau, kindly lent the pages of its twelfth number to Professor Stephen Duggan and his son, Directors of the Institute of International Education, in New York, on the question of "international exchange of students and scholars". The article is richly illustrated with idyllic pictures of students from Hungary, Mexico, India, Iceland, Greece, and Palestine, relaxing, eating, reading and working in laboratories. The authors are discursively eloquent on the "need for a mutual understanding which would pass the barriers of race, nation and creed" on "the strengthening of good will and community of aims between the democratic countries". They try to convince Soviet readers that their Institute of International Education (IIE) has from its very inception concerned itself only with the attainment of these high aims.

Duggan is trying to extend the activity of the IIE to the USSR. He has made similar attemps not a few times before, but without success, for it is well known in the Soviet Union what Mr. Duggan and the Institute, which he heads, represent.

The IIE came into being literally on the day following the end of the first World War when the most aggressive section of American monopoly capital had placed on the agenda the question of the world hegemony of the USA. The new foreign political tasks of American imperialism called to life new organizational forms of political, economic and ideological expansion. A distinct and important role in the general scheme for the ideological offensive was assigned to the "educational" cadres of American imperialism.

The Institute of International Education was organized under the stamp of the well-known philanthropic Carnegie fund. But this was merely a mask and not a particularly clever one. From the very first days of its existence, the IIE had been the centre of international propaganda for American reaction, the nursery of a special detachment of American residents in all parts of the globe. As from 1926 when the Institute had given practical evidence of its ability to perform the tasks laid upon it, a special conference of representatives of the Morgan and Rockefeller philanthropic organizations financing the Institute and of representatives of the American Education Council which was the ideological and political inspiration behind it, turned the IIE into a monopoly American institution for international pedagogic relations, for training legal "pedagogic" spies and informers and for establishing an "American column" in every country.

Moreover, from 1939 onwards the IIE in practice controlled the entire work of consultation, information and orientation as well as of supervision connected with all foreign students studying in American higher education establishments even of those who do not enjoy the material support of the Institute and who have no need whatsoever of its guardianship. In other words, since the beginning of the '40s, the IIE has held in its hands all the threads of American foreign pedagogic relations.

The annual reports published by the Institute and the writings of Duggan himself, give an idea of the proportions, forms and methods of the work of this outpost of US "pedagogic" aggression and reveal the immense danger which its many-sided activity presents to the independence of peoples, to real democratic peace and cultural progress.

As to the political colour of the Institute, it will suffice to say that one member of its management is the notorious John Foster Dulles - one of the most violent of the warmongers, publicly branded by A. Ya. Vyshinski; others are Thomas Lamont - big banker and director of a number of industrial and transport corporations; E. Morrow - reactionary radio commentator; Paul Monroe, Virginia Gildersleeve, and whole pleiad of such educationalists with long experience in planting American "educational" institutions in colonial and semi-colonial countries.

The chief activity of the IIE is the organisation of international student exchanges. In the 25 years of its existence it has sent about 2.5 thousand American students abroad, and placed more than 3000 students from Europe, Asia and South America in American colleges.

The American students have to pass through a two-fold political filter - they are selected by special selection committees attached to the establishments and colleges which have made the agreement with Mr. Duggan in the transaction concerned. The recommendation of their own colleges alone, however, is not enough; candidates must pass before a selection committee in the Institute of International Education itself.

Every student sent abroad must present two reports to the Institute - one during his stay, the other on his return home. These reports are secret and may be used only for the information of other students who are subsequently sent to the same country.

Two important criterions in the selection of candidates are: positive references from "politically reliable" persons and a capacity for getting on with other people. Students sent abroad by the IIE are advised not to confine themselves to their academic pursuits, but to "study the cultural, political and social life of the country to which they are sent, make friends with the local students and visit their homes, and establish friendly relations with the population".

The information which comes in through the Institute, as Duggan proudly declares, is more correct and reliable than that procured by the State Department through its Intelligence agents.

The real nature of the training which the IIE gives to American students staying abroad was "brilliantly" demonstrated during the recent war: in the words of its director the Institute became a reserve from which the American War Department and other state organs could draw trained cadres of occupation experts and colonisers. And one cannot but agree with Mr. Duggan that in this respect "the IIE justified the hopes of its real patrons and friends".

Since its inception the IIE has placed over 3000 foreign students in specially selected US colleges. They, unlike their American opposites, have to pass through a three-fold filter. Besides the selection made in Institutes in their own countries they must also come before a selection board organised in their countries and obliged to include two American residents there who enjoy the confidence of Duggan & Co. The final say

belongs to a selection committee in the IIE itself.

When he has finally passed through all these filters and won a scholarship from the Institute, the foreign student comes under its total guardianship and the tireless supervision of its agents in American colleges. In practice he is told which college he must enter. There he is directed by a specially chosen "professor" who "advises" him in all questions, even in the choice of newspapers and magazines to read, meetings to attend, and in the organization of his private relationships. All this is done in order that the student shall form "real enthusiasm for the American way of life and American civilisation".

In the words of Duggan, only very few foreign students fail to yield to this "ideological" suasion. This is very likely, for the "fortunates" honoured with Duggan's "bounty" are naturally the offspring of the families of the ruling cliques in foreign states who are, according to Duggan, "candidates for leading public service" in their own country. Such selection, is, of course, no mere chance. In its work with foreign students the IIE sets itself far-reaching goals; it plans to establish an American core among the ruling classes of the corresponding countries. As the Second World War again showed, in its respect too its calculations have justified themselves to a considerable extent. Duggan maintains that "the majority of foreign students who have passed through the IIE have proved loyal friends of the USA". It is among them that the Americans now seek and find "convinced" supporters of the "Truman doctrine", who fawn to Uncle Sam and are prepared to sell and betray the national sovereignty and the national dignity of their country for a dollar sop.

The second extensive branch of the IIE's activity is its "academic exchanges", i.e., the organization of lectures by foreign scholars in American colleges and by American scholars in foreign colleges. The selection of scholars invited to America, like the selection of American professors sent abroad, has a specific character. Both, as a rule, belong to the openly reactionary camp. In any case they must all be absolutely "reliable" from the point of view of capitalist ideology and "loyal" to American policy.

The IIE has spared no energies to organize "lecture tours" for such venerable "scholars" as ... the former President of the German Reichsbank, Schacht, and the Italian diplomat, Carlo Sforza, as well as a visit of the notorious airman Lindberg to the Latin-American and Far Eastern countries "to study schools, universities and the education systems as a whole".

The Nuremberg trial of the main German War criminals proved beyond doubt the "academic" nature of Schacht's visit to the USA. Evidently Duggan did not foresee such an end for his fascist protege when in 1943 he tried to deceive American and world public opinion by asserting that "Schacht did not receive a cent of credit from America".

Nor could Duggan, evidently, foresee that the secret of the sudden "pedagogic" transformation of Lindberg would be given away by his friend and companion-in-arms, John Barrett, who told representatives of the press that the visit of the "American prince", Colonel Lindberg, to Latin America, had been planned in order to weaken the impression made by the visit of the then Prince of Wales.

On the other hand, Duggan not only foresaw but awaited with impatience proofs of the beneficial influence of the IIE on his friend, Sforza. When, with the aid of his American protectors, the latter attained to the office of Italian Foreign Minister, he instructed his newspaper to declare that "any power which has signed the peace treaty may make any armed landing it please on any part of the Italian coast ...".

After this, how could Duggan not boast of his successes in organising "academic exchanges" and in "strengthening mutual understanding between democratic peoples"...

What is the real attitude of Duggan and his Institute to the Soviet Union? In his last article in "America" he writes that "ignorance and prejudice are the primary factors which give birth to ill-will and conflict between peoples". These words apply perfectly to Duggan himself. All his activity and writings have proved not only his prejudice and ignorance in questions concerning the USSR, but also his complete inability to learn the appropriate lessons from his personal "experience" in this sphere.

The Socialist Revolution aroused in Duggan alarm and terror almost bestial. With the solemn mien of the venerable "scholar" he took to producing vile fictions about the "Bolshevist terror which has deprived Russia of her intellectual forces", the Bolsheviks as disturbers of peace throughout the world", and so on.

With the generous means put at his disposal by Morgan and Rockefeller he has made repeated attempts to prepare an American core for the USSR - through his "Russian Student Fund" mobilising White Russian emigrés and by personal visits to the Soviet Union in 1925 and again in 1934.

He has met, however, with repeated failure. The frontiers of the USSR have proved firmly barred to his agents. Nothing has been left but to return to his old weapon against the Soviet people - slander. And in this respect, in his last, autobiographical book, - "A Professor in the Wildest Sense of the World" - he has excelled himself.

Such is Mr. Duggan, who conceals beneath the gown of "Professor of International Pedagogy" a poisoned weapon of Intelligence and espionage; such is the Institute under his direction.

"Teacher's Gazette", No. 5, 1948.

I I 3
Mason File

„Высокие цели" мистера Догана

Журнал «Америка», выпускаемый информационным бюро США для русского читателя, любезно предоставил в № 12 свои страницы профессору Стивену Догану и его сыну — руководителям института международной педагогики в Нью-Йорке по вопросу о «международном общении студентов и научных работников». Статья богато иллюстрирована идиллическими картинками отдыхающих, купающихся, читающих и работающих в лабораториях студентов из Венгрии, Мексики, Индии и Исландии, Греции и Палестины. Авторы статьи высокопарно разглагольствуют о «необходимости взаимного понимания, которое прежде бы сносило барьеры — расовые, национальные, религиозные», об «укреплении доброй воли и общности стремлений между демократическими народами». Они пытаются уверить советских читателей, что возглавляемый ими институт международной педагогики (ИМП) с самого начала своего существования только тем и занимается, что содействует достижению этих высоких целей.

Доган пытается распространить «деятельность своего института на СССР. Он уверяет даже, будто ИМП имеется в Москве, но теперь фиксо, ибо в Советском Союзе великолепно знают, что собой представляют мистер Доган и возглавляемое им учреждение.

Институт международной педагогики появился на свет буквально на следующий день после окончания первой мировой войны, когда наиболее агрессивная часть американского монополистического капитала поставила на повестку дня вопрос о мировой гегемонии США. Новые империалистические задачи американского империализма вызвали к жизни и новые организационные формы политической, экономической и идеологической экспансии. Известная и немаловажная роль в общем плане идеологического наступления была предназначена и «педагогическим» кадрам американского империализма.

Институт международной педагогики был организован под маркой известного филантропического фонда Карнеджи. Но это была лишь не особенно ловкая маскировка. С первых же дней своего существования ИМП стал центром международной пропаганды американской реакции, рассадником специального отряда американской резидентуры во всех уголках земного шара, начиная с Латинской Америки, Азии и Европы и кончая Эфиопией. С 1926 года, когда институт практически доказал свою способность выполнять возложенные на него задачи, специальное совещание представителей филантропических организаций Моргана и Рокфеллера, финансирующих институт, и представителей Американского просветительного совета, являющегося его идейным и политическим вдохновителем, фактически превратило ИМП в монопольное американское учреждение по международным педагогическим сношениям, по подготовке легальных «педагогических» информаторов и разведчиков, по созданию «американской колонии» в каждой стране.

Более того, начиная с 1939 года ИМП фактически сконцентрировал в своих руках всю работу по консультации, информации и ориентации, а также и по наблюдению за всеми иностранными студентами, обучающимися в американских вузах, даже в тех, которые не пользуются материальной поддержкой ИМП и которые вовсе не нуждаются в его опеке. Другими словами, к началу сороковых годов ИМП практически держал в своих руках все нити американских внешнепедагогических сношений.

Публикуемые институтом годовые отчеты и писания самого Догана позволяют судить о масштабах, формах и методах работы этого аванпоста «педагогической» агрессии США и вскрыть ту исключительную опасность, которую его многосторонняя деятельность представляет для независимости народов и для подлинного демократического мира и культурного прогресса.

Что касается политического лица института, возглавляемого Дорганом, то достаточно сказать, что в состав его правления входят пресловутый Джон Фостер Даллес — один из наиболее ретивых поджигателей войны, публично заклейменный тов. А. Я. Вышинским на Генеральной ассамблее организации Об'единенных наций; Томас Ламонт—крупный банкир и директор ряда промышленных и транспортных корпораций; Эдуард Мороу—реакционный радиокомментатор, крупный агент американского информационного бюро, и целая плеяда педагогических деятелей, имеющих большой опыт по насаждению американских «просветительных» учреждений в колониальных и полуколониальных странах (Пол Монро, Вирджиния Гилдерслив, Уильям Нейлсон, Капен и другие).

Основной деятельностью ИМП является организация международного обмена студентами. За 25 лет своего существования ИМП послал за границу около 2,5 тысячи американских студентов и разместил в американских вузах свыше 3.000 студентов из Европы, Азии и Южной Америки.

Американские студенты, направляемые институтом за границу, проходят двойной политический фильтр: они отбираются специальными отборочными комиссиями, функционирующими при тех вузах и колледжах, которые вошли в соответствующую сделку по данному вопросу с мистером Дорганом. Однако одной рекомендации своего вуза для кандидата недостаточно: подлинной проверке и фильтрации кандидаты подвергаются в отборочной комиссии, функционирующей в самом институте международной педагогики.

Каждый направляемый за границу студент обязан представить в ИМП два доклада: один в период его пребывания за рубежом, а второй — по возвращении домой. Эти доклады являются секретными, а меня для проверяемости информации в семьи могут знакомиться лишь последующие кандидаты, направляемые институтом в ту же страну.

Одним из важных критериев при отборе кандидатов для посылки за границу является положительные характеристики от «политически благонадежных» лиц и способность кандидата налаживать отношения с людьми. Студентам, направляемым ИМП за границу, рекомендуется не ограничиваться одними курсовыми науками, но и «изучать культуру, политическую и общественную жизнь страны, куда они направляются, и налаживать личные отношения с местными студентами, быть внимательными к их дома, установливать дружеские отношения с населением».

Информация, поступающая через филиалы института, по властному замечанию Догана, нередко бывает более «правильной и более надежной, чем информация, которую добывает государственный департамент США через свою разведывательную службу».

Подлинный характер подготовки, которой ИМП дает американским студентам-интернационалистам, был «блестяще» продемонстрирован в процессе второй мировой войны: институт международной педагогики, по словам его директора, стал рекрутским, по которого американское военное министерство, государственный департамент и другие государственные органы могли черпать готовые кадры оккупантов и колонизаторов. И надо согласиться с мистером Дорганом, что в этом отношении «ИМП оправдал надежды его подлинных покровителей и друзей...».

За время своего существования ИМП разместил по различным, специально отобранным вузам США свыше 3.000 студентов-иностранцев. В отличие от американских студентов, проходящих при направлении за границу двойную фильтрацию, иностранные студенты, желающие воспользоваться услугами ИМП, проходят тройную фильтрацию. Помимо отбора, которому они подвергаются в институтах своей собственной страны, они должны еще пройти через отборочную комиссию, организованную в их стране, в составе которой в обязательном порядке входят два американских резидента, длительное время проживающие в этой стране и пользующиеся полным доверием Догана и К°. Окончательное же слово в вопросе о предоставлении стипендии иностранному студенту и о допуске его в один из американских вузов, связанных с ИМП, остается за отборочной комиссией самого института.

Пройдя, наконец, все эти фильтры и удостоившись стипендии ИМП, иностранный студент попадает под всесторонню опеку и неусыпное наблюдение института и его агентуры в американских вузах. Фактически ему указывается, в какой вуз поступить. Там им руководит специально подобранный для этой цели «профессор», который «консультирует» его по всем вопросам вплоть до выбора газет и журналов для чтения, посещения собраний и налаживания личных отношений. Делается всё для того, чтобы у студента сложилось «подлинное восхищение американским образом жизни, американской цивилизацией».

По словам Догана, лишь очень немногие иностранные студенты не поддаются этой «идеологической обработке». И это вполне правдоподобно, ибо «счастливчиками», удостоенными «благодати» Догана, естественно, оказываются отпрыски семей господствующей верхушки иностранных государств, являющиеся, по словам Догана, «кандидатами на руководящую государственную работу» на родине. Такой подбор является, конечно, не случайным. В работе с иностранными студентами ИМП ставил и ставит перед собой далеко идущие цели: создать американскую резидентуру среди правящих слоев соответствующих стран. Как опять-таки показала вторая мировая война, расчеты ИМП и в этом отношении в значительной степени себя оправдали. Доган утверждает, что «большинство студентов-иностранцев, прошедших через ИМП, оказались верными друзьями США». Именно среди них американцы сейчас ищут и находят «убежденных» сторонников «доктрины Трумэна», пресмыкающихся перед дядей Сэмом и готовых за долларовую похлебку продать и предать национальный суверенитет и национальное достоинство своей родины.

Второй обширной отраслью деятельности ИМП является «академический обмен», то есть организация чтения лекций заграничными учеными в американских вузах, а американскими — в заграничных вузах. Подбор ученых, приглашаемых ИМП для чтения лекций в американских вузах, равно как и американских профессоров, направляемых ИМП за границу, носит специфический характер. И те и другие, как правило, принадлежат к открыто реакционному лагерю. Во всяком случае все они должны быть абсолютно «благонадежными» с точки зрения капиталистической идеологии и «лойяльными» по отношению к американской политике.

ИМП не пожалел сил, чтобы под флагом «академического обмена» организовать «лекционное турне» по американским вузам таких маститых «ученых», как... бывшего президента германского рейхсбанка Яльмара Шахта и итальянского дипломата Карло Сфорца, а также поездку пресловутого летчика Линдберга по латино-американским и дальневосточным странам «в целях изучения школ, университетов и всей системы образования».

Нюрнбергский процесс над главными немецкими военными преступниками с предельной убедительностью доказал «академический» характер поездки Шахта в США. Очевидно, Доган не предвидел такого конца своего фашистского протеже, когда в 1945 году он пытался ввести в заблуждение американское и широкое общественное мнение, уверяя, что «Шахт не получил в Америке ни пфеннига кредита».

Но мог, очевидно, Доган предвидеть и того, что тайну внезапного «педагогического» прозрения Линдберга видает его лиц друг и соратник — директор Пенсильванского союза Дикон Бирдат, занимавший представительный пост, что поездка в Латинскую Америку «американского принца» полковника Линдберга была затеяна в целях ослабления впечатления от поездки в то же край тогдашнего принца Уэльского.

Зато не только предвидел, но с исторической «чистой» Догана доказательств благотворного влияния ИМП на его друга Карло Сфорца. Последний с лишней страницы надежды Догана. Добившись при помощи своих американских покровителей до поста министра иностранных дел Италии, граф Сфорца получил «свой газета, а может быть, и шестерочкой ее заплеть, что «всякая держава, подписавшая мирный договор, может совершить любую вооруженную высадку в любом пункте итальянского побережья...».

Как же Догану после этого не хвастать своими успехами в области организации «академического обмена» и в области «укрепления взаимопонимания между демократическими народами»?..

Каково же истинное отношение Догана и его института к Советскому Союзу? В своей последней статье в журнале «Америка» мистер Доган пишет, что «неведение и предубеждение — первичные факторы, порождающие злую волю и раздоры между народами». Эти слова как нельзя лучше относятся к самому Догану. Всей своей деятельностью и писаниями он доказал не только свою предубежденность и невежество в вопросах, касающихся СССР, но и полную свою неспособность извлечь надлежащие уроки из своего личного «опыта» в этой области.

Октябрьская социалистическая революция вызвала у Догана животный испуг и звериную злобу. Советская Россия не прельстилась по вкусу этому «интернационалисту», ретушеру за военное вмешательство и добрую волю между демократическими народами. Доган старался как можно больше напустить и в меру своих силенок вредить стране социализма. Во имя этой цели он не гнушается вытаскивать из мусорной ямы истории давно разоблаченные глупые клеветнические выдумки. С серьезным видом «маститого» ученого Доган гнусавит о «большевистском терроре, лишившем Россию ее интеллектуальных сил», о большевиках, как о «возмутителях спокойствия во всем мире» и т. д. В книге только «грехах» не обвиняет он большевиков!

Располагая щедрыми подачками Моргана и Рокфеллера, Доган неоднократно пытался заняться подготовкой американской резидентуры для СССР. Одним из первых «достижений» ИМП в этом отношении была организация в 1921 году так называемого «Русского студенческого фонда».

Надеясь на то, что «советская власть долго не продержится», Доган ухватился за идею заблаговременной вербовки из среды белой эмиграции будущих помещиков и лидеров капиталистической России, лойяльных друзей США». Вдохновителем и движущей силой этого «Русского студенческого фонда» был некий Алексей Вирен, отпрыск контрреволюционного царского адмирала. Членами комитета «фонда» состояли бывший царский посол в США Бахметьев, американские разведчики Роббинс и Колтон, генерал Хаскель и другие «специалисты по русскому вопросу». Возглавлял комитет «сам» Доган.

«Русский студенческий фонд», по свидетельству Догана, вызвал большое сочувствие и помощь у «богатых и консервативных элементов, ненавидящих коммунизм». Правда, расчеты Догана и К° на последующую засылку «студентов» в Россию не оправдались. Догану пришлось искать новых путей. В 1925 году он предпринимает свою первую поездку в СССР, конечно, для «налаживания обмена студентами», для организации «культурных» связей. Догану и на этот раз не удалось «облагодетельствовать» Советский Союз. Профессору было раз'яснено, что Советский Союз в случае необходимости в состоянии сам содержать своих студентов и научных работников, командируемых за границу. «Разочарованный» и «обиженный», Доган по возвращении печатает в журнале «Харперс мэгазин» статью об СССР, полную гнусных инсинуаций.

В 1934 году мистер Доган снова приезжает в Советский Союз, снова терзает фиксо и уже по дороге обратно выступает по английскому радио с клеветническими, злостными измышлениями по адресу нашей страны. К великому своему разочарованию, Доган обнаружил у большевиков еще одно весьма неприятное для себя качество: политическую бдительность. Границы СССР оказались под крепким замком для дорогановской агентуры. Догану ничего не осталось, как снова вернуться к единственно доступному для него средству борьбы с советским народом — к клевете. В последней автобиографической книге «Профессор в широком смысле слова» Доган в этом отношении превзошел самого себя.

Таков мистер Доган, скрывающий под тогой «профессора международной педагогики» отравленное оружие разведки и шпионажа, таков возглавляемый им институт.

Проф. М. БЕРНШТЕЙН.

Среди книг и журналов

В издании Детгиза вышли следующие книги для школьных библиотек:

В. М. ГАРШИН. — «Сигнал». Серия «Первая библиотечка школьника», тираж 100.000, стр. 31.

А. С. ГРИБОЕДОВ. — «Горе от ума». Серия «Библиотечка школьника», тираж 150.000, стр. 32.

В. ДМИТРИЕВА. — «Малыш и Жучка». Рассказ. Серия «Первая библиотечка школьника», тираж 150.000, стр. 60.

Л. КАССИЛЬ. — «Федя из Подмосковья». Серия «Первая библиотечка школьника», тираж 75.000, стр. 45.

А. ИМШЕНЕЦКИЙ, член-корреспондент Академии наук СССР. — «Невидимый мир». Краткий очерк современной микробиологии. Серия «Ученые — школьникам», тираж 50.000, стр. 30.

Кроме того, в серии «Школьная библиотека» вышли книги:

Г. Х. АНДЕРСЕН. — Сказки. Перевод А. Ганзен. Издание второе, тираж 200.000, стр. 214.

Н. В. ГОГОЛЬ. — «Сорочинская ярмарка», тираж 150.000, стр. 40.

В. ГЮГО. — «Козетта», тираж 150.000, стр. 32.

«Илья Муромец и Соловей-Разбойник». — Былины, тираж 150.000, стр. 15.

В. Г. КОРОЛЕНКО. — «Избранные произведения». Примечания и словарь А. Дермина. Вступительная статья А. Котова, тираж 50.000, стр. 342.

М. Ю. ЛЕРМОНТОВ. — Стихи и сказка «Ашик-Кериб», со статьей Н. Шер «Михаил Юрьевич Лермонтов», тираж 150.000, стр. 78.

М. Ю. ЛЕРМОНТОВ. — «Поэмы». Редакция и примечания Б. М. Эйхенбаума, тираж 100.000, стр 290.

Д. ЛОНДОН. — «Сказание о Кише». Рассказ, тираж 150.000, стр. 16.

Н. А. НЕКРАСОВ — «Избранные стихотворения». Вступительная статья, редакция и примечания К. Чуковского, тираж 50.000, стр. 284.

А. С. ПУШКИН. — «Сказка о попе и о работнике его Балде», тираж 150.000, стр. 16.

А. С. ПУШКИН. — «Южные поэмы». Предисловие В. Н. Орлова, тираж 100.000, стр. 141.

Л. Н. ТОЛСТОЙ. — «Булька», тираж 150.000, стр. 16.

«Хитрый солдат». Русские народные сказки. Обработка И. Карнауховой, тираж 150.000, стр. 22.

А. П. ЧЕХОВ. — «Каштанка», тираж 150.000, стр. 32.

А. ГАЙДАР. — «Горячий камень». Рассказы, тираж 150.000, стр. 22.

А. ГАЙДАР. — «Чук и Гек», тираж 150.000, стр. 44.

А. ПРОКОФЬЕВ. — «В родном краю». Стихи о природе, тираж 20.000, стр. 48.

Вышла также из печати Книга-календарь на 1948 г. «Круглый год», тираж 100.000, стр. 286.

В ЦК профсоюза работников начальной и средней школы РСФСР

Президиум ЦК профсоюза работников начальной и средней школы РСФСР заслушал доклад председателя Тамбовского обкома союза тов. Васильева о выполнении постановления президиума ВЦСПС от 30 августа 1947 года «Об усилении работы профсоюзных организаций по воспитанию интеллигенции в духе советского патриотизма и преданности интересам Советского государства».

Судя по докладу, ряд райкомов союза в Тамбовской области значительно улучшили свою работу по политическому просвещению учителей. Докладчик утверждал, например, что из 11.364 учителей, работающих в школах области, 7.886 человек самостоятельно изучают историю партии и основы марксизма-ленинизма и 3.538 человек работают в кружках. Иными словами, ни одного учителя совершенствуют свои знания. Он сообщил, что в помощь учителям, занимающимся теоретической учебой, для них организовано свыше 3.000 лекций. В Тамбовском филиале университета марксизма-ленинизма занимаются 111 учителей, в Мичуринском филиале — 47.

При обсуждении доклада стало ясно, что цифры, приведенные докладчиком, не соответствуют действительному положению вещей. Тамбовский обком союза увлекается количественными показателями, цифрами «стопроцентного охвата» и мало интересуется фактическим состоянием работы по повышению идейно-теоретического уровня учителей, их качеством. Сообщение инструктора ЦК профсоюза, обследовавшего этот участок деятельности Тамбовского обкома союза, показало, например, что научные лекции, устраиваемые в Тамбовском Доме учителя, плохо посещаются, что на занятия Тамбовского филиала университета марксизма-ленинизма также являются далеко не все записавшиеся учителя. Ответы докладчика на обращенные к нему вопросы свидетельствовали, что во многих районах дело обстоит совсем не так, как показывают официальные «донесения» райкомов союза. А некоторые районные комитеты профсоюза вообще не занимаются повышением идейно-теоретического уровня учителей и даже не понимают своей роли в этом важнейшем деле.

Отвечая на выступления в прениях, докладчик был вынужден признать, что учителя ряда школ совсем не работают над повышением своего идейно-теоретического уровня, и в этом повинен сам обком союза, который не контролирует низовые организации.

Член президиума ЦК союза заслуженная учительница школы РСФСР директор 610-й школы г. Москвы тов. Померанцева правильно отметила, что Тамбовский обком союза забыл о сельских учителях. Если в Тамбове и ряде других городов области учителя имеют возможность слушать квалифицированные лекции по теоретическим вопросам, то сельские учителя такой возможности лишены: обком союза не заботится о посылке лекторов в сельские районы, не организует посылку в сельские школы достаточного количества библиотечек-передвижек. Совершенно забытыми оказались учителя-одиночки, работающие в отдаленных одноклассных сельских школах.

Поняла тов. Васильева, видимо, также, что Тамбовский обком союза не занимается всей суммой вопросов, затрагиваемых по постановлению президиума ВЦСПС, и связанных с воспитанием учительства в духе советского патриотизма. Обком и райкомы союза, например, совершенно не ведут пропаганды педагогического опыта лучших передовых учителей, их практическая деятельность которых является ярким, действенным проявлением советского патриотизма. Ничего в этом отношении не делает, в частности, и областной Дом учителя. Крайне слабо используются для воспитания советского патриотизма общие профсоюзные собрания.

Президиум ЦК союза признал работу Тамбовского обкома союза по выполнению постановления президиума ВЦСПС слабой, и принял постановление, намечающее конкретные мероприятия.

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ПО СЛЕДАМ МАТЕРИАЛОВ «УЧИТЕЛЬСКОЙ ГАЗЕТЫ»

«В плену буржуазно-националистических вагадов»

Управление высшей школы Министерства просвещения УССР сообщило редакции, что оно считает правильной помещенную в № 52 «Учительской газеты» (1947 год) под упомянутым выше заголовком рецензию доц. С. А. Литвинова на учебник проф. Н. Ф. Даденкова «История педагогики».

Этот учебник был подвергнут справедливой критике также в республиканской прессе и при специальном обсуждении на ученом совете научных работников Киева.

И, среди с тем, что в учебнике проф. Даденкова имеются серьезные методологические ошибки и буржуазно-националистическое извращение в освещении ряда основных вопросов истории педагогики, Управление по делам высшей школы при Совете Министров УССР, утверждение этот учебник, дало указание руководителям педагогических учебных заведений и заведующим кафедрами педагогики исключить учебник проф. Даденкова из списков рекомендованной литературы по истории педагогики.

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КОРОТКО

★ 25-летний юбилей школы им. С. Стальгина отметила недавно общественность г. Алаверди Армянской ССР. За 25 лет в школе обучалось около 10.000 детей. К юбилею в школе была организована выставка, которую посетило больше 2.500 человек.

★ Новая школа для детей горняков открылась в г. Копейске Челябинской области. До революции в Копейске не было ни одной школы, а теперь имеется 27, в которых обучается 23 тысячи детей.

★ Конференция молодых учителей, окончивших в 1947 году институты, проведена в Калининском учительском институте. На конференции был обсужден доклад на тему «Воспитание патриотизма». Выступления преподавателей дали молодым учителям ряд ценных методических советов.

Хроника

Президиум Верховного Совета РСФСР освободил тов. Наумкина А. Г. от обязанностей Министра просвещения РСФСР.

Президиум Верховного Совета РСФСР назначил тов. Волосенного Александра Александровича Министром просвещения РСФСР.

Обзор иностранных телеграмм

За пушками «западного блока» ◆ Нарушение мирного договора с Италией ◆ Усиление действий итальянской Народно-освободительной армии ◆ Убийство Гандиа.

Провозгласивший «западный блок» председатель тайного совета английского министра иностранных дел Бевина. Он сообщил палате общин, что Англия и Франция уже приступили к переговорам со странами об'единения «Бенилюкс» — Бельгией, Голландией, Люксембургом — о заключении договора, который, по существу, должен представлять собой расширенное издание пакта, заключенного в 1947 году в Дюнкерке между Англией и Францией.

По словам Бевина, сколачивание «западного блока» должно происходить постепенно. Он принял приобщиться к этому блоку Италию и другие «исторические страны», включая Португалию. Весьма характерно, что почти все перечисленные Бевином страны — учредители германского «западного блока», являются колониальными державами. Идя на поводу американской экспансии, Бевин помогает расширить «план Маршалла» за пределы Западной Европы, чтобы распространить его на колонии. Это должно предоставить американским монополиям еще более широкую сферу приложения капитала, открыть им доступ к колониальному сырью, и одновременно это включает заморские территории в систему широких агрессивных планов мирового господства США.

Империалистическая натуга организации «западного блока», вдохновляемая вашингтонской рашпсурой, непосредственно связана с осуществлением «плана Маршалла». Кабальные экономические условия «американской помощи» дополняются еще требованиями политическими и военными, которые ставят под угрозу суверенитет европейских стран и вовлекают их в военную машину американского империализма. Мотивы, выдвинутые Бевином в защиту так называемого «укрепления Западной Европы», вряд ли у кого могли вызвать сомнения в том, что он лишь слово в слово повторил предложение американского банкира Баруха. В своем выступлении в сенатской комиссии конгресса США Барух, разнося «план Маршалла», настоятельно рекомендовал, чтобы западноевропейские страны были «об'единены в политический, экономический и оборонительный союз», и затем, вслед за министром обороны США Форрестолом, поставил перед западноевропейскими странами — участниками «плана Маршалла» — вопрос о предоставлении Соединенным Штатам военных баз в обмен на помощь по «плану Маршалла».

Характеризуя эти новые условия американских монополистов, английский журнал «Трус» писал: «Барух усматривает в «плане Маршалла» идеальный инструмент для осуществления того, что он назвал «американской мировой стратегией в деле установления мира» — стратегии перестройки мира в соответствии с желаниями клики Вашингтона и Нью-Йорка».

Бевин помогает Маршаллу сколотить «об'единение западноевропейских стран», которое он называет организацией «родственных душ на Западе». Америке это «об'единение» необходимо для того, чтобы было удобнее управлять европейскими странами, превращенными в полуколонии США, и строить там свои военные базы.

Однако этот «союз», так удобно укладывающийся в рамки «плана Маршалла», тонко так же как и самый «план», встретит решительное сопротивление демократических сил, ибо эта игра направлена к расколу Европы, попирает национальный суверенитет европейских стран и низводит их к положению полуколоний. Миллионы простых людей осудят попытки Бевина втянуть по указке США западные страны в империалистический антисоветский блок.

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В итальянских портах — Неаполе, Таранто, Ливорно, Генуе и других — вновь появились и уже в течение длительного времени продолжают оставаться американские военно-морские корабли, что объясняют стремлением Соединенных Штатов оказать политическую поддержку малоавторитетному в итальянском народе правительству де Гаспери. Пребывание этих кораблей в итальянских портах также связывают с отправкой части американской военной эскадры в Средиземное море.

Пребывание американской военной эскадры в итальянских портах является в противоречии с итальянским мирным договором. Заявления официальных американских представителей, опубликованные за последнее время в американской печати, подтверждают эти факты нарушения правительством США мирного договора с Италией, предусматривающего, что к 15 декабря 1947 года все вооруженные силы союзных держав в соединенных держав должны быть выведены из Италии.

В связи с этим посол СССР в США тов. Панюшкин 28 января направил государственному секретарю США г. Маршаллу ноту, в которой указывается, что продолжающееся после 15 декабря 1947 года пребывание военно-морских сил США в итальянских портах и территориальных водах Италии является нарушением пункта 1 статьи 73 мирного договора с Италией и что советское правительство ожидает незамедлительного принятия правительством США мер к устранению указанного нарушения мирного договора.

Текст указанной ноты был также сообщен советским правительством правительству Франции с просьбой довести содержание этой ноты до сведения союзных и соединенных держав, подписавших мирный договор с Италией.

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Как сообщает китайская печать, в результате успешных действий Народно-освободительной армии в 56 км от Нанкина и 104 км от Шанхая «создалась угроза для района Нанкин—Шанхай». Народно-освободительные войска продвигаются с их старых баз в северной части провинции Цзянсу и развернули широкие атаки фактически на все основные города, удерживаемые гоминдановскими войсками в районе, простирающемся от реки Янцзы на север до Бейпина. Положение гоминдановских войск в районе Ханькоу всё более ухудшается. На состоявшейся в Нанкине пресс-конференции военный представитель китайского правительства подтвердил сообщение о занятии Народно-освободительной армией Сиыльтиуня — важного стратегического пункта северо-западнее Мукдена.

Агентство Синьхуа сообщает, что после того, как гоминдановские войска были оттеснены далеко на юг от реки Хуанхэ, на территории трех провинций — Хэнань, Аньхуэй и Цзянсу — образовался новый освобожденный район. За последние три месяца в этом районе произведены коренные демократические преобразования. Избрано на демократических принципах с участием широких слоев населения города и деревни правительство района. Демократические органы власти избраны в 56 уездах. Главной своей целью новые власти ставят искоренение остатков феодализма путем наделения крестьян землей и развитие торговли и промышленности в городах.

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Как передает агентство Рейтер из Дели, известный индийский политический деятель Махатма Ганди убит 30 января четырьмя выстрелами в упор, в то время как он направлялся в молитвенное собрание. Ганди было 78 лет.

Личность убийцы Ганди установлена. Это 36-летний индус по имени Натхуран Винайяк Годе, принадлежащий к народности маратха. Годе хорошо говорит по-английски.

У педагогов-художников

На переднем плане большого полотна — дерево. Воздух до того прозрачен, что совсем сиреневыми кажутся туманные дали горизонта. На фоне бледного осеннего неба нечетко вырисовываются контуры московских теремов и церквей. Лениво омывая пологие берега, течет Яуза. Эту картину, воссоздающую черты древней Москвы, педагог 469-й школы тов. Мясоедов представил в этом году на очередную выставку художественной студии Таганского Дома учителя.

А сколько таких, несомненно, талантливых картин и рисунков можно найти в выставочном зале! Остановимся, например, около стенда, где помещены работы старого студийца тов. Глухова. Он сражался на фронтах Отечественной войны и привез с собой альбом фронтовых зарисовок. На страницах альбома прекрасно запечатлены образы бойцов и партизан и отдельные эпизоды героических будней войны.

Из работ других художников хочется отметить этюды студийца тов. Помянского к большой картине «Зоя», «Портрет старого большевика» и портрет пионерки кисти художницы Соловьевой, которая преподает в 95-й школе, прекрасное полотно Мясоедова «Послевоенный урожай».

Эта выставка особенно знаменательна в истории Таганского Дома учителя. Она подводит итоги пятнадцатилетней работы художественной студии, об'единяющей учителей рисования начальных и средних школ района. Студией руководит один из старейших студийцев — художник Мясоедов.

Юбилейная выставка — пятая по счету, которую организует студия за годы своего существования.

В. ГЕЙДА.

В. О. Овсянников

30 января 1948 года скончался старейший работник Наркомпроса — Министерства просвещения РСФСР Владимир Осипович Овсянников.

В. О. Овсянников родился в гор. Кирове в 1883 году. Происходя из трудовой семьи, Владимир Осипович сам с 14 лет начал работать.

По окончании Ленинградского университета Владимир Осипович с первых же дней Октябрьской революции начал работать в Народном Комиссариате по просвещению, где он в течение 30 лет занимал ряд ответственных должностей.

Честное, добросовестное отношение к порученному делу характеризует трудовой путь тов. Овсянникова. Все свои знания, силы и умение он отдавал делу народного просвещения. Его жизнь является примером беззаветного служения Родине.

Мы никогда не забудем В. О. Овсянникова — честного труженика и замечательного человека.

Вознесенский, Кондаков, Терентьев, Снегов, Белоконев, Елисеев, Трутнева, Волкова, Княжина, Литвинцев, Орлов, Арнаутов, Малахов, Челпанова, Смирнов, Попова, Данев, Катерли, Федорченко, Шамрай, Суворов, Первовский, Тарасенков, Скворцов, Гуров, Малинин, Даньшин, Васнецов, Кривенко, Зарецкая, Заблуцка, Алферова, Алексеев, Власов, Рождественский, Зорина, Фролова, Нитшеруц.

Ответственный редактор
В. А. ГОЛЕНКИНА.

ОБ'ЯВЛЯЮТ КОНКУРС

НА ЗАМЕЩЕНИЕ СВОБОДНЫХ ВАКАНСИЙ:

НАУЧНО-ИССЛЕДОВАТЕЛЬСКИЙ ИНСТИТУТ МЕТОДОВ ОБУЧЕНИЯ АКАДЕМИИ ПЕДАГОГИЧЕСКИХ НАУК РСФСР

(Москва, Лобковский пер., д. 3/10.)

НАУЧНЫХ СОТРУДНИКОВ

по числу лиц, имеющих ученую степень:

по методике преподавания истории в начальной школе — 1; по методике преподавания литературы — 3; по методике преподавания французского языка — 1; по методике преподавания истории — 3; по методике преподавания Конституции — 1; по методике преподавания русского языка — 1; по методике преподавания логики — 1; по методике преподавания родных языков в нерусской школе — 1; по сектору научно-методической консультации — 1.

НАУЧНО-ИССЛЕДОВАТЕЛЬСКИЙ ИНСТИТУТ ПСИХОЛОГИИ АКАДЕМИИ ПЕДАГОГИЧЕСКИХ НАУК РСФСР

(Москва, 6, Мешковская, 6, корпус 2).

1. Лаборатория психологии школьника — 1 СТАРШИЙ НАУЧНЫЙ СОТРУДНИК, имеющий ученую степень доктора или кандидата педагогических наук, печатные труды и стаж научно-исследовательской работы.

2. Лаборатория преподавательского обучения и дошкольных психологов — 2 СТАРШИХ НАУЧНЫХ СОТРУДНИКА, имеющих ученую степень доктора или кандидата педагогических наук, печатные труды и стаж научно-исследовательской работы.

Срок конкурса — один месяц со дня опубликования.

Заявления с приложением документов, указанных в инструкции ВАКИ от 25 февраля 1948 года за № 67 о научной квалификации и стаже научно-педагогической работы, посылаются на имя директоров указанных выше институтов.

АДРЕС РЕДАКЦИИ И ИЗДАТЕЛЬСТВА: Москва, проезд им. А. К. Сорокиной, д. 3/4, подъезд № 6. ТЕЛЕФОНЫ РЕДАКЦИИ: секретариата — К 5-00-07; ответ. секретаря — К 5-01-00; правового отдела — К 4-00-31 и К 0-79-00; отдела школ — К 4-00-51; отдела детских домов и отдела педагогических кадров и учебных — К 4-79-01; отдела руководящих органов народного образования — К 4-57-71; издательства — К 4-00-01.

Типография издательства «Московский большевик», Ивановский переулок, 6.

Б—20115.

FILE EMPTY WHEN RECEIVED

at the Murrow Center

CONFIDENTIAL April 3, 1954

Supplementary Facts about the NSFA:

The following facts were ferreted out after the memorandum of April 1st:

Revised chronology of NSFA Presidents:

A.	Lewis Fox	Dec. 1925	
B.	Marvin Breckinridge	" 1926	
C.	Ed Miller	" 1927	- was rather inactive except headed delegation to CIE and Martha Biehle served as Exec. Secy without pay, assisted by Mae Hermes, loaned by the British Union of Students.
D.	Edward R. Murrow	" 1929	
E.	Francis Nemeck	Jan.1932	
F.	John A. Lang	" 1933	
G.	Thomas F. Neblett	" 1935	
H.	Arthur Northwood	" 1936	
I.	Mary Jean McKay	" 1938	
J.	Elizabeth Robertson	" 1940	

Offices of NSFA: 1928 to 1932 - 218 Madison Avenue, NYC
1932 to 1939 - 8 West 40th Street, NYC
1939 to 1941 - 1410 H Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Following the inactive status, NSFA rented a small office at 274 Madison Avenue, NYC - sharing office space of a small firm.

***

1. Murrow is alleged to have been president of the CIE (International Confederation of Students) although it is my recollection that he refused the nomination at least once on the grounds that the Deutsche Studentenschaft was deprived of full participation. (About 1931-1932)

2. It is also alleged that he was an "officer of the International Student Service (presumably in 1932) and a member of the League for Industrial Democracy".

These two facts appear in the Dec. 28, 1932 "Convention Extra" of The Tulane Hullabaloo.

3. Marvin Breckinridge, of Vassar, was an important figure in the NSFA from the beginning when she was a member of the first Executive Committee with Frederick Field, Corliss Lamont of Harvard, Ed Duffey of Dartmouth, Margaret Trull of Barnard, In the summer of 1926 the NSFA sent its first official delegation to the congress of the CIE which was held in Prague. The delegates were Marvin Breckinridge, Frederick Field, and Lewis Fox.. Delegates were sent, as a result of a letter from Jean Balinski, president of CIE, to President Henry Noble MacCracken of Vassar in the spring of 1925 and Marvin Breckinridge headed a delegation of 4 women to Copenhagen to the international student conference.

Subsequently Marvin Breckinridge became administrative assistant to Jouett Shouse in Washington in the National Democratic Committee in about 1934-36; later she married a wealthy Foreign Service Officer, Mr. Patterson, who held various posts, notably in Egypt and Greece. She also did some broadcasts for Murrow during the war from Sweden where Patterson was assigned.

4. Regarding travel programs, the 1932 booklet of the National Union of Students, published in London, on summer vacation tours, which was circulated by NSFA, scheduled a tour in the USSR. It is not known whether the tour was conducted or whether any Americans joined it. The announcement stated: "...a pall of mystery still seems to overhang the Soviet Republic, and it is impossible to attain with any degree of certainty to even the most elementary facts about it. Many who have visited it have returned with the shining eyes of the enthusiast. Others consider that the gigantic experiment is failing. At least one ought to visit Russia and try to form one's own conclusions or at all events to be able to check the opinions of others and to sift the corn of fact from the chaff of propaganda. ..."

5. Neblett indicates that Joe Cadden was employed by NSFA at the time he took office, engaged in editing and publishing a news service- but Neblett states that he could not justify financially continuing Cadden on the payroll and, therefore, dismissed him, thus arousing protests on the basis of anti-semitism.

6. Referring to point 15 of the April 1 memorandum: Francis Henson was General Secretary of the International Student Service in the US in 1935 and led a group to the ISS conference at Zeist, Holland in August of that year.

7. The close connection of CBS with NSFA continued for several years after Murrow and Williams conducted the University of the Air series. Speakers on these programs are undoubtedly in the files of CBS. NSFA news releases indicate that Corliss Lamont spoke on Jan. 25, 1935 on the subject "The Student and Soviet Union", James Wechsler spoke on March 20, 1935 on Academic Freedom, and Harold Laski was also featured. Murrow must have been Talks Director at CBS at this time and he may have arranged programs also for the American Youth Congress.

CONFIDENTIAL

SUMMARY MEMORANDUM ON THE N.S.F.A.
AND RELATED GROUPS

April 1, 1954

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2. After his two terms as President, Murrow was active as a Member of the Board of Advisors whose minutes undoubtedly cover many of the controversies of the period, 1932 to 1936 or 1937.

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10. Part of the NSFA story was developed at the Velde Committee hearings in the interrogation of Jack McMichael who was a leader in the American Youth Congress, and at one time was head of the International Student Service.

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12. During the 1934-38 period, the leading communist front organization was the League Against War and Fascism headed by J. B. Matthews, who became Director of Research for the Dies Committee about 1938. This organization influenced all youth organizations and manipulated the American Youth Congress. Matthews, who McCarthy attempted to hire in 1953, had a long history of association with student movements, youth or communist fronts dating back to 1928 when he organized the American Delegation to the World Youth Peace Conference in Erde, Holland. At that time he was Executive Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a pacifist group led by the brother of Francis Sayre, later Assistant Secretary of State, whose assistant was Alger Hiss. This is important because J. B. Matthews probably still has the detailed study of the student and youth movements which he made originally in the Dies Committee and which he might make available in order to tie Murrow up with communism.

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Judging from the files of John Lang, which he took from the NSFA files covering his own period of service, these NSFA files could provide considerable grist to McCarthy's mill if he could get hold of them. They certainly show Murrow's very active participation in all NSFA affairs over a four or five years' period.

14. Lew Harris, who works for Elmo Roper, was active in the NSFA in 1940-41.

15. Another point which might be worth following up is the file of the YMCA periodical "Intercollegian" which is available at the Student YMCA Headquarters, 291 Broadway - Dr. E. Espy, 13th floor - Di 9-0700; the editor of the magazine is Geneive Schneider, at the same address, and she knows the entire period from 1929 to the present. The Executive Secretary, Dr. Edwin Espy, was in Europe during most of the controversial period. The existing files at the Student YMCA are not useful but the back files covering the 1930s are available at Yale Divinity School. The Student YMCA closely collaborated with the NSFA and many of the leftist organizations of the American Youth Congress. One of its leaders in the early 30s was Francis Henson, who was at that time entering his Marxist phase. He later wrote extensively in the Marxist quarterly. As a left-wing socialist he was closely associated with J. B. Matthews. After his activity in the Spanish Civil War he became anti-communist and collaborated with one of the former heads of the communist party who led an anti-communist faction. Henson fought the communists in the Automobile Union and is now Educational Director of the AF of L Automobile Workers in Milwaukee - where he has also taken a leading role in opposition to McCarthy. For this reason his name and background might be brought into the picture. Address: 429 West Michigan, Milwaukee 3, Wisconsin.

CONCLUSION: The above summary provides several indications of possible lines of attack on Murrow's connections and activities in the early 1930s, a number of sources that might be followed up in case of need to prepare for an interrogation before the Committee. Short of that, it would seem that the explorations made and summarized here would be sufficient for the present. In any case, accusations that may be made on the basis of this period ought to be largely ignored as typical distortions of the dim past. It may be worth tracing down documents which would show that Murrow had

attacked communism at the time and the communists had attacked Murrow. But this would admittedly be a time-consuming effort. It is possible that James Wechsler would be able to contribute something from his review of his own past, bearing in mind he was editor of the Columbia Spectator in 1937. The same applies to Reed Harris who was editor in 1932. Reed Harris is in Washington and can be reached on Oliver 2-8338 or his office, Dupont 7-3466.

CONFIDENTIAL

April 1, 1954

MEMORANDUM:

Subject: National Federation of Churches of Christ of America

As a result of the attempt to hire J. B. Matthews for the McCarthy Committee, and the earlier appearance of Bishop Oxnam before the Velde Committee, the National Federation of Churches of Christ of America have assembled considerable files on McCarthy. The person to contact in this regard is probably Walter Van Kirk.

CONFIDENTIAL March 13, 1954

Significant points in the Yearbook of the National Student Federation

1. Signed letter from President Herbert Hoover: "The work of the National Student Federation in this field is most promising and encouraging.

2. References made to WORLD YOUTH PEACE CONGRESS, page 14. The Executive Secretary and Southern California group were delegates. J.B. Matthews was head of the American delegation as Executive Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, which mobilized the American group. This conference had nothing to do with NSFA. A few delegations contained Communists, notably the German, Italian and Eastern European countries. However, the delegates from the Soviet Union were prevented from coming because the Dutch refused to issue visas because the Soviet officials refused to issue passports to the Tolstoyians.

3. One of the Debating Teams was sent to Moscow, see page 73 - but this was Moscow, IDAHO. Also this was offset by having the teams go to Lexington and Gettysburg!

4. McCarthy attended Marquette Univ. at Milwaukee, 1930-32. In 1930 Marquette was not a member of the NSFA but it may have joined later, in which case the student president of 1931-32 might turn out to be a useful point of reference.

5. Reference is made in several places to the WORLD STUDENT UNION (i.e. page 14) which could be confused with the Communist front organization known as the AMERICAN STUDENT UNION. The World Student Union was a temporary association of West Coast Colleges which disbanded and urged the member colleges to work through the NSFA.

6. In 1929-31, the Communist student organization was known as- National Student League while the Fabian student group was the League for Industrial Democracy. Under the leadership of Joe Lash, these two were amalgamated in 1933 under the name of the AMERICAN STUDENT UNION, over the strong protests of such "ex-student leaders" as the past Executive Secretary of NSFA.

7. Although not named in the Yearbook, Martha Biehle's secretary, who worked for the President and Executive Secretary for a few months, Mrs. Lawrence Ross, with her husband, was a Communist at the time. A few years later he was head of the Community Party in Los Angeles and editor of the Western Worker; still later he turned against the Party and testified against Bridges. Also the secretary who followed Mrs. Ross., Mrs. Sylvia Sugerman, was the wife of a lawyer who was a member of the NLRB and reputed to be in the Lee Pressman cell.

8. The Constitution of the NSFA is found on page 83. The message of the President of NSFA is on insert page following page 25.

9. If McCarthy wishes to make something of the NSFA he would no doubt draw primarily upon J. B. Matthews who was active in student affairs as a faculty member of Howard University, 1929-31, and who did a special study of Communist infiltration into student organizations when he was an investigator for the Dies Committee in 1935 or 1936. Matthews undoubtedly has a rather complete dossier on both the President and Executive Secretary of NSFA.

10. The NSFA became defunct in 1942 due to the fact that it could not convene its annual congresses during the war. The National Student Association, formed at the University of Wisconsin in 1946 or '47, had no connection with NSFA. The leaders of the new association only learned of it after their organizing work was almost finished.

11. It may be useful to run down the present connections of members of the Executive Committee in 1930-31 and 31-32. The only ones that come to mind are - Glenn Degner who is now proprietor of a small airport in Minnesota; John Lang who is an assistant to a Congressman from North Carolina. I believe Martha Biehle is connected with the International Refugee Organization.

12. Vulnerable personalities connected in one way or another with NSFA prior to 1931:

Frederick Field, member of the first executive committee, 1925
Corliss Lamont, member of national committee calling the conference of 1925
Dr. Alexander Meicklejohn (ACLU) (quoted as advocating refusal to answer questions on political beliefs or associations before Congressional committees - recently)
Dr. Stephen Wise, recently called a Communist by one of the investigating committees
Lawrence Duggan - only mentioned on page 67 as one of the "invited friends" at an executive committee meeting
Heywood Broun appeared on one of the radio programs with Vernon Bartlett
Judge Jackson H. Ralston who was a speaker at the Stanford conference and subsequently a strong member of ACLU.

Invulnerables:

Herbert Hoover

Ray Lyman Wilbur, Secretary of the Interior

Harry F. Chandler, Pres., Los Angeles Times - deceased. His son is now the publisher. Mr. Chandler offered to raise $30,000 for NSFA.

Donald J. Cowling, Chairman of National Board, Pres. Carleton College

John W. Davis. Member of the National Board. Democratic candidate for President, 1934. (May be putting him in the wrong column - he was co-chairman of the Committee against the Bricker Amendment.)

Dr. Robert A. Milliken, Member of the National Board. Pres., Calif. Institute of Technology.

Dr. Paul Monroe. Member of the National Board.

Dean Virginia Gildersleeve. Member of the National Board. Barnard College. Member, U.S. Delegation at San Francisco. (May be in the wrong column.)

Confidential

Referring to Point 13 of attached paper.

Finally reached Mr. Vincent at 342 Madison Ave - Tel: Murray Hill 2-5575. The files appear definitely to have been destroyed about 1950. Vincent had rented a room at 274 Madison Ave. to NSFA which explains how he happened to have the files. He moved from this address to 342 Madison in 1948-49 to smaller quarters and sent most of his files & NSFA files to a warehouse on 1st Ave. & 31 St, which consisted of a little den, 4x8, in a one story ramshackle garage run by a Mr. Cohen. For about 2 years he paid $20 quarterly. Then about 1950 or '51 the bills stopped coming. About 6 months ago Elizabeth Mueller inquired about the files and he sent a man to the garage who discovered that the whole building had been demolished and a new building on the site. A nearby bartender stated that Mr. Cohen's creditors had sold everything

-over-

of value and that the padlocked little den had been broken into by children who played with the papers and built bonfires on the vacant lot. In view of the fact that nobody knew they were there besides Vincent it can be presumed that all the papers have been destroyed.

4/2/54

Dear Ben—

I have other background papers and some of Long's files at my apartment. You can reach me after 6 pm at Oregon 4-5790.

Pat

CONFIDENTIAL

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Judging from the files of John Lang, which he took from the NSFA files covering his own period of service, these NSFA files could provide considerable grist to McCarthy's mill if he could get hold of them. They certainly show Murrow's very active participation in all NSFA affairs over a four or five years' period.

14. Lew Harris, who works for Elmo Roper, was active in the NSFA in 1940-41.

15. Another point which might be worth following up is the file of the YMCA periodical "Intercollegian" which is available at the Student YMCA Headquarters, 291 Broadway - Dr. E. Espy, 13th floor - Di 9-0700; the editor of the magazine is Geneive Schneider, at the same address, and she knows the entire period from 1929 to the present. The Executive Secretary, Dr. Edwin Espy, was in Europe during most of the controversial period. The existing files at the Student YMCA are not useful but the back files covering the 1930s are available at Yale Divinity School. The Student YMCA closely collaborated with the NSFA and many of the leftist organizations of the American Youth Congress. One of its leaders in the early 30s was Francis Henson, who was at that time entering his Marxist phase. He later wrote extensively in the Marxist quarterly. As a left-wing socialist he was closely associated with J. B. Matthews. After his activity in the Spanish Civil War he became anti-communist and collaborated with one of the former heads of the communist party who led an anti-communist faction. Henson fought the communists in the Automobile Union and is now Educational Director of the AF of L Automobile Workers in Milwaukee - where he has also taken a leading role in opposition to McCarthy. For this reason his name and background might be brought into the picture. Address: 429 West Michigan, Milwaukee 3, Wisconsin.

CONCLUSION: The above summary provides several indications of possible lines of attack on Murrow's connections and activities in the early 1930s, a number of sources that might be followed up in case of need to prepare for an interrogation before the Committee. Short of that, it would seem that the explorations made and summarized here would be sufficient for the present. In any case, accusations that may be made on the basis of this period ought to be largely ignored as typical distortions of the dim past. It may be worth tracing down documents which would show that Murrow had

attacked communism at the time and the communists had attacked Murrow. But this would admittedly be a time-consuming effort. It is possible that James Wechsler would be able to contribute something from his review of his own past, bearing in mind he was editor of the Columbia Spectator in 1937. The same applies to Reed Harris who was editor in 1932. Reed Harris is in Washington and can be reached on Oliver 2-8388 or his office, Dupont 7-3466.

CONFIDENTIAL

April 1, 1954

MEMORANDUM:

Subject: National Federation of Churches of Christ of America

As a result of the attempt to hire J. B. Matthews for the McCarthy Committee, and the earlier appearance of Bishop Oxnam before the Vellde Committee, the National Federation of Churches of Christ of America have assembled considerable files on McCarthy. The person to contact in this regard is probably Walter Van Kirk.

The National Student Federation of America is no longer in existence. I cannot find the NSFA listed on the Attorney General's lists or on any Congressional reports. But to bring you up to date, here's all the information I've been able to get on the subject. I believe it is reasonable conclusive.

On January 2nd, 1942, the United States Committee of the International Students Service announced that the National Students Federation of America had agreed to pool its effort with the ISS. The NSFA, at this time and for some time before, was in financial difficulty. The partial affiliation with the ISS was voted by the NSFA at the conclusion of its annual congress (1941) at the University of Minneosota.

The announcement was made by Joseph P. Lash, who was then secretary of the United States Committee of the ISS. The affiliation, according to the New York Times of January 2nd, was a move to provide for an interchange of representatives on the governing bodies of both

groups and the election of an executive secretary of the NSFA agreeable to both. The agreement also provided that money collected by the NSFA from student governments would be earmarked for NSFA purposes.

I talked with Joe Lash. He doesn't quite remember what happened to the NSFA, but says he doesn't believe the affiliation ever took place.

Where the NSFA apparently died was just prior to its scheduled convention called for at Michigan State in December, 1942. From the files of the National Students Association, founded in 1947, I got this information. A post-card cancelling the NSFA convention for 1942 was sent to members. The cardsays that the congress was being cancelled [redacted] due "to war mobilization and travel restrictions."

Here's some information I picked up on the NSFA which may help some.

In December, 1940, the NSFA, which the New York Timesreports as "one of the founders of the American Youth Congress" and which represents some hundred colleges and student councils withdrew from the American Youth Congress because of the AYC's "alleged radical tendencies."

The vote on the withdrawal question was three to one. At the same December congress, the NSFA refused to affiliate with the ISS, which offered to give it financial suppost. The affiliation was rejected on what the group referred to as "the altruism of the ISS." As you noted above, it may have changed its mind a year later...at least partially. The American Youth Congress was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General on December 4, 1947 and again on Sept. 21, 1948. It's is still on the list.

On January 1st, 1941, Murray Plavner, national director of the National Foundation for American Youth, said in the New York Times, that the breaking away of the NSFA "leaves only two non-Communist influences which still keep the AMerican Youth Congress from crumbling into dust." The two influences named by Plavner were the YMCA and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt who, he said, had not "yet reversed her insistence that she knows the AYC to be NOT dominated by Communists."

You were president or director of the group in 1931. Said such things as: "Increasing "jealousy, hatred and intense nationalism" is being developed among European students groups by economic conditions abroad. That students here "under the impact of the depression

were beginning to show new interest in national and international problems."

Here are some of the things the NSFA voted:

1931...Called for modification of the national Prohibition Law; you issued a statement in the name of the NSFA appealing for the peaceful settlement of the crisis in the Far East and the withdrawal of American military forces from China. You said that the world then was in danger of a war even more disastrous than the last one. The appeal was signed by representatives of student youth organization said to represent more than one-million youths. THE NSFA condemned subsidization of college athletes.

1934: At a meeting of AN NSFA group in Harvard's lecture hall the speaker was Ann Burlak, called the "red flame." She attack most of the capatalistic institutions, the Times reports. As a result the students went after her hide. She ran away.

1936: Declared that color shall not be a bar to membership.

1937: Took a stand against loyalty oaths, seditious bills and red riders in the states where they exists and urged American youth not to bear arms outside the United States.

The New Republic on January 13, 1941 reports on three student meetings in New York City over the 1940 Christmas holiday. The magazine says that the three principal organizations were each independent of each other "yet no one of them can be understood without reference to the other." It labels the American Students Union "decidedly leftish;" the National Students Federation "centerish"; and the International Student Service (New Dealish.)

The New Republic comments on the merger of the NSF with the ISS. At the meeting, the magazine says, "a proposed merger of the ISS with the NSF--relatively inactive in the past on account of insufficient funds.....seems to have been handled badly at the NSFA conventions and failed to go through."

As near as I can find out the National Students Association, founded at a constitutional convention in Sept. 1947, and which today says it has over "three-hundred colleges" with a membership of about eight-hundred thousand students, is doing the work of the old NSFA, although it has no apparent connection.

oOo

From
Chester Williams

THE ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

November 1937

THE PROSPECT FOR YOUTH

Designed to focus attention upon the problems of youth and to facilitate the intelligent consideration of these problems.

Articles by: W. Wallace Weaver
Newton Edwards
Homer P. Rainey
Bruce L. Melvin
J. H. Bentley
Ordway Tead
Ray H. Abrams
Eduard C. Lindeman
Franklin Spencer Edwards
Lawson Robertson
J. P. Shalloo
Selwyn D. Collins
Bruce B. Robinson
Emily Hartshorne Mudd

Under section entitled Youth Programs and Movements:

The Government's Responsibility for Youth, by Aubrey Williams
The Civilian Conservation Corps Program by Robert Fechner
Youth Movements in the United States by Thomas F. Neblett
The European Labor Service by Kenneth Holland
International Aspects of Modern Youth Problems, by W.Thacher Winslow
Leadership for Modern Youth by A. G. Knebel

Other articles by:

M. M. Chambers
Howard Bell
D. L. Harley

The American Academy of Political and Social Science
3937 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Penna.

Tel: Evergreen 6-4594

YOUTH MOVEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

By

Thomas F. Neblett

Excerpts from The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science - November 1937- issue devoted to "The Prospect for Youth". (Page 141)

"... The changing psychology of succeeding generations up to the present is clearly shown by Carl Van Doren in Three Worlds ..." (4 quotations from Carl Van Doren)

"... For the purpose of this article, a youth movement may be defined as organized effort on the part of youth itself directed toward a goal identified with the interests of young people and with the general welfare of society; youth in pursuit of a dominant ideal or a new adventure, a major cause in which youth can lose itself, or a break from the stuffy bounds of narrow living.

"The definition automatically eliminates from our consideration all youth serving agencies or organizations, public or private. Among those excluded are the CCC, the NYA, 4-H Clubs, and other governmental agencies; and such private organizations for youth as the YMCA, the YWCA, the Boy Scouts, and all similar agencies and organizations which youth did not initiate, and in which youth does not actively control and administer all or a major part of the program. ..."

"Sec. Wallace, in his speech in 1933 on 'The Potentialities of the Youth Movement in America,' lends support to this definition. 'A true youth movement must be a new, vital, adventurous approach to the potentialities of the coming age.' In an editorial in The New Student of May 5, 1923, the youth movement of post-war days is described as 'spontaneous -- a growth out of the youth of this or that country... The living force of the youth movement is an attitude, a spirit...'"

"... As we review youth movements in the U.S. we find that chronologically they fall in the following order: first, the activities of the youth during the period leading up to the World War; second, the spread of the movement after the war and up to the depression; and, third, the increase in the youth's activity during and since the depression. ..."

"..Randolph Bourne, in Youth and Life, sounded the insurgent note: ... quotation on page 143 -

"...Youth movements before the World War were not strongly felt or widely recognized. ... Perhaps the best illustration of the earlier student movements is that led by Jack London, Upton Sinclair, and Clarence Dow. The efforts of these young radicals resulted in the organization of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society in 1905. ...

"...The widespread movement for peace reached the campus before the war. Students eagerly joined in the organized expression of peace sentiment. ... Almost overnight youth was swept into what appeared to be an idealistic crusade to end war and make the world safe for democracy and peace. Not only did the student movement become unpopular, but the organized efforts of the determined young leaders were frustrated and their organizations wrecked. Upton Sinclair, reflecting on the fate of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, remarked: "The name Socialism became so unpopular... that the organization now (reorganized after the war) calls itself the League for Industrial Democracy." ...

Post War Youth

"After the war, youth in practically every nation rallied around some idealistic movement to bring order out of the chaos of a wartorn and profit-mad world. Student volunteers were mobilized to participate in the reconstruction program in the devastated areas. Many of these young volunteers came from America. ..."

"...The International Student Service, represented in America by the NSFA, is a good example of such a permanent development. ... In a pamphlet called 'The Revolt of Youth', published in 1923, Dr. John Haynes Holmes observed: 'Our young people have come to the time when they propose to be free from the domination of their elders -- free to follow their own courses and seek their own goals. ... To my way of thinking, this declaration of independence is as glorious as all previous declarations of the same kind; and the youth movement, which embodies it, not a terror, but a great hope to humanity.'..."

"At the Des Moines convention of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions in 1920 the delegates rebelled against the limited subject matter and the general attitude toward undergraduate leadership. ... It was during this period that college student groups worked vigorously to organize opinion on a national scale for the furtherance of an enduring peace. This is particularly true of the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ few years up to 1925 when the League of Nations and the World Court were issues. ..."

"One example is the Intercollegiate Disarmament Council, organized by a small group of students at the top, mostly from eastern colleges, with contacts in a number of institutions throughout the country, for the purpose of holding conferences, disseminating literature, and stimulating discussion on the international situation in general and on a program of disarmament and international cooperation in particular. Funds came from individual and group donations. Reorganized from time to time to concentrate on specific issues in international affairs, the council merged in 1936 with another organization which was begun in this same period, the NSFA.

NSFA

"... was founded in 1925 at a conference of student representatives from 245 colleges and universities meeting at Princeton to discuss U.S. participation in the World Court. The national organization which resulted from the Princeton meeting was spontaneous; that is, it was decided then and there that some permanent body should be constituted, largely with the idea that similar conferences should be organized. Each year since then, such a meeting has been held. ... The purpose of the organization remains today pretty much as it was then:

To achieve a spirit of cooperation among the students of the U.S. to give consideration to questions affecting students' interests.

To develop an intelligent student opinion on questions of national and international importance.

To foster understanding among the students of the world in the furtherance of an enduring peace.

"...Functioning as a service organization, a well-rounded program was developed over a period of 10 years, consisting of: the annual congress; a monthly magazine, The National Student ~~Mirr~~ Mirror; a weekly news service to member college newspapers; a survey and information bureau; arrangement for the Oxford and Cambridge debate team tour of U.S. colleges and the American debate team tour of Europe; a travel bureau for U.S. students abroad; a representation of American students in several international student organizations, including the Confederation International des Etudiants.

Founding of Liberal Groups

"... the Harvard liberal group ... published a magazine called 'The New Student' in the early 20s as the organ for 'The National Student Forum'. The New Student tells of the establishment of an intercollegiate liberal group in 1921:...'We called ourselves the Intercollegiate Liberal League. In the spring of 1922 the Intercollegiate Liberal League lost its identity by merging with the National League Comm. for the Limitation of Armaments. ....'"

Depression Phases of Youth Movement

"The spirit of youth in revolt, born of prewar unrest and nurtured in postwar dissillusionment, attained a vigorous development in the economic chaos of the depression period. Secretary Wallace, speaking at the Conference on Students and Politics in 1933 at Washington verbalized the spirit of youth movements that sprang up everywhere as the depression continued: '... The depression of the past three years should create a genuine youth movement..'..."

"The Conference on Students and Politics was a sounding board for a progressive student movement. It brought together politically minded student leaders from many different organizations representing all shades of opinion, some of whom were to participate in the First American Youth Congress in New York City the following summer. Prior to this conference, liberal and radical youth thinking had been expressed through the organization of the Student Section of the League for Industrial Democracy. Early in 1933 a split occurred in the group. The more radical element, under Communist leadership, withdrew and formed the National Student League, beginning with a student expedition into Harlan County, Kentucky, followed by a student strike at Columbia against the expulsion of the Editor of the Columbia Spectator. The Student League for Industrial Democracy continued under the domination of the Socialists.

"These two groups had cooperated on certain specific items for united action on such issues as war, opposition to the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, Negro discrimination, vigilantism, and violatives of academic freedom, but there was no unity of organization. The Conference on Students and Politics brought together these two factions and laid the groundwork for reunion, which came two years later at Columbus, Ohio, where representatives of these two left-wing groups voted to unite in a new organization, The American Student Union."

American Student Union

"The growth of the American Student Union out of the amalgamation of the Student League for Industrial Democracy and the National Student League has resulted in the most active radical student movement. ... The Student Advocate, its monthly organ, is the most representative mouthpiece of the student fight against reaction and the status quo in all its forms. ..."

"...Leaders of the American Student Union were the first to employ the 'strike' as a technique of student expression. The strike was first called, and is best known among students, as a protest against war. This strategy for stimulating peace sentiment has become so widely accepted that student peace activity now centers around the dramatic nationwide student strike against war in April each year.

"A significant outgrowth of this movement came when practically every student group actively interested in peace agreed to merge its program in the United Student Peace Committee. The committee includes, not attached to the American Student Union and the Youth Congress, such organizations as the National Student Federation of America, the National Council of Methodist Youth, the United Christian Youth Movement, and the National Intercollegiate Christian Council (which includes the National Councils of the Student YWCA and YMCA). The committee advocates passage of the Nye-Kvale Amendment to eliminate compulsory military drill in the colleges, opposition to the war budget increase, recognition of the 'validity of the Oxford pledge,' maintenance of civil rights and academic freedom, and stringent neutrality. This committee now sponsors the annual student peace strike, which has become so successful that in April 1937 about one million students marched out of their classrooms and demonstrated in protest against war."

American Youth Congress

"The American Youth Congress, which held its Fourth Annual Congress as a model United States Congress in Milwaukee on July 4 of this year, began as an enthusiastic conference in New York City in the summer of 1934, with vigorous leadership but a nebulous program. ... For the betterment of economic and educational opportunities of youth, the American Youth Congress succeeded in getting the American Youth Bill introduced in the 74th Congress. ... introduced again in the 75th Congress, the leaders organized a 'pilgrimage' of over a thousand youth who marched on Washington demanding passage of the youth bill, held meetings, buttonholed Congressmen, and sent a delegation to the White House to talk with the President.

"The NSFA also reflects the increase of student interest in public affairs after the depression. The general program was modified to express student interest in this field. In addition to discussion and resolutions, a program of action was adopted. Out of the 1933 Congress of the Federation came the idea and the establishment of the now successful and independent National Institute of Public Affairs which offers an interneship in public affairs on the spot in Washington for outstanding students of promise.

"In 1934 and again in 1935, the Federation discussed the problem of unemployment among young people, prepared a plan for a Federal Youth Service and conferred with officials in Washington, negotiating for the establishment of a more comprehensive program for youth. And when the President created

the National Youth Administration by Executive Order, Federatio n representatives consulted with authorities for incorporating their ideas in the new program. At the same time, the importance of more significent educational activities in the CCC was stressed. ...

Religious Youth Groups

"Religious activities on the part of youth ~~did~~ would not ordinarily be classed as youth movements. ... After a series of preliminary meetings early in 1934, leaders of Christian youth groups planned the United Christian Youth Movement, and organized the Christian Youth Council of North America. ..."

Local Groups

....

No Dominant Ideal

"...We may well be thankful that there has been no youth movement in this country comparable to the youth movements, so-called, in Germany and Italy today. They are not youth movements in any sense as we define the word here, except that the recruits are young. Youth movements in these fascist countries are not by youth or for youth, but for the totalitarian state, under the rigid leadership of the dominant party. They grew up because clever manipulators of public opinion gave youth through them the recognition for which it clamors, of the individual young person as a part of the national organism, and of the peculiar problems of the youth group. It should be said that counterparts of the German and Italian youth programs may be seen in the embryonic stage in America. There are a few outspoken leaders who are organizing youth in armed ~~xxxxxx~~ programs that would replace democracy with fascism or some form og voernment which is more 'efficient' than democracy.

"Perhaps democracy in America can effectively bolster its position by recognizing the demands of youth for careful consideration of its problems and a generous acknowledgment of its place in society. .."

.....

"Thomas F. Neblett is a member of the Research Staff of the Advisory Committee on Education, and serves as a youth member of the Advisory Board of the National Youth Administration by appointment of President Roosevelt. In 1936 he served as fulltime president of the National Student Federation of America.

Note: The following appears on the close of Kenneth Holland's article: (Holland)..served as executive secretary of the International Student Service in 1933; chairman of the National Conference on Students in Politics, Washington, 1934. ...

WHO'S WHO IN LABOR - Dryden Press, 1946.

Authorized biographies of the men and women who deal with labor in the United States and Canada. Page 427

THOMAS FAIR NEBLETT. Chairman, Tenth Regional War Labor Board, 1355 Market Street, San Francisco 3, Calif. Tel. Klondyke 2-2300. Public Activ.: Examiner, Natl. Labor Relations Bd., 1937-40; Commr. of Conciliation, U.S. Conciliation Service, 1940-41; Principal Mediation Officer, Natl. Defense Mediation Bd., 1941-42; Chief Mediation Officer, Natl. War Labor Bd., 1942; Sec., West Coast Lumber Comm., 1942; Mem., Natl. Advisory Bd., N.Y.A., 1935-40; Pilot, 1st Lt. Anti-Submarine Patrol, Cap. 1942; Capt. CAP, 1942; Mem., Bd. of Dir., Family & Childrens Agency of San Francisco. Family: b. Nov. 25, 1911, Houston, Miss. (father, Robert Paine Neblett, Methodist Minister; mother, Eva Fair Beasley); m. Aug. 6, 1943, Patricia Rosalee Lyons. Methodist. Educ.: A.B., Millsaps Univ. 1933; M.A. Louisiana State Univ., 1935; Post Graduate Columbia Univ. 1936. Democrat. Interests: flying, skating. Home: 2635 Scott St., San Francisco 23, Calif.

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The Press and the People 8 & 9

A SERIES OF TELEVISION PROGRAMS
PRODUCED BY WGBH-TV, BOSTON, MASS.
WITH A GRANT FROM THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

The Responsibilities of Television

EDWARD R. MURROW

LOUIS LYONS, Moderator

In Two Parts

This is part of a series of television programs produced by Station WGBH-TV in Boston, Mass., under a grant from the Fund for the Republic. The series is being carried currently by forty television stations in the United States. Moderated by Louis M. Lyons, Curator of the Nieman Fellowships at Harvard, the programs are designed to bring television audiences informed discussion of the problems and performance of the American press in reporting the leading questions of the day. The series is directed by Loyd Brydon and produced by Joseph P. Lyford.

The Fund for the Republic is supporting the series as a part of the study of the mass media by its Consultants on the Basic Issues, whose work is directed at clarifying fundamental questions of freedom and justice as they are affected by our highly developed industrial society. Eric F. Goldman is the Consultant Specially Responsible for the study of the mass media.

These transcripts have been edited. Single copies are available free from the Fund for the Republic; additional copies 10 cents each.

The Fund for the Republic
60 EAST 42nd STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

VOICE: Today and every day the American people must make decisions on which their whole survival may depend. To make sound decisions the people must be informed. For this they depend on the nation's free press. How well is the nation's press doing its essential job? The people have a right to know the truth. They have a responsibility to ask.

ECHO: The right to question.

VOICE: The Press and the People.

As Moderator, from Harvard University, the winner of the Peabody Award for television and radio journalism and the Lauterbach Award for outstanding contributions in the field of civil liberties, Mr. Louis Lyons.

LYONS: Our guest is America's foremost television journalist.

VOICE: No reporter has penetrated more deeply into the forces that move our world or has had a greater personal impact upon our people than Edward R. Murrow of the Columbia Broadcasting System. Mr. Murrow says this about television today, and I quote: "Surely we shall pay for using this most powerful instrument of communications to insulate the citizenry from the hard and demanding realities which must be faced if we are to survive."

LYONS: Mr. Murrow's "See It Now" programs, which ranged searchingly over the great issues of our time, are television's documentary classics. And his recent treatment of the school desegregation crisis in Virginia was perhaps the best of nationally televised programs to attack the highly explosive issue of integration.

Mr. Murrow, in dealing with news and in your documentary programs, you have certainly dealt with the burning realities, and yet you say that television tends to insulate us from the grim facts of our times. Won't you explain this?

MURROW: May I say, first of all, that I would be much more comfortable on your side of the desk asking the questions, than here attempting to answer them. I am grateful for such a gracious and generous introduction. And perhaps you would let me say at the outset that I appear in this academic atmosphere voluntarily, but in no sense as a representative of CBS, merely as an employee.

LYONS: We take you on any terms. We appreciate it.

MURROW: You are quite right in saying that I have been most fortunate in having an opportunity to do documentaries. The quotation that was used a moment ago was from a little speech I made to a professional group in Chicago. I'm not going to bore you by attempting to recapitulate it. But what I was saying, I think, was that I believe this country is in grave and perhaps mortal danger, and that to a large extent during the hours between 8 and 11 in the evening the television audience is being fed a diet that tends to cause it to be indifferent, that tends to insulate it from the realities of the world in which it lives.

I do not believe that this can be solved merely by the networks nor merely by the sponsors. I have nothing against westerns or quiz shows. I merely was contending that the program structure is in some degree in imbalance, and that during peak listening times there should be more attention to serious subjects. The piece we did on Norfolk, I am happy to report, went on in peak evening time.

LYONS: We were all impressed with what you said

in Chicago, Mr. Murrow, and we want to inquire as to how inevitable this lack is that you feel and that certainly concerns us all. What would you say are some of the serious omissions in television coverage of the great facts of our time?

MURROW: I would say at the outset that most of the meaningful programming is done in what has come to be called the intellectual ghetto on Sunday afternoons. This is a time when many people find it inconvenient to view television.

LYONS: When the football game is on.

MURROW: True. And when the children are at home. In addition to that, there is very little done in the area of searching examinations of our foreign policy, very little in the way of a critical examination of the state of education in this country. In short, very little is done to use television as a mirror to hold behind the events of the day. So far as I am concerned, it doesn't matter to me in the least whether what is reflected is a picture of bigotry, of intolerance, of indifference, or of great, high achievement. The important thing is that the mirror should be there.

LYONS: I understand. Certainly millions of Americans have been disappointed that your great "See It Now" series is no longer on television. Is it because it is just too costly that this kind of show can't be continued?

MURROW: I'm not sure I can give you an answer as to why it was removed. I do not believe it was primarily financial. The program that in a sense has replaced it, "Small World," is almost as expensive as "See It Now."

LYONS: I suppose you could even have kept the same title. We certainly are seeing some things very immediately on that. People must remember your extraordinary interview with Dr. Oppenheimer and that program on atomic energy, which included the interview with Admiral Rickover. Now, without knowing anything about this, except as a kibitzer, I assume it takes enormous preparation, a great

staff of technicians, great costs. Would you tell us a little about what it means to put on such programs?

MURROW: It takes not only preparation and cost, but I think also a degree of flexibility. You mentioned the interview with Professor Oppenheimer. I went down to the Institute for Advanced Study with my colleagues, determined to do the impossible, namely, a television program on the Institute, as such. We shot a fair amount of film, and as you know down there every time you open a door you encounter a Nobel Prize winner. Most of them I was unable to understand and I was becoming very discouraged when I went in and sat down with Professor Oppenheimer, with no advance warning, no submission of questions in advance. We sat and talked, came back and developed the film, and decided that there we had it, rather than attempting to do a program on the entire Institute.

You mentioned the program on peacetime uses of atomic energy. There we learned a lesson, because, in our ignorance and inexperience, we thought we would really use this television medium. So we shot—I think it was—2800 coal cars in a single switching yard, and then we shot a film of a simulated block of enriched uranium alongside a typewriter, to give the comparative size. This uranium was the equivalent in fission power of the power of the 2800 coal cars. And we thought, "Now, this will really demonstrate it."

Immediately afterwards we did a ten-minute interview with Admiral Hyman Rickover. And as nearly as we could discover, no one really saw our coal cars or our little block of simulated uranium. Admiral Rickover, yes, they remembered, for the simple reason that here was a man who (1) knew what he was talking about, (2) had a fire in his belly about it, and (3) was able to communicate. I think one thing at least we have learned out of television, and that is that there is no substitute for a good picture of a man talking with conviction and with knowledge of his subject.

LYONS: You certainly have learned how to dramatize and personalize great issues to us as in the case of the Oppenheimer and Rickover interviews.

MURROW: I hope we are learning.

LYONS: Your special report on Africa was another great picture that I am sure is remembered. This dealt, among other things, with the aspirations of the Negroes and the way they are treated in Africa. I wondered to what extent that encountered any ban in the South here.

MURROW: None. We had a similar experience about two years ago. We did a piece on Clinton, Tennessee. We ran it on a closed circuit four or five days before the program was to be presented on the network. Not a single Southern station refused to carry the program and, in fact, two Southern stations that had not ordered it saw it on the closed circuit and decided to carry it voluntarily and for no fee.

LYONS: Just the other day, January 21, you did a program on "The Lost Class of 1959," that is, on the closed schools of Norfolk, Virginia. It's pretty soon to have got complete reaction, but what sort of reaction in the South particularly?

MURROW: It's a little early to tell what the reaction was in the South, but as an old and experienced and much wiser journalist than I am, you would agree, Mr. Lyons, I think, that the real test of a program or a piece in print is whether the people involved, those who live there, believe it to have been a fair account, not distorted. I am told that both newspapers in Norfolk regarded that program as being just that, and that many of the participants were quoted as saying that we gave both sides of the question, which was our purpose.

LYONS: In this same week you did an extraordinary program, "The Business of Sex," tackling a subject which is not much tackled in the press, to say nothing of the more intimate mediums of radio and television. I noticed that the critics dealt admiringly with your success in treating it. I noticed also the police in New York seemed to think you ought to join the police force and follow it up. What kind of reaction did you get from that?

MURROW: Not a massive reaction from that one,

which was a radio program. As you know, in the newspaper world frequently when you deal with sex you say it is a sociological study. Well, we rather regarded this as a sociological study. And I was somewhat surprised, I must confess, when the police regarded it as a matter for sustained examination and possible criminal action. I think I would be safe in saying that we did not reveal anything in that program that was not already known to the police force of New York.

LYONS: You speak of sociology. I remember when Adolph Ochs was alive, as the great publisher of *The New York Times*, he was once chided for the extent to which the *Times* covered a sex trial. And Mr. Ochs said, "Oh, but you don't understand. In the *Times* it is sociology." It does make a difference how such a subject is tackled. It also raises the question of the extent to which our tastes and modes are changing. When James Reston was on this program a little while ago, we were talking about the problem of covering government and politics in Washington. He said the pace of our own history is moving so fast that this has become one of the chief problems of reporting. You must encounter that.

MURROW: I would agree with that. But there is an attendant problem which concerns me. I have no competence in the field of print, but it concerns me in regard to television. The problem is not so much rushing to keep up with current events but rather the necessity of trying to convey to the viewer something of the heritage, the ethics, the history of this pluralistic society of ours. One thing that is terribly missing is reminders to the viewer of what made this country what it is, that it is not an economic plot, that there were people and principles and arguments. To a frightening extent we are not informing people of our heritage and our background, our roots. I am sure that in times of crisis, without exception, every nation in history has gone back to its folklore, to its history, to its mythology. Even the Russians did it in the last war in the darkest days. They forgot about orthodox Marxist doctrine, and they went back to Suverov and all of their old-time heroes. If the times are as desperate as they appear to be, we in this country with television

ought to try not only to report current events but to tell people how we got here, who did it, what the issues were.

LYONS: You are demanding then that the people who do this, the reporters and the television journalists, should know their history, and you spoke of sociology too. These have got to be informed people with what it takes to move in in depth.

MURROW: Yes, I think it is important that people should know and recognize and be able to assess and evaluate a Governor Faubus or a Governor Almond. I think it is also important that they know about Thomas Jefferson and Tom Paine.

LYONS: For perspective.

MURROW: Yes, sir. And for pride. I spent most of the war in Britain and I am quite sure that in the darkest days there a certain sense of support and sustenance came to those people, not just from Churchill, but from Frobisher and Drake and Raleigh and Hawkins and all of the other pirates in British history. Television in this area is a limited medium, but I do think that it can arouse curiosity and stimulate interest so that the viewer, when he encounters a book or a magazine article or something, will be stimulated to read and inform himself.

LYONS: These programs of yours must have involved great cost. To what extent is cost a limitation on what television can do?

MURROW: I can speak only from my own experience. I have never been refused permission to do a program simply because it was expensive. And some that I have done have been exceedingly expensive, and some of them exceedingly unsuccessful. An hour's program of a documentary nature will come into the studio at roughly $150,000. That is just for the program and does not include the air time. One of the difficulties involved is that if you put that program on in sustaining time, a substantial number of stations will refuse to carry it. They will sell the time locally for a rerun of a dramatic show or a western, or something like that.

This is why I attempted to suggest that there should be a degree of cooperation between sponsors and the network, with the network paying the cost of producing the program, the sponsor paying the air time, and occasionally—I don't want to turn these networks into educational networks or into long-hair operations—but just occasionally at peak listening time there should be presented programs of an informative nature. I think it would be good business for the corporations, because I do not believe that most corporate heads want the so-called corporate image to consist of talking horses and dancing cigarettes and so forth.

LYONS: I imagine a certain number of our viewers saw Jack Gould's criticism of your speech in *The New York Times*. In effect, he felt that it was up to the networks to do this rather than the sponsors. What would you say to that?

MURROW: The primary responsibility rests on the network, but, as I mentioned a moment ago, there is (1) the matter of circulation and (2) the matter of presentation in peak time. If this job is to be adequately done, financially and in terms of network structure, it can best be done on a cooperative basis. I can quote Mr. Churchill, who once said, "Not even I have always been right," but this was the best suggestion I could think of.

LYONS: You ask that we reach into issues deeply. This suggests that some of them may be controversial issues. We keep hearing that sponsors of television worry about controversial issues. Is that a serious matter?

MURROW: I think they do. I have personally been very fortunate in that respect, but I think there is a tendency on the part of corporations to say, "Let's be safe, let's not offend any segment of the society." It is entirely appropriate that corporations should refrain from editorializing. That, I think, we would both agree upon.

LYONS: You aren't saying that the networks should do no editorializing?

MURROW: No, sir, I am not. Quite the contrary.

LYONS: But you would say that the sponsored programs should not editorialize?

MURROW: Yes, sir, I would. And obviously, if this cooperative venture should be worked out, the control of program content should be in the hands of the network rather than in the hands of the sponsor, because that is where both the legal and the moral responsibilities rest.

LYONS: To get back to the sponsor for a moment, we also hear it said very generally that the sponsor feels there is more public interest in who-dun-its and westerns than in news and information. How do you feel about his appraisal of the public interest here? Does he underrate it?

MURROW: I think he does. I regret talking about my own programs so much, but they are the only ones with which I am familiar. I believe that, when the figures are in, it will be demonstrated that the program we did on the school situation in Norfolk had as large an audience, perhaps slightly larger, than the two half-hour programs it replaced. I am entirely persuaded that there is an audience for more serious and informative programs, provided they be well done with some attention to showmanship and proper dramatic presentation.

LYONS: Networks seem to get criticism for any omission in dealing with great public events, but I'm sure that very often they provide programs that the local stations don't use. You may be surprised to know that on two of your programs of greatest interest to us, when President Pusey was the new president of Harvard and you interviewed him, and then when Robert Frost, who lives in Cambridge, was interviewed by you, we read about these programs in the New York papers. We could not see them in Boston. How much of that kind of experience do you have?

MURROW: A fair amount. I don't know how widespread it is, but certainly it is true that frequently programs of valuable content, produced and fi-

nanced by the network, are not carried by local stations, because they can sell that time to their own profit.

LYONS: Many times on this program the corps of CBS foreign correspondents has been mentioned with admiration, and yet they come through to us, you know, a snatch from Schoenbrun in Paris, or two minutes or a minute from Kendrick in London. Is it conceivable that we might get them periodically, a half-hour review from Berlin one time, from Moscow another time? Is that beyond the economics of the business?

MURROW: I'm not sure it is. As you know from experience, every foreign correspondent, whether he is working for print, radio, or television, is always frustrated. He always wants exposure and an opportunity to tell his story.

LYONS: And yet your men do a terrific job. It must be a highly developed art to condense so much into these two-and-a-half minutes, really a crystallization.

MURROW: Yes, I think they do.

LYONS: The only thing is, could we get more?

MURROW: I think I will have to refer that question to the management of CBS. I have no control over that.

LYONS: You have said that a five-minute news program just isn't a real news program.

MURROW: I certainly have.

LYONS: The problem here is time and the cost of time, I suppose.

MURROW: It's only partly that.

LYONS: You certainly have the talent.

MURROW: We have. We have. It is not being utilized as well as it might be.

LYONS: What about radio, Mr. Murrow? I think of radio as something which doesn't cost much, and there's more time and more leisurely discussion. Has radio been overwhelmed by the more dramatic television medium? What's the chance that in radio we may get more of this?

MURROW: I would think rather good. I would hope that radio would seize the opportunity to do what it does best, and that is not only to tell what happened and where it happened and why, but something of the consequences that might be expected to flow from a given set of events. For example, due to the limitations of the instrument, if Konrad Adenauer arrives at Idlewild, he is going to get twenty-five seconds on television. He will come down the ramp and say, "I hope for fruitful discussions in Washington," and so forth. This is the time for radio to take itself a good fifteen-minute period and do a profile of this man, some of his political problems, and some of the importance of the position that Germany occupies in the heartland of Europe. This is the sort of thing that radio can do that television cannot, partly because it hasn't the pictures and partly because the time is too expensive.

LYONS: Won't you say a little more about the things radio could do that television can't, that radio has time for, that you would like to see done on radio?

MURROW: Well, radio to me, so far as news is concerned—and this is perhaps heresy—is a more satisfying instrument than television. The reason is that I would contend that most news consists of ideas in one form or another. I find it very difficult to translate ideas into words for radio, and frequently impossible to translate them into pictures for television.

There is an enormous job to be done by radio in reporting this country to itself. I think the absence of regionalism in this country is deplorable. I think the fact that most people talk with the same accent, wear the same kind of clothes, tell the same story from one end of the country to the other, is deplorable and is diminishing the sum total of our strength.

I would like to see radio dealing more with ideas than it does now, less with the five-minute capsuled headlines, more with biography, more with verbal profiles, obviously much more foreign reporting in depth. I would like to see it also deal more with the image of the United States as viewed from abroad. It would be good programming, because we are all curious, we all want to know what our neighbor across the fence or across the street thinks of us. It would get an audience and might jar us out of some of our complacency and self-satisfaction and our belief that we can do anything better than anybody else can.

LYONS: We have been talking about the limitations of commercial broadcasting. But what about educational television? It hasn't any sponsors to get in the way. It hasn't any revenue from these non-existent sponsors either. How effective do you feel educational television is?

MURROW: I don't want to try to hide, but I haven't seen enough educational television to be able to make an informed comment. I would guess one thing, which I think has pretty well been demonstrated, and that is that great teachers are rare, but when you find a great teacher, he is likely to be able to teach by television as well as in the classroom. But again this is an uninformed comment. I haven't done my home work or research on that.

LYONS: We mentioned the problem of editorials on the air. Now, in the newspaper there is a separate editorial page. People know where it is and the newspaper makes a rule of separating news from comment. On the air your format doesn't allow you this physical separation; you don't put a column rule between. To what extent is that a limitation on comment on the air?

MURROW: I think we would both deplore the editorializing with adjectives. I believe that editorializing on radio or television should be obviously unsponsored, should be clearly labelled. This is not too difficult to do. I mean, one can ring bells or flash lights and make it quite clear that this is the end of ascertainable facts and now comes an editorial comment. The responsibility for the editorial must obviously rest on the network or the local station. It should not be assigned to an individual, no matter what the capabilities or experience of that individual might be. I believe that it would stimulate more serious consideration of national issues. It would make the broadcasters themselves more responsible and more concerned. The fact that there is no tradition of editorializing in radio and television seems to me no reason why it should not be attempted.

LYONS: Thank you, Mr. Murrow. The problem that deeply concerns Mr. Murrow is that ways be found to get information through to us on the vital issues that, as citizens, we must meet and deal with. He has described this problem to us. He has also challenged the broadcasting industry and its sponsors —and that means the businesses of America—to see that enough time is provided for news and discussion of those things which it is essential that we understand. It will be interesting to see what the answer to Mr. Murrow's challenge will be.

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VOICE: The following program is an extension of last week's interview between Louis Lyons and Edward R. Murrow on the program The Press and the People.

LYONS: Mr. Murrow, if we consider broadcasting and the press together, to what extent do you feel that they are just competing, or to what extent do they supplement each other? That is, in thinking about their different limitations, are there some things one does better than the other?

MURROW: As you know, we recently had a newspaper strike in New York, and anyone who doubted the importance and necessity of newspapers certainly had his answer there. I believe that the mediums are basically not competitive. I think they are supplementary. There are some things that radio and television can do better, more effectively, than print, and the other side of the coin is also true.

LYONS: I'm in the habit of hearing newspaper editors say, "Well, television has come in now and they are faster; they can beat us to the spot news. So we must do the interpretive, the background, the reporting in depth." But that is the very thing for which you yourself are famous on television.

MURROW: We both remember the days when it was said by uninformed people that radio news would destroy newspapers. The people who now say that television news will destroy radio are equally wrong.

LYONS: I'm sure lots of editors will be glad to hear you say that.

MURROW: I would like to see more reporting in depth on radio. But I find that when I work on a story myself, and try to do it in depth, the first thing I do the next morning is to grab a handful of newspapers and read on the same subject. I think this is true with sports, that people who go to a sporting event want to read about it the next day to find out what the expert's view was. The competition comes in the area of the advertising dollar. I would guess that a certain amount of the criticism—not specifically by professional critics of radio and television but in a number of feature articles that have appeared in various publications recently—has as its basis this competition for the advertising dollar.

LYONS: That's an argument, then, for an expanding economy so there'll be dollars enough to go round. I think of Mikoyan's talk before the National Press Club the other day. This had an hour on television, which is certainly all you can ask for television, a full hour. In full text in *The New York Times* it was less than a page, one of about sixty pages. The proportion between this tremendous amount of time on television and a relatively small part of a total newspaper suggests one of the limitations.

MURROW: That is quite true, because radio and television have no second pages, no turnovers. They have a front page and nothing else. Whatever is there for that fifteen minutes or that hour is their front page, and there is no alternative.

LYONS: I suppose, as you cover the news, you really think of yourself as limited to the Page 1 stories. I know I pick up *The New York Times* every morning, not so much in the first instance to find out what the news is as to find out what they had that I didn't have in my broadcast at 6:30 the previous night, and whether they put the day in perspective. There isn't much.

MURROW: Yes, that's true. I find that each morning I look at *The New York Times* to see whether the night before I chose the same lead for the 7:45 radio piece that the *Times* chose. You were speaking of Mikoyan. This raises a very interesting question. It seems to me one of the most interesting things he said was that he was convinced that the American people wanted peace above everything else. I would rather interrogate him on that subject than any other, because if this is the message he carries back to Moscow it could be the basis of a major miscalculation. He could have concluded that we in this country have become so soft, so indifferent, that we will pay any price for peace. If that is his interpretation of the phrase, it could be disastrous.

LYONS: Many remember an interview with Khrushchev, which revealed a part of the difference between the newspapers and television—a difference in the standards applied by the public and, I gather, by the government. You remember the criticism that was made quite generally of that interview with Khrushchev. It was a great scoop on television. But even the President in a press conference was critical of it. Yet when Reston had an interview with Khrushchev in *The New York Times*, it was assumed that it was a great scoop and there was no criticism. Do you feel that this difference in attitude toward the mediums is because television is perhaps a more intimate medium and gets into the living room? Or is there some other reason?

MURROW: Perhaps more intimate and also more powerful. I felt that the criticism of the Khrushchev interview was entirely unwarranted. I say that not because it was done on CBS, but because any time you can get microphones and cameras to interview the devil, it should be done.

LYONS: To what extent do you think that things have moved along since then? That was a break-through. The first time anything happens, it sort of surprises people. Mikoyan was interviewed on "Meet the Press" and before the National Press Club. Do you feel we have moved beyond the time when people would be critical of interviewing the head of a Communist government?

MURROW: Yes. I think very considerable progress has been made in that area.

LYONS: We were mentioning the problem of editorials on television, and I'm concerned a little with the limitations of format. People are certainly familiar with your evening broadcast on radio. You run over the news and then you do a powerful editorial piece at the end. I think anybody who becomes familiar with the Murrow program knows that that piece at the end is his editorial. That's one way to separate it from the news. I'm sure there are other ways. Is it as easy as it is in a newspaper to let the listener know when it is editorial and when it is news? How much of a risk do you feel there is in a broadcast of mixing up the reporting and the commenting too much?

MURROW: I think there is a real danger. But I think there is also a danger that we may get involved in semantics here. Let's try it anyway. I do not regard the last five or six minutes that I do on radio as an editorial, and that requires a little explaining. I do not advocate action; I do not urge a policy. What I attempt to do is to set out a group of developments or circumstances and then to suggest what consequences may flow from them. I say this because I think it is very important that the listener should be exposed to the same conditions, the same set of facts, so that if he reaches a different conclusion from the one that I reach I have at least, prior to that, given him the information. Perhaps I have said more than I know. I frequently do. I think we all do. But I do not regard this as an editorial in the sense of urging or advocating action.

LYONS: That is very interesting, although I think I'd be inclined to argue that very often the most effective editorial is a complete analysis, adding up to an interpretation of the facts, and very often it leads to a point where the conclusion is pretty obvious.

MURROW: This is the most difficult to do, because I am certainly aware that through the accident of position and sponsorship I occupy a monopolized opportunity five nights a week, and I must not abuse this monopolized opportunity by advocating my own prejudices or juggling my own prejudices in an effort to advocate a given line of policy. I have never known—and I don't think you have—a completely objective reporter. There isn't any such thing.

LYONS: You mean where there is any trace of mind, there's going to be some point of view? And you wouldn't want to eliminate it.

MURROW: No. We're all a prisoner of our own reading, our own experience, our own conversations, our own travel, everything else. We can't help it. No one can eliminate his prejudice. The only thing he can hope to do is to recognize it and try to beware.

LYONS: And to discipline it. Wouldn't you agree that the really essential discipline of journalism is that the reporter shall be faithful to the facts and shall deal factually with the subject, but that this doesn't eliminate his putting in his judgment, his point of view, which, I would say, is inescapable.

MURROW: That is certainly true. I know in my own case, having spent ten years in England and having acquired a reputation of being pro-British, when I write a story about England, I try to be unusually careful about my facts, because I know that the prejudice is there. I can't do anything about it.

LYONS: As to news on television—that is, other than radio, the visual news—to what extent is it apt to be limited to what can be visualized? To what extent is the accessibility of the picture the determining factor in television news? I imagine it is pretty hard to get a picture of an idea, and I often wonder how much is left out of a television news presentation,

which the broadcaster would love to put in if he could find a picture to justify it.

MURROW: That is the sort of question that would only come from an old pro like you. I should preface this by saying that I have never worked on a daily television news show, so what I am about to say applies only to weekly or monthly programs, mostly of a documentary nature. There is no doubt that editorial judgment is twisted or warped by the availability of pictures and animation support. If you've got good pictures or animation for a second- or third-rate story, there is a terrible temptation to play it on top.

LYONS: Of course you can always get a picture of the President or of Mr. Dulles making a statement. These are the ideas which are pictures, but except for that it is a little hard to get it.

MURROW: My own disposition always is that if we haven't the pictures—this was true when we were working on a weekly basis—you just sit there and say it, and say it as simply as you can. You try to prevent the pictures you do have from twisting your judgment as to what is important. It is the same problem that would confront the boys in Mr. Luce's empire, if they were trying to edit *Time* and *Life* in the same book. It would be very difficult.

LYONS: When a correspondent voices critical opinions, editorial or whatever, to what extent may he be restrained because of the equal-time consideration, the feeling that if he isn't awfully careful he may involve his network in having to give away fifteen minutes to somebody sometime in order to answer him? Does that get in his way?

MURROW: I don't think that's a serious consideration. I think the equal-time provision operates in a different and rather more limiting fashion. For example, in the last campaign in New York State, I wanted to have Averell Harriman and Nelson Rockefeller on the same program. I couldn't do it, because there were either two or three additional candidates in the field and no one knew who they were. Had I done those two, I would have had to do

the other three. This is where the limitation of equal-time is very onerous.

LYONS: We hear a lot from England about their broadcasting, which until recently was not commercial and which is still partly public, at least. We hear a good deal about their Third Program as a quality program, just as we hear in England the difference between the quality press and the popular press, a conception we at least don't admit and recognize here. As you look at it, how much of a bulge do they have on us in the quality of their television, the standard or the level they pitch to?

MURROW: I shouldn't think there is very much difference in the level of excellence or lack of it in commercial television in England and here. A great many of the top-rated programs in this country are also the top-rated programs on commercial television in England. But I think there is a very interesting point here. I would suggest that in most countries radio and television operations are an accurate reflection of the political, social, and economic climate in which they grew, and that if you compared, for example, the BBC in England and commercial broadcasting here, you would end up with a comparison between Britain and the United States—the BBC being factual, rather pedantic, cautious, somewhat paternalistic; the American system being highly competitive, commercial, experimental, willing to try almost anything. If you really made a detailed comparison of the two systems, you would end up with a comparison of the two cultures.

LYONS: A newspaper reporter doesn't need anything but a pencil, and sometimes he can get along without that, if his memory is good. He can get into all kinds of places. A television reporter has a lot of gear and a lot of accessory companions, and so on, which must be a physical limitation in all the preparation it takes. To what extent does this physical limitation—plus the attitude toward the more intimate exposure of the camera—reduce the range that television can report on? Is it a serious limitation in covering public affairs?

MURROW: There are artificial limitations on televi-

sion and radio reporting—certain Congressional committees, both Houses of Congress, the courts. I think they are artificial, and I think that as the gear becomes less bulky and the lights less blinding gradually the cameras will be permitted into areas from which they are now barred. I hope that will be the case. As for televising court proceedings, I rather favor the suggestion that this is a matter that should be left up to the Judge in each case.

LYONS: Do you remember Joe Welch once saying about this that when the public in general, including witnesses, had become as conditioned to television cameras and lights as they were to newspapers and the reporter's pencil then, yes, television in courts. Until then it really was an additional ordeal on the witness and an additional tenseness. Do you see anything in that?

MURROW: Yes, I do, and I think it tends also to a certain extent to make actors out of participants. The Australians for a long while broadcast their proceedings in Parliament, and they had great difficulty because parliamentarians, being intelligent and able to read a clock and a schedule, were always scrambling to make their speech in Parliament at the peak listening period, which tended to distort the proceedings in the ears of the listeners.

LYONS: As to the kind of pressures that anybody in such a medium becomes aware of, we all think of certain business interests, we think of special-interest groups, labor groups, religious groups, and we think of general prejudice, not only such a regional prejudice as the South might now feel, but in other areas on other matters—how much does this hem you in?

MURROW: Much less than the average layman believes. Again I can speak only of my own experience. When you lose a sponsor, you can never be quite sure why you lost him. Just as frequently—or inevitably—you can't tell why he bought you in the first place. But, in my own experience, the pressure of people saying, "Don't do that, don't do this," or, after the event, saying, "You shouldn't have done that," just doesn't happen.

LYONS: I was thinking not so much about whether you actually lose a sponsor or the sponsor loses business but about how limiting a factor the consciousness of these pressures might be—pressures that tend to make sponsors timid and to make broadcasters or their employers cautious. I assume it must bear more heavily on a great network with its vast audience than on an individual newspaper which depends really pretty largely on the outlook and courage of an individual publisher.

MURROW: I would think that you are right, that the individual publisher or editor has more freedom of maneuver, fewer taboos. In radio and television the timidity, I think, is exaggerated, and what there is of it is to a large extent unwarranted.

LYONS: It is a relief to hear you say so.

MURROW: I really believe that.

LYONS: Let me speak of something else, and that is taste and standards of taste, which certainly are not unaffected by the terrific impact of these great media. I remember when my dear old friend, Professor Ernest Hocking, did a little book on the press, which he called *Framework of Principles*, his chief accusation against the press—and this was over the long haul—was their debasement of standards of taste. Pretty harsh, you know. Now, since he wrote that, this great new medium of television has had its far greater impact. I'm not going to accuse anybody of anything, but just ask you to what extent you feel such a medium has a responsibility as to taste, and whether if the critics say the appeal is to the lowest common denominator there is any responsibility in television to try gradually to lift it up. I'm sure you've thought about this, whether other people in the business end of television have or not.

MURROW: That the responsibility exists, no one can deny. I would think that any mass instrument of communication can accelerate or retard public opinion or taste, although it cannot reverse it. I would think further that if it be true that the broadcasting of Philharmonic concerts has in fact raised

the general level of music appreciation, it is equally true that the persistent broadcasting of material of a low intellectual order can depress the taste. In this area it is a matter, perhaps, of appreciating the old British phrase about the inevitability of gradualness —that gradually tastes may be improved because it will come to be demonstrated that it is profitable and that there is a larger audience in the upper levels than is generally believed. That's badly put, but—

LYONS: Not badly put at all, very graphically put. It's an old cliché of journalism that there is more interest in people than things; that is, the human-interest story. You seem to reach for personalizing and dramatizing news in your "See It Now" and "Person-to-Person" programs. You must be inherently conscious of the importance of the human drama, and I often suspect that you see more in it than that, that you see it as a way to reach into something. Would you say a little about the way you pattern these things?

MURROW: I see much more than that. In the first place, we never work with a script; we don't write a line of copy. We go and shoot the film, and we shoot it generally a thousand feet for every hundred that ends up on the air.

LYONS: I wish we could do that in educational TV.

MURROW: Yes, this is a luxury, I agree. We are always looking for the individual who is believable, not necessarily intelligent. We did a piece once during a flood in Missouri, at 4 o'clock in the morning. I shot some film with a little man who worked in an insurance office during the day. He had been there for thirty-two hours, controlling traffic across the river, and the bridge was thrumming underneath, just at crest time, the flood. I asked him why he had been there so long. I will not even attempt to paraphrase his answer, but in substance it was that he and his family and his grandparents had fought that river and this was something that had to be done.

I came back to New York and a friend of mine said, "Who is the writer on that program? Who

wrote the copy for that man on the bridge?" And I said, "I know a number of people who can write moderately well. I know no one who can write that kind of copy." It just has to come from the middle, and, when it does, the viewer understands it, appreciates it, and believes it, I think.

LYONS: Yes. And this must also be the inspiration, the fun of this kind of business. You go out into the field after these things yourself. You're a reporter. You spoke of—I think you called it—the luck of running into Oppenheimer.

MURROW: Yes.

LYONS: We say in sports that the team gets the breaks that's making the breaks. And we used to say in the newspaper office that you don't get scoops sitting at your desk. You must feel quite strongly that this kind of enterprise, as we call it in journalism, is a key part of doing the job—being in the field and seeing the things.

MURROW: Oh, yes. I have the sort of peasant's mind that really can't grasp a thing unless I go and look at it, however superficially. And I think particularly in television, in addition to getting the people, you can frequently get them in a setting that is very eloquent. While I was ad-libbing so badly, I was trying to think of an example of that. We did a piece in Louisiana, and the only thing we saw was the hand of a colored man making letters in a very painful fashion, and his voice said, "I want to learn to write so that I can form pretty letters and write to my children." In terms of the necessity for more teaching of literacy in this country, this was to me at least very eloquent.

LYONS: It was a surprise to me, as ignorant a kibitzer as I am about your profession, that you say you actually go out into the field without knowing what it's going to be.

MURROW: Oh, yes.

LYONS: And this involves taking all the gear and the apparatus and the equipment and the expense and

the commitment and the stake. It takes a good deal of confidence to be able to keep one's mind open to that point where you'll take it as it comes.

MURROW: It also takes a degree of luck.

LYONS: I don't know, but I suggest you are making your luck.

MURROW: We did a piece on Marian Anderson in a trip through Southeast Asia, an hour's program. When we started on it, the camera crew and the reporter said, "Look, all we're going to get out of this is an opera singer traveling through Asia singing songs. This doesn't make a program." It so happened that she also did some talking. She was interviewed about segregation in this country. She sang at Gandhi's memorial. And so on. It turned out to be one of the best things to which we have ever put our hand. And it just happened.

LYONS: Mr. Murrow, if you were going to take, say, a couple of months off, and could go out and explore the story that you really most wanted to do, are there one or two things you've got in the top of your mind you'd most like to get into?

MURROW: Oh, in two minutes I couldn't begin to list half of them.

LYONS: We'll settle for half.

MURROW: I would like to do an hour-long piece on Canada, because I think it is an important and relatively unknown country. I would like to do a whole series of pieces around the world as to the image of the United States from outside, how we look to other people. I would like to do a lot of reporting of this country to itself. As we both know, the lines of communication are broken down in the South between the white and the colored people. To a certain extent they're broken down throughout the country. We are so concerned about what the Russians are doing that we are not paying enough attention to what we ourselves are doing and are capable of doing. This is a big place.

LYONS: Thank you, Mr. Murrow. We have heard one of our wisest journalists telling us that we need to be informed. That's essentially what he's telling us. He's telling us we need to be informed about what is going on in our world, the great issues of our times, and also to be informed about ourselves. Mr. Murrow's concern is with communication, and that's one he can share with all of us, for communication is sharing. It is not a one-way street. We all participate in it, either negatively, if we shrug it off, or positively, if we respond. It's a problem for all of us whether our channels of communication are to be kept open and made as broad and deep as possible, for on this depends the kind of images we get in our heads, all our heads.

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I-I-8
6-A-28

EDWARD R. MURROW - ORGANIZATIONS

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE
United Nations Plaza at 46 Street, N.Y.
Trustee
May, 1951 to Present

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION
1 East 67 Street, N.Y.
Trustee and member Executive Committee
_____ to Present

FORD FOUNDATION BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH
445 Park Avenue
Member of Board
March, 1952 to Present

EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS INC.
Lincoln-Liberty Building, Philadelphia
Trustee
October, 1953 to Present

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT FOUNDATION
45 East 65 Street, N.Y.
Director and member Ad Hoc Committee on Program
January, 1953 to Present

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
58 East 68 Street, N.Y.
Member of Advisory Committee on Fellowships
March, 1933 to Present

COMMITTEE ON THE PRESENT DANGER
711 14 Street, Washington, D.C.
Member
March, 1951 to Present
(Committee inactive since summer of 1953 but remains on standby basis)

THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE
3937 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia
_____ to Present
(Mr. Murrow merely receives monthly publication, "The Annals"; in my memory we have had no correspondence and Mr. M. has never attended a meeting or written anything for them.)

EDWARD R. MURROW - ORGANIZATIONS- PAST

WOODROW WILSON FOUNDATION
45 East 65 Street, N.Y.
Director
May, 1946 to May, 1951

U.S.NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR UNESCO
Department of State
Washington, D.C.
Member
September 1946 to September 1949

THE YALE QUARTERLY REVIEW
New Haven
Member Editorial Board
Approximate dates: 1946 to 1948 or '49

AD HOC COMMITTEE to protest the removal of "The Nation"magazine from the New York City school library list.
(No longer have correspondence and do not remember exact title or dates...probably during 1949 or 1950.)

dmcd
3/25/54

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

I-I-8 = pk 4+5

PRESIDENT J. B. CONANT and EDWARD R. MURROW -- "Your Son and Universal Military Training

Sunday, April 8, 1951
5:30-5:45 p.m.

ANNOUNCER: From Boston, CBS brings you now a discussion by Dr. James B. Conant, President of Harvard University, and Edward R. Murrow, of CBS, on the subject: "Your Son and Universal Military Service."

Dr. Conant and Mr. Murrow are speaking under the auspices of the Committee on the Present Danger, an organization composed of men nationally representative, whose purpose is to support and encourage moves necessary to the rapid building of our national strength and that of our Allies to a point which will make it impossible for an aggressor to challenge the united power of a free world. Dr. Conant is a member of the Executive Committee.

And, now, here is Edward R. Murrow.

MURROW: Dr. Conant, you as an educator and scientist, are advertising and advocating the drafting of all eighteen-year-olds or high school graduates, and, as we both know, some educators don't agree with you. What are your reasons for advocating this policy?

CONANT: Well, let me start with certain assumptions, if I may. I assume that when the Soviet Union exploded an atomic bomb a year ago last September, the whole international picture altered. Up to that point, the defense of Europe could be almost guaranteed by the power of our strategic air force. It still can, in all probability, for afew years, but from now on, as the Soviet stockpile mounts, this deterrent power of ours diminishes and, therefore, I conclude there must be a defense of Europe on the ground and we must contribute our fair share of the land forces. Altogether it is estimated that we will need,here in the United States, for a long period of time a total of three to four million men under arms and that seems to me to spell out the necessity of two years of military service for all our young men and, furthermore, we must plan for ten, fifteen, twenty years, if need be, of this partial mobilization.

MURROW: All right, sir. Assuming that is the case, how are you going to get the men?

CONANT: Well, I believe we ought to call up men at eighteen years of age or on graduation from high school, whichever is later, for it seems to me at this period men can best spend two years in the armed forces and then go on later with their education. In this way, their education will be interrupted to the minimum degree and this service will take place before they have entered the productive life of the nation.

MURROW: Well, now, Dr. Conant, if you call up all the eighteen-year-olds, what about your doctors, your specialists, your officers, and that sort of thing?

CONANT: Well, that's taken care of by a proposal that originated with the American Association of Universities as incorporated in the Senate bill. It's provided there that up to seventy-five thousand a year will be selected out by a civilian board from those who are called up and sent back to the colleges for specialized training and education so they may later serve in uniform their two years in special capacities as officers, for example, as engineers or doctors. Furthermore, of course, to get the officers out of an age group, provision will have to be made to call people into ROTCs in the different colleges by something like the Holloway Plan, which is now used by the Navy.

MURROW: Well, sir, the professors arealways much better at giving definitions than reporters. Let's see if we can clear away a little ground in the area of definitions on universal military training, universal military service, and selective service.

CONANT: I'm very glad you asked me that question because I think there's been a great deal of confusion and discussion. Now, it seems to me it's quite clear that selective service is a mechanism useful in time of total war. It's a mechanism by which the local draft board is a great degree of discretion as to who shall be called up and who shall remain at home. There are deferments for those in agriculture, for those in essential occupations,

and such other deferments as may be stipulated from Washington. That's selective service. Universal military service, on the contrary, contemplates calling all the able-bodied men of a given age group. Whatever that age group may be determined by the act of Congress, eighteen, eighteen-and-a-half, nineteen, from the point of view of military service it doesn't matter, to illustrate that I have in mind, what that age group is.

MURROW: Yes!

CONANT: But when the boy reaches that age, he automatically is inducted. No draft board has the opportunity of deciding whether he should be deferred or not. Universal military training calls men up by the same method, but, of instead of keeping them in service for a period of years, only for a period of training. Those of us who are advocating universal military service and training look forward to some distant day when the emergency may be less, when universal military service becomes, in fact, universal military training.

MURROW: That's certainly a clear enough definition of the three proposals. Dr. Conant, last week, Draft Director Hershey issued a directive, under the President's authority, which said in effect that college students or graduates, high school graduates, who are planning to enter college, could be deferred if they were able to pass an aptitude test and if they maintained high grades in their academic studies. Nothing was said about students who can't afford to go to college and nothing was said about this being a temporary provision. It's caused a great deal of controversy, as you know. It has been a departure from our tradition in this country and I was wondering what you thought of it.

CONANT: You ask me what I think of it? Well, I can tell you ... less than nothing! In fact, my reactions are so negative that I'd like, if I may, at this point to read a prepared statement lest my language become too violent.

MURROW: By all means.

CONANT: Now, this is what the Committee on the Present Danger has to say. The Committee on the Present Danger believes the recent Executive order issued on the recommendation of the Director of Selective Service violates

the democratic principle of equality of sacrifice. The deferring of college students appears to establish a pattern in which boys who can afford to continue their education are given special privileges. We do not believe the American people wish to set apart one group of young men. The demands of the emergency require that our youth be asked to serve in the armed forces. Any method of drafting men through selective service is certain to result in an unfair distribution of the responsibility for military service. Only a system of calling up all members of an age group who are physically fit is in accord with the American ideals of democracy. The Committee on the Present Danger has stood for universal military service and still stands squarely on this principle.

MURROW: Well, President Conant, would it be fair to say in wholly unacademic language that, in your opinion, General Hershey's directive stinks?

CONANT: Well, I shouldn't disclaim that word!

MURROW: Well, Dr. Conant, will you tell us a little more about what this Committee on the Present Danger is trying to achieve?

CONANT: Well, our Committee on the Present Danger, as you know, hopes to help to create a climate of opinion favorable to General Eisenhower's great mission; on a strictly non-partisan basis we are trying to offset this spirit of complacency which is all too ripe in the nation, it seems to me at this time. We do not believe in the inevitability of World War III. We believe the way to prevent another global war is to build up an adequate defense of Europe and to that end we believe we must have an armed force of (i.e. three-and-a-half-or-so) men and we must for that purpose have universal military service.

MURROW: Well, now, sir, if I may, I'd like to go back and pick a couple of sentences out of that statement you read a moment ago and perhaps you would explain or expand them a little. You said, for example, that the deferring of college students appears to establish a pattern in which boys who can afford to continue their education are given special privileges.

CONANT: Well, may I ask you a question? Have you seen anything in connection with the announcement of this Executive order, any statement made

by any member of the Administration, to indicate that this is merely a temporary expedient, that they're ~~xxxxx~~ proposing to give up selective service very shortly and institute universal service, calling up by age groups?

MURROW: No, sir! Certainly not! There is nothing in the official announcement to indicate that and, indeed, it has been suggested by officials that the deferments could go on from year to year, so to speak.

CONANT: Exactly! And that's what burns me up about the situation. That's why we've issued the statement, as a Committee, that we have.

MURROW: Now, let's pick out another sentence from that statement you read. You said any method of drafting men through selective service is certain to result in an unfair distribution of the responsibility for military service. Just what did you mean by that?

CONANT: Well, that comes right back to what I was saying a moment ago when I tried to define the difference between selective service and universal military service. Under selective service, the draft boards have the decision to make. People in agriculture, people in essential occupations, if this order were to stick, college students are deferred while others are called up and this deferment, if they're really essential, will go on from year to year so the deferment in this period of partial mobilization amounts in effect to exemption.

MURROW: Now, another sentence out of that statement. You said only a system of calling up all members of an age group, who are physically fit, is in accord with American ideals of democracy. Would you expand this business of "all members of an age group," Dr. Conant?

CONANT: Yes, I will be glad to because that's the heart of the whole problem. That's what we mean when we speak of universal military service. As I said earlier, it means that when a boy comes to a certain age, whatever may be specified by law, he is then inducted into service. No draft board has any jurisdiction over him and the only problem is whether he is physically fit or not.

MURROW: Well, now, sir, you spoke a moment ago of drafting all

the eighteen-year-olds and then subsequently sending back for further training, presumably in civilian life, a figure of something like seventy-five thousand. Would you send back for that training merely the scientists and the doctors?

CONANT: Oh, no! Not at all! In the first place, I must correct you because in addition to the seventy-five thousand there must be the provision for the officers training .....

MURROW: Yes!

CONANT: ..... (?) course in the colleges for both the Army, the Air Force, and the Navy.....

MURROW: Fine!

CONANT: ..... and in taking that total group I think you will have not only those who have qualifications and aptitudes in science, but you will have people with high linguistic ability who may well be needed for specialized tasks. Those who are concentrating in social sciences, the whole spectrum of talents, indeed.

MURROW: Well, now, you began, Dr. Conant, by stressing the importance of holding Europe, so I should like to put to you a simple question -- are you confident, do you think it can be held?

CONANT: Well, admittedly, it is a speculation. I take it all matters of this sort are. It seems to me that General Eisenhower answered the question very well when he returned and said any alternative is unthinkable. But I for one would like to be somewhat optimistic. I think it can be held with far fewer divisions than some of our pessimistic friends have claimed and I believe that because of the development of new tactical weapons. Sometime, and not too far off, it may well be, as Dr. Bush has said, over a broadcast for this Committee, that we will be in a position to have the tactical use of atomic bombs, meaning by that, methods of dispersing troops, not the use against cities or towns.

MURROW: That is, to use atomic weapons for close support?

CONANT: For close support, and under those conditions it seems to me one doesn't have match one group of enormous number of men by another, but

that we may be able to hold Europe with a relatively few divisions. Of course, our Allies and our own proportionate support.

MURROW: Well, Dr. Conant, you spoke a moment ago of not believing in the inevitability of war. Would you expand that for a few seconds?

CONANT: Well, I think some of us who are developing the position I tried to outline here so briefly feel this, that at present the chance of a negotiation with the Soviet Union is slim, indeed. We have a balance between our superiority, strategic air force and atomic bombs against their great mass of troops, and once we could get a real balance in Europe a few years hence then a negotiation might well be possible.

MURROW: A final question, sir. What can or should the individual citizen do about this question of who serves his country in the armed forces and under what terms?

CONANT: What should the individual do? I think that the individual should write to his Representative in Congress. Let Congress and the Administration know that this confusion about the draft must be ended, that the American people want a fair and equitable method of drafting young men. This requires the suspension of selective service and the substitution of universal military service.

MURROW: Thank you very much, Dr. James Conant, of Harvard, for clearing away some of the underbrush that has surrounded this whole discussion of universal military service, universal military training, and selective service. Thank you again, sir, forbeing with us today.

CONANT: Thank you!

* * * * * * * * * * * *

ANNOUNCER: You have been listening to a discussion by James B. Conant, President of Harvard University, and Edward R. Murrow of CBS, on the subject: "Your Son and Universal Military Service." They spoke under the auspice of the Committee on the Present Danger, of which Dr. Conant is a member of the Executive Committee. The broadcast was brought to you by the CBS Department of Public Affairs and THIS IS CBS ... THE COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM
Ed.trans.-Adele A. Cardiff

I-I-8
File 7

THE COMMITTEE ON THE PRESENT DANGER

OBJECTIVES

THE Committee on the Present Danger is a non-partisan, non-political group of private citizens. It was formed late last year because of the deep conviction that the United States and its democratic way of life are gravely threatened by Soviet aggression.

The Committee believes that it is still possible to avert war, but that this can be done only if the nation realizes the danger it faces and is willing to take the steps needed to make the United States and its Allies so strong that they will not be attacked.

During the months immediately ahead, through non-partisan action, the Committee will continue to work for:

1. An American public opinion which will wholeheartedly support the joint defense of Europe, without neglect of the Far East.

2. The firm support of General Eisenhower's mission.

3. A determination not to allow political differences at home to obscure our vision of the Soviet menace to our existence as a free people.

4. Full realization of the peril to the United States arising from the current spirit of complacency, while the Soviet power grows and its stock-pile of atom bombs increases.

5. Adoption of the principle of universal military service and training through appropriate legislation and administrative action.

6. Adequate legislative measures to make the United States and its Allies strong.

7. Rejection of any thought of preventive war.

8. A national policy of averting World War III by confronting the aggressors with a strong free world, attacking their weaknesses by non-military means and supporting the United Nations.

The Committee has throughout considered this to be a program necessary for the survival of freedom and the maintenance of American leadership in the search for peace.

JULIUS OCHS ADLER
RAYMOND B. ALLEN
FRANK ALTSCHUL
DILLON ANDERSON
WILLIAM DOUGLAS ARANT
JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, III
LAIRD BELL
BARRY BINGHAM
HARRY A. BULLIS
VANNEVAR BUSH
WILL L. CLAYTON
ROBERT CUTLER
R. AMMI CUTTER
MRS. DWIGHT DAVIS
E. L. DEGOLYER
HAROLD W. DODDS
CHARLES DOLLARD
WILLIAM J. DONOVAN
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DAVID DUBINSKY
LEONARD K. FIRESTONE
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MISS META GLASS
ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG
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FREDERICK A. MIDDLEBUSH
JAMES L. MORRILL
EDWARD R. MURROW
JOHN LORD O'BRIAN
FLOYD B. ODLUM
J. ROBERT OPPENHEIMER
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ROBERT L. STEARNS
EDMUND A. WALSH, S. J.
W. W. WAYMACK
HENRY M. WRISTON
J. D. ZELLERBACH

JAMES B. CONANT, *Chairman*
TRACY S. VOORHEES, *Vice Chairman*

April 5, 1951

F. 51-12/46

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.

Roberts - Owen J.

Private Wire

NEXT CALL ☐ Please read instructions below BEFORE checking speed of transmission desired. TODAY ☐

Before sending this message please be sure a letter by REGULAR or AIRMAIL would not suffice, then be brief.

All messages for WBBM, KNX, and WTOP are normally sent within an hour after receipt in the Communications Room. Speed of transmission should be designated for messages to other stations in the boxes at top of this form.

Messages marked NEXT CALL are transmitted so as to reach the addressee not later than NOON LOCAL TIME on the day following their receipt in the Communications Room, providing the teletype equipment at the receiving point is attended. Unmarked messages will be handled in this manner.

Messages marked TODAY are transmitted to the addressee on the SAME DAY they are received in the Communications Room, providing the teletype equipment at the receiving point is attended.

DATE June 10 1947

HONORABLE OWEN J. ROBERTS
1421 CHESTNUT STREET
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

I PERSONALLY SHARE YOUR CONCERN ABOUT POSSIBILITY OF CONGRESSIONAL FAILURE TO ACT ON MILITARY TRAINING BUT IN VIEW OF MY OFFICIAL POSITION WHICH INVOLVES THE FAIR AND IMPARTIAL ALLOCATION OF RADIO TIME FOR THIS AND OTHER CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES I FEEL THAT I MUST DECLINE YOUR INVITATION TO JOIN CITIZENS EMERGENCY COMMITTEE. I AM CONFIDENT YOU WILL APPRECIATE MY REASONS FOR THIS ACTION.

BEST PERSONAL REGARDS.

E.R.MURROW

18

Assume from Roberts

WESTERN UNION

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1947 JUN 10 AM 9:19
C.B.S. TRAFFIC DEPT. N.Y.

WU
15 NL PD PHILADELPHIA PENN JUN 9

ED R MURROW
CBS

AM DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT POSSIBILITY OF CONGRESS NOT TAKING PROMPT ACTION ON UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING FOLLOWING PUBLICATION OF COMPTON REPORT WHICH ADVANCES COMPELLING REASONS FOR IMMEDIATE ADOPTION. MEASURE CAN PASS THIS SESSION IF LEADING CITIZENS SPEARHEAD PUBLIC SUPPORT. WILL YOU JOIN ME IN FORMING CITIZENS EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING TO FURTHER THIS VITALLY NEEDED LEGISLATION

OWEN J ROBERTS 1421 CHESTNUT STREET PHITADELPHIA 2

JUN 10

1421 2.

Red Cross

THE AMERICAN NATIONAL RED CROSS
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
WASHINGTON 13, D. C.

April 30, 1951

no answer

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Your continuing interest and support was of great assistance to the American Red Cross in the 1951 fund campaign. As you know, the Red Cross carries a heavy burden in this time of national emergency. Only with generous help and cooperation such as yours are we enabled to carry out the responsibilities entrusted to us by the American people.

In recognition of your outstanding service, and with sincere gratitude, we are proud to award you the 1951 American Red Cross Certificate of Honor, signed by Mr. E. Roland Harriman, president of American Red Cross.

Sincerely,

Louis C. Boochever

Louis C. Boochever
Director Public Relations

Cohen, Philip H.

April 9, 1947

Mr. Philip H. Cohen
Sullivan, Stauffer, Colwell & Bayles, Inc.
270 Park Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Phil:

Sorry about the delay in sending along my comments on the committee's report. I should like to make one or two brief objections on it.

The last paragraph on page 4 should state that one licensee was prepared to participate in the joint financing of a shortwave operation. You will recall that Mr. Paley stated as much during the committee luncheon that he attended.

You will recall that the committee's discussion regarding the international broadcasting foundation were based on the Benton memorandum. The proposed legislation varies in important regards from that memorandum. As a member of the committee I would be quite prepared to sign a report which recommends in general terms the creation of an international broadcasting foundation, but I would not like to be committed, even by implication, to the support of the bill that has been introduced. I do not believe that a board of trustees can discharge their duties if the chairman of the board, who is the top administrative official, is appointed by the president.

Sincerely yours,

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

559-8/45

To Mr. William S. Paley

From Edward R. Murrow

Station

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

April 2, 1947

I would be grateful if you could find time to read the attached draft of Bill Benton's committee. You will recall that it is composed of Ray Larson, Mark Ethridge, Mike Cowles, Don Francisco, one or two others, and myself. I am disposed to take exceptions to the marked portions on Page 4 and insist that the language be clarified to indicate that we, CBS, were prepared to participate in joint financing, and I am also disposed that the Benton foundation scheme, which the committee approved, varied substantially from the bill that has been passed.

E.R.M.

Check my letter to Benton on this

No bid received yet - but as usual in future respects.

REPORT OF RADIO ADVISORY COMMITTEE TO WILLIAM BENTON
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR PUBLIC AFFARIS

On May 10, 1946, at the first of our five meetings, you asked us to examine certain aspects of the international broadcasting activities of the State Department and to make recommendations concerning the role of the United States Government in this important field.

At this and subsequent meetings you placed at our disposal transcripts giving a representative cross-section of the State Department broadcasts: reports from State Department officials abroad on the need for and the effectiveness of American broadcasts beamed to other countries; and other materials that enabled us to get a picture of the international broadcasting activities of the State Department.

We have also had discussions with General David Sarnoff, President of the Radio Corporation of America; Mr. William Paley, Chairman of the Board of the Columbia Broadcasting System; Mr. Lawrence Fly, formerly Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, now a representative for broadcasters; and members of your staff who have supplied information requested by your committee.

Although the examination of America's part in international radio was the chief concern of the Committee, it was also necessary that we examine the general problems of international information of which broadcasting is merely one part.

Your committee is in agreement that the free flow of information throughout the world is one of the essentials to a lasting peace. Unless we make it possible for others to tell their story to us, and unless we have that same privilege throughout the world, it will be difficult if not impossible to ensure a lasting peace based on mutual

understanding.

understanding.

Your committee believes that the voice of America should be heard throughout the world through the press, motion pictures and libraries, as well as through radio which is our immediate concern in this report. A great part of this total job is being done and in our opinion should continue to be done through private agencies since this is in the American tradition; but, where private agencies are unable to disseminate information about the United States, either because of financial problems or barriers erected by various governments, it is the duty of the United States Government to see that the voice of America is heard.

This brings us to the problem of radio. Seventy-five percent of the earth's population lives under some degree of censorship. Radio broadcasting offers the surest way to reach these people, as well as those living in censor-free countries, with information about the United States. By broadcasting we mean not only the broadcasting through shortwave facilities, for even though it is estimated that there are twenty million shortwave sets outside the United States, still this is a limited field. We also mean the arranging of exchange broadcasts with networks and individual stations in other countries and the furnishing of transcriptions which give a true and unbiased picture of this country.

In discussing the role of America in the international broadcasting field, it should be pointed out that fifty-six countries and dependencies are in the shortwave broadcasting field today. As a measure of comparison it is interesting to note that whereas Great Britain spends sixteen million dollars annually in this field, the United States is spending some eight million; because of lower costs in Britain, and other factors, the volume of British output exceeds that of the United States by about

three to one.

three to one. It is impossible to estimate the amount that is being spent by the Soviet Union, but it must be large. Among the smaller powers, Colombia's output is almost one-third that of the United States.

It should also be pointed out that because of our location it is far more difficult for the United States to reach Europe and many areas in Asia than it is for all of the other major powers. This means that for the United States there are greatly added costs in terms of transmitters and relay facilities. It also means that the frequencies allotted to the United States must be used in the most efficient manner possible.

The reports from State Department representatives abroad which we have examined clearly show that news of the United States is eagerly awaited by millions around the world who look to us as a stabilizing influence in the aftermath of the most destructive war in history. In answer to the question, does anyone abroad listen to the present "Voice of America" broadcasts, the evidence submitted indicates that the answer is an emphatic yes. The listening audience seems to be substantial. The 10,000 letters a month now being received from abroad have greater significance than a comparable number received from listeners to domestic broadcasts. Those on the Committee experienced in broadcasting agree that technological developments and improvements in broadcasting, and the prospect of new, cheaper and better receiving sets, give promise of an ever enlarging audience.

Whether we disseminate news ourselves or not, news about the United States will be disseminated. The question is thus whether we shall leave the presentation of news and information about the United States to others, or whether we shall ensure that such news and information is available directly from an American source.

News

News about America, as handled by non-American media, is frequently misleading or distorted, serving particular ends of the government of origin. Since news of the United States can be misleading through inadequate or inaccurate reporting, or be distorted wilfully by others, it follows logically that the United States should make certain that an adequate and accurate flow of information about itself is presented to the people of other countries. As we have stated, where possible this should be done through private agencies, but in the broadcasting field in particular the problems of cost make this virtually impossible.

This raises the question, how can international broadcasting by the United States best be organized, administered and financed to ensure that an adequate job is done in the national interest? After our discussions with you, General Sarnoff and Mr. Paley, and after examination of the needs in the international broadcasting field and of alternative plans for meeting them, we are prepared to endorse the plan for a public foundation, or public corporation, along the lines set forth in your report to the Secretary of State, and independently suggested by General Sarnoff.

It is our understanding that the proposed foundation would derive its authority from Congress and would receive support from Congressional appropriations but would operate under policies established by a board of trustees consisting predominantly of distinguished private American citizens.

It is also our understanding that the seven owners of existing short-wave broadcasting facilities in this country have, while recognizing the importance of international broadcasting, stated that they are unable financially to make the expenditures necessary for the United States to play its full part in this vital field. With this basic fact in mind

the

the establishment of the international broadcasting foundation supported by government funds but under the policy supervision, in terms of programs and facilities, of a board of directors chosen from distinguished American citizens, as recently proposed to the Congress by the Department of State, seems the logical solution.

It is impossible to say at this time what such a venture would cost. General Sarnoff has estimated that an operating budget of twenty million dollars a year—more than twice the present level—would be required to meet the need and the opportunity. Surely such a sum would be small, in this time of international tension, compared to the importance of making America's voice heard before misunderstanding developed rather than after misunderstanding had deepened into conflict.

Three elements are involved in successful broadcasting—an adequate signal, good programming and sufficient promotional work to insure that the potential audience knows about the programs. Adequate financial support for facilities should gurantee the adequacy of the signals, which are today inadequate to the need. We would wish here also to stress the value of appropriate advertising of these "Voice of America" programs abroad.

In terms of the programs themselves we can only suggest that whatever broadcasts are made should fairly and completely represent life in this Democracy. We should broadcast our triumphs in the industrial and social fields but we should show where we have failed and what we are doing to correct those failures; for surely this is the way of Democracy.

Should the Congress approve of the International Broadcasting Foundation, a chief job of its Board of Trustees would thus be to guarantee an unbiased presentation of America.

In summary

In summary your committee:

a. Believes in the full exchange of information among all nations.

b. Believes that in the broadcasting field, financial limitations make it impossible for the commercial broadcasters to carry on international broadcasting on an adequate scale.

c. Believes that an international broadcasting foundation supported by government funds but controlled by a group of distinguished citizens offers the best way to make the voice of America heard abroad.

d. Believes that now more than at almost any time in our history a clear and fair picture of America and American policy should be heard abroad. No one will do this job for us. We must do it ourselves. The job involves the use of many media--books, motion pictures, the press--but among them radio seems today the most critically important for the projection of a full and fair picture of the United States.

e. Believes that the funds now available for international broadcasting are inadequate to do the job required by the national interest, and deplores the reports that some members of Congress wish to cut the available budget rather than expand it in accordance with the clear need and opportunity.

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MRS. LOUISE WRIGHT
EDWARD YOEMANS
GEORGE F. ZOOK

September 25, 1947

Dear Mr. Murrow:

For your information, I am sending you a copy of the report of the Information Committee which was approved without change at the Chicago conference.

Sincerely yours,

Julian Street, Jr.

Julian Street, Jr.
Information Officer

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, New York

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

v/monetes.

September 25, 1947

Dear Frank Altschul:

This is a belated answer to yours of August 15th—I have been on vacation. I shall belabor some of my friends in the interest of the Foundation and write you again as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Frank Altschul
The Woodrow Wilson Foundation
45 East 65th Street
New York 21, New York

COPY

E. R. M.
F. 1155

THE WOODROW WILSON FOUNDATION

WOODROW WILSON HOUSE
45 EAST 65TH STREET - NEW YORK 21, N. Y.
TELEPHONE REgent 4-8083

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August 15, 1947

2 months suspense

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

You may remember that in connection with the purchase of our home at 45 East 65 Street, an attempt was made to raise a building fund of $50,000. $28,000 was raised and two pledges aggregating $10,000 were made contingent upon the raising of the total amount required. These pledges, however, were not of indefinite duration, and it is the feeling of the Board of Directors that they may lapse unless $12,000 is subscribed in the near future.

Accordingly, it has been decided to approach the members of the Board, past and present with the request that each member who is willing to do so attempt to procure contributions totaling if possible, $500. Recognizing that some of the members have already done more than their fair share that others have done all that they possibly can, there is no disposition on the part of the Board to importune any Director. But help at this time would be doubly effective, and it is our earnest hope that with your assistance the Fund can be completed with a minimum of delay.

With warm appreciation of any effort you are in a position to make, I am,

Yours sincerely,

Frank

Frank Altschul
President

April 25, 1951

Dear Dr. Gideonse:

I feel I must regretfully resign from the Board of Directors of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation. My reason for doing this is that the broadcasting schedule I am carrying has precluded my attending meetings for the past two years and I have never felt a director should continue on a board when he is unable to fulfill the obligations and duties required of him.

I beg you not to consider this any lack of sympathy or enthusiasm for the Foundation's work. If I can at any time further the interests of the Foundation, please command me.

Sincerely yours,

Dr. Harry D. Gideonse, President
The Woodrow Wilson Foundation
15 East 65th Street
New York 21, New York

5 P

COMMITTEE ON THE PRESENT DANGER
711 14TH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

March 21, 1951

STerling 3788

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

At Dr. Conant's request -- pursuant to his telegram to you -- I am enclosing certain background material concerning the Committee on the Present Danger, together with a list of the members of the Committee.

The Committee was founded in the American tradition by citizens acting on a non-partisan basis. Its purpose is to support and encourage the moves and measures necessary to the rapid building of our national strength and that of our allies to a point which will make it impossible for an aggressor to challenge the united power of the free world. Its objective is Peace through Strength.

The present plan is gradually to enlarge the Committee to an aggregate membership of between 60 and 100, with the original members constituting an executive committee with broad powers. The additional members are being selected with a view to making the Committee a nationally representative group.

Events over the past several months -- particularly in the progress made toward establishing the principle of universal military service -- have already demonstrated the value of the contribution which such a non-political citizens committee can make. We are all convinced that there is a great field open to such a group for useful service in the present critical time. It is essential to the safety of us all that our nation act both wisely and vigorously to make itself strong. I hope that you will decide to join with us in this effort.

Sincerely yours,

Tracy Voorhees

Tracy S. Voorhees
For the Committee

Enclosures

P.S. Am looking forward to seeing you Monday for lunch
T. V.

711 - 14th Street
Washington 5, D. C.
March 27, 1951

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE PRESENT DANGER:

For your information there is enclosed a listing of the members of the Committee on the Present Danger as of this date.

Enclosure

TRACY S. VOORHEES

Washington, D. C.
February 27, 1951

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE PRESENT DANGER:

In my memorandum of February 15th I reported that the Mutual Broadcasting System is making available its network for a Sunday evening series of broadcasts by members of our Committee.

Under the revised program, the first broadcast--on March 4th at 9:30 p.m. Eastern Standard Time--will be made by Dr. Bush. His subject will be "The Atomic Bomb and the Defense of the Free World." Judge Patterson will broadcast on March 11th. His subject will be "The Defense Line of Freedom." General Donovan has agreed to follow on the 18th, Dr. Menninger on the 25th and Mr. Clayton on April 8th. We are still working on the other dates. The series will probably run from eight to twelve weeks.

The Mutual Broadcasting System has about 550 stations throughout the United States. I have sent explanatory material to all of these stations. To the 108 principal stations I have sent personal letters to the appropriate station officers. A list of the Committee members was of course given as part of the material.

We have every reason to expect that this series of programs will have a large listening audience. A majority of the stations probably will carry the live broadcast. In some cases the talk will be recorded and used at a later hour or date.

The Mutual Broadcasting System is carrying out its own publicity program about the series. Coupled with our publicity efforts, we feel that this series will be an effective means of carrying The Committee's Message to the U. S. public.

The Mutual Broadcasting people have indicated that if local citizens evidence special interest, their stations would be much more likely to carry the live program. If the members of our Committee will communicate with their local radio stations respectively, and request that in the public interest they carry these programs, much better coverage will result. I hope that you will do whatever you feel that you appropriately can to this end.

Tracy S. Voorhees

March 27, 1951

COMMITTEE ON THE PRESENT DANGER

*GENERAL JULIUS OCHS ADLER
General Manager, New York Times

*DR. RAYMOND B. ALLEN
President, University of Washington

*MR. FRANK ALTSCHUL
National Committee for a Free Europe, Inc.

MR. DILLON ANDERSON
Lawyer

*WILLIAM DOUGLAS ARANT, ESQ.
Lawyer

*DR. JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, III
President, Williams College

*LAIRD BELL, ESQ.
Chairman, Board of Trustees, Univ. of Chicago

MR. BARRY BINGHAM
Editor, The Louisville Courier-Journal

*MR. HARRY A. BULLIS
Chairman of the Board, General Mills, Inc.

*DR. VANNEVAR BUSH
President, Carnegie Institution of Washington

*HONORABLE W. L. CLAYTON
Former Under Secretary of State

*DR. JAMES B. CONANT
President, Harvard University

*GENERAL ROBERT CUTLER
President, Old Colony Trust Company, Boston

*R. AMMI CUTTER, ESQ.
Lawyer

MRS. DWIGHT DAVIS

MR. E. L. DeGOLYER
Chairman of the Board, DeGolyer and MacNaughton

*DR. HAROLD WILLIS DODDS
President, Princeton University

*Executive Committee

*DR. CHARLES DOLLARD
President, Carnegie Corporation of New York

*GENERAL WILLIAM J. DONOVAN
Former Director of Office of Strategic Services

GOLDTHWAITE H. DORR, ESQ.
Lawyer

MR. DAVID DUBINSKY
President, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

MR. LEONARD K. FIRESTONE
President, Firestone Tire and Rubber Company of California

*TRUMAN K. GIBSON, JR., ESQ.
Lawyer; Member of President's Advisory Commission on Universal Training 1947

*MISS META GLASS
Former President of Sweet Briar College

MR. ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG
General Counsel, Congress of Industrial Organization

MR. SAMUEL GOLDWYN
Motion Picture Producer

*GENERAL EDWARD S. GREENBAUM
Lawyer

MR. PAUL G. HOFFMAN
Director, the Ford Foundation

*MONTE M. LEMANN, ESQ.
Lawyer

*WILLIAM L. MARBURY, ESQ.
Lawyer

MR. STANLEY MARCUS
President, Neiman-Marcus Company, Dallas

*DR. WILLIAM C. MENNINGER
Director, The Menninger Foundation, Topeka

*DR. FREDERICK A. MIDDLEBUSH
President, University of Missouri

*Executive Committee

DR. JAMES L. MORRILL
President, University of Minnesota

MR. EDWARD R. MURROW,
Counselor on Public Affairs,
Columbia Broadcasting System

*JOHN LORD O'BRIAN, ESQ.
Former General Counsel, War Production Board

MR. FLOYD B. ODLUM
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Former Member Atomic Energy Commission

*DR. HENRY MERRITT WRISTON
President, Brown University

MR. J. D. ZELLERBACH
Crown Zellerbach Corporation, San Francisco

*Executive Committee

Comm. on Present Danger

MARCH 23, 1951

SP new

PRESIDENT JAMES B. CONANT
HARVARD UNIVERSITY
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

IN RESPONSE TO YOUR TELEGRAM I AM OF COURSE HONORED TO ASSOCIATE MYSELF WITH THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE PRESENT DANGER INFORMATIVELY I AM CONFERRING WITH MR. VOORHEES REGARDING BROADCASTING ARRANGEMENTS ON MONDAY. REGARDS

E.R. MURROW

WU018 NL PD

WASHINGTON DC MAR 19

EDWARD R MURROW, COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

ON BEHALF OF COMMITTEE ON THE PRESENT DANGER AND WITH CONCURRENCE OF ALL MEMBERS I WISH TO INVITE YOU TO BECOME A MEMBER PD DETAILS CONCERNING OBJECTIVES OF COMMITTEE AND MEMBERSHIP ARE BEING AIRMAILED TO YOU PD I HOPE YOU WILL FEEL DISPOSED TO JOIN THIS NONPARTISAN CITIZENS GROUP WORKING FOR A STRONGER DEFENSE OF THE UNITED STATES

JAMES B CONANT.

MAR 20 129A..

Answer promptly.

Comm. on the P.D.

NOTES OF DR. JANES B. CONANT'S BROADCAST ON

EDWARD R. MURROW'S RADIO PROGRAM ON MAY 13, 1952

MR. MURROW: The Armed Services Committee has started a move to cut an additional $400,000,000. This bill has already been reduced by $1 billion. The Senators concerned want to cut it to a maximum of $6.5 billion. While the Congress considers these reductions, a non-partisan committee of private citizens has made a study under the chairmanship of James B. Conant. We have asked Dr. Conant to give his views tonight.

DR. CONANT: I am speaking tonight as Chairman of the Committee on the Present Danger, a nonpartisan group formed some 18 months ago. We organized to urge the importance of providing adequate defense for the United States in a time of great danger. This danger has not passed nor lessened. Therefore, it is of the utmost importance, we believe, to continue without let-up the defense plans approved by Congress last year. This means adequate appropriations for the United States Defense Department and sufficient funds for the Mutual Security program. It is about the support of the Mutual Security program that I wish to say a few words tonight.

Virtually all our responsible military leaders agree that the defense of Europe by ground forces supported by tactical air power is essential for the security of the United States. The only way this defense can be built up is to provide arms for the troops being raised by the European nations. The United States' share is a three-year plan was considered by Congress last year, and the first installment was approved by the passage of the Mutual Security Act. The second installment is now under consideration.

The present question is, shall we go through with our part of the plan, or shall we, by cutting of appropriations, serve notice on the world that we are uncertain as to our determination? This is a matter of vital importance to every citizen of this nation for until the defenses of Europe are secure, the danger to this country remains acute. Until we can be confident that the Russians cannot overrun the Continent, the threat of a third world war hangs over us. We are arming not to initiate a war but to preserve the peace.

European strength can be developed only if this country provides sufficient funds to support the really great military effort Europe is now making. The money thus spent must be regarded as part of our own defense expenditure. It provides military power at a fraction of the cost that would be involved if the same power were developed here at home. For example, the annual maintenance cost of an infantry division in the United States is about $160 million as compared with $50 million for a European division of roughly equal strength. We pay all of the former and at most a small part of the latter.

The money to be appropriated in the bill now before the Senate is not truly for foreign aid, but for security -- security for the free world, security for the United States. Adequate defense can be built if the Congress will show that the leadership of the United States remains unshaken.

Comm. on the P.D.
8 P

NOTES OF DR. VANNEVAR BUSH'S BROADCAST

ON EDWARD R. MURROW"S TELEVISION PROGRAM

ON SUNDAY, MAY 11, 1952

MR. MURROW:- We are testing weapons which may determine not only the fate of our fighting men, but of our allies as well. Few men in this country of ours know more about weapons and the usages to which they can be put than Dr. Vannevar Bush. He has been watching in Washington what you have just seen, and is kind enough to give us a few comments on it.

DR. BUSH:- Well, Mr. Murrow, I'm glad you gave us a glance at Aberdeen, Army Ordnance has an excellent staff there -- military and civilian -- and I know they are imaginative and resourceful.

Our whole program of developing better weapons is of great importance. If we are to defend ourselves in this kind of world, we have to have better weapons and know how to use them.

This country wants no third war. We are determined to prevent it. For this we need strength of our own, and well armed allies, so that no aggressor will dare attack us, and so that if he should we would prevail.

This leads me to speak of a very important measure which is before Congress, to receive action this week. This is the Mutual Security bill, which is an essential step, the second in our three-year program of aiding our allies to rearm, as presented by General Marshall last year. There has been some confusion about it. I am convinced that it is a sound and wise move. I am a member of the Committee on the Present Danger, a nonpartisan citizens' group under the chairmanship of Dr. Conant. We have studied the sub-

ject for a year and we are unanimous that it is a sound move on which our entire present defense plan depends.

Our allies are doing their part. They are fighting by our side in the East, in Korea, Indo-China, Malaya. They stand at our side in Europe. To do this they are making sacrifices as great as ours. In fact, we have not as yet restricted our standard of living in order to build armies, and they have. Because they took the brunt of the damage in the last war, they have a tougher job to regain their military strength. Their spirit is rising, and it will rise fast as their confidence in their ability to defend themselves further increases.

I feel that the Mutual Security program is being administered with integrity. It certainly is organized in Europe better than it was a year ago. Moreover it is now based on a comprehensive plan, developed at Lisbon, which can produce a truly united Europe for defense.

In my opinion this is the wisest money we spend for defense. I speak as a taxpayer, and taxes hurt. Along with everyone else, I look forward to the time when the tax burden can be lightened, and I'm decidedly interested that our tax dollars be spent with good sense and without waste.

It costs $3,000 a year to maintain an American soldier. A soldier of our allies can be maintained for little more than a third of this. There are many necessary items of equipment which can be built in Europe for half the dollars they cost here. It seems to me to be just common sense to take this into account as we proceed, and make our tax dollars go as far as possible. Europe is just as keen on advanced weapons as we are.

Let me emphasize that we need all kinds of weapons, on land, sea and air. As one who is a vigorous advocate of new weapons, I see no short-cut solutions, no way of waging war with a weapon which makes all others obsolete. This applies to the A-Bomb, powerful though it is. And we need men, highly skilled men, well-trained in operating all sorts of complex devices. Above all, we need allies, just as well-armed and well-trained. Let us see to it that we have them.

We wish to live in peace. But we certainly intend to preserve our freedom and our way of life. For this purpose we intend to be strong. With resolution and common sense we have an excellent chance of avoiding war and leading the world in our strength toward better days.

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

EDWARD R. MURROW

AS BROADCAST

SUNDAY, MARCH 10th, 1946

1:45 to 2:00 PM

CUE: (COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM)
(.....30 seconds.....)

ANNCR: (BIG BEN)

.....Big Ben tolls out the hours as history writes a new chapter. Columbia's Edward R. Murrow, now at a microphone in London, is ready with his comments on the week's developments ... Commercial ...

Now, here's Edward R. Murrow.

EDWARD: This is London.

During the past week the voice from Fulton, Missouri was the loudest in the land. Mr. Churchill's speech has been digested, interpreted, and commented upon. The reactions have fallen into an altogether predictable pattern. The extreme left accuse him of advocating an anti-Russian alliance. The extreme right give a warm welcome to the speech. And the majority, in the middle, continue in a state of confusion.

Britain's leading government spokesmen have been careful to refrain from comment, but that should not be taken to mean that they had advance knowledge of the contents of the speech, or that it had in any sense government sanction or approval. It did not.

There appears to be a tendency on both sides of the Atlantic to regard the solution of the idealogical, economic and geographical conflict between Russian and the western world as being soluble only by creating a world in the image of Mr. Churchill, or in the image of Mr. Stalin. In this connection, it is useful to remember that Mr. Churchill and his party were decisively beaten and turned from office by the ballots of the British people. After full and free debate, they decided that their gratitude to the great war-time leader was not sufficient to cause them to return him and his party to power. (MORE)

EDWARD: (CONTD)

The British, in common with many peoples on the continent, sought for middle ground between the conservatism of Mr. Churchill and the suppressive collectivism of Mr. Stalin. It was true, of course, that since the labor government assumed office in this country, the Russians have laid down their almost ceaseless barrage against it. They have missed no opportunity to launch diplomatic offensives. And the language employed, both in press and radio, has been such as would have caused careful reporters ten years ago to speak of the imminence of war. There is no question that Mr. Churchill uttered many of the dark thoughts and apprehensions that have occupied the minds of people in this country. It is equally true to say that Russia during the last three months has lost a great deal of the sympathy, admiration and allegiance that she once enjoyed in this country.

It would appear, from official statements in London and in Washington, that it is the desire of both countries to limit the expansion of communist influence, and the dominance of Moscow of neighbor nations. If that is true, then the question arises as to whether this can best be done by a powerful coalition of the English-speaking world, sharing bases around the world, and saying to Russia "thus far, and no farther", or whether the limitation of the expansion of Communism can best be achieved by eliminating as rapidly as may (?) be those economic, social and political inequalities ... the desire for land and security, which represent Russia's greatest asset in her appeal to the peoples of the Middle East, India, and Asia.

It is evident that the unity produced by the threat of a common foe is in jeopardy, if it is not, in fact, already been destroyed. The prospect of famine, dissension, and fear, provides ample ammunition for the pessimists. Already before the end of the first year of peace there is talk of another war. It becomes increasingly clear that victory, purchased at such a price, secured nothing more than the opportunity for statesmen to devise methods and means whereby nations may live together in peace. And it is equally clear that many, if not most, Europeans doubt that the statesmen are doing a very good job of it.

It was customary during the war to say that democracy was on trial ... as indeed it was. It survived, but the trial is not yet ended. The outcome will be determined, not by dollars ... not by American battleships showing a flag in the Mediterranean ....not by luxury or productivity at home. (MORE)

EDWARD: (CONTD)

It will, I think be determined by the degree to which Americans understand the role in world affairs that has been thrust upon them. And the importance, not only of our decisions, but of our examples.

We have, whether we like it or not, come into our full inheritance, our full strength. The rest of the world knows it, if we do not. We can no longer mediate, or non-intervene. Our influence and our interests spread round the world. That seems to me to have been a rapid development. I remember 1938 in Vienna ... when the Germans marched in. A man cut his throat with a butcher knife. That night there were shots in the dark, and the screams. An Austrian friend said, "surely the Americans will do something about this." The following summer in Warsaw, Polish friends saying, "America will not permit the Germans to destroy us again." The French in '40 appealing for help. The British in '40 and '41. Mr. Churchill looking to the West, where the land was bright. It is true enough to say that there have not been such procrastination in Britain, such dissension in France; and if Mr. Baldwin, instead of proclaiming the Britain's frontier was on the Rhine had done something to keep it there; if the low countries had realized their peril; if the talk over the speaker's chair in the House of Commons had not ticked away so many wasted minutes and lost opportunities; then all that has happened might not have happened.

People here, and on the continent, might not have died in old buildings. It might not have been necessary to bury all that was mortal of so many American boys along the roads from Omaha beach to Osterbrook (?) It might have been possible to save the lives of those starving, stinking people who were later freed from Belsen, Buchenvald, and Dachau. And to save, too, the lives and the hopes of the gay and gallant youngsters, who went down in streaming flames, as though pushed earthward by a finger of dark smoke, over Berlin, Lyon (?) Hamburg ... and hundreds of other targets. But it didn't happen. They went out and bought .. bought with their lives the chance to prevent this happening again, on a vaster and more terrible scale.

We may say that this slaughter and degradation was due to the malice and mismanagement of these Europeans. That can be left to history. Whatever causes, they have, and will continue to pay a frightful price. The important thing would seem to be that any future war will walk down our streets, enter our houses, and is unlikely to spare non.....ence.

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EDWARD:
(CONTD)

We have emerged from this war into a precarious peace with great powers. Indeed, with a power which fills our friends with a mixture of admiration and fear. And the victory has placed upon us a responsibility which we have never before borne. It is true that the new world came to the rescue of the old. It is true that the old world looks to us for continuing assistance and the means of averting starvation and chaos, but there's something more. There's a heavier obligation we bear ... which is to demonstrate that our power is not devoid of tolerance; that we can apply at home and abroad the principles we profess.

We have been accustomed for many decades to look upon Europe as a place of continuing quarrel and dissension, from which our ancestors were glad to escape. Now ... much of Europe looks to the West with a mixture of hope and anxiety to see what, if anything, we shall do with our power. For what happens in America is vastly more important than anything that happens over here. And the thing that is important is not what we say, but what we do. It is no exaggeration to say that now, as never before, the eyes of the world are upon us. What we eat, what we wear, the movies we make, the broadcasts we do, the actions of our statesmen at conference ... is news to that part of Europe which still has access to information and opinion; The Senator who speaks or votes may have regard only for his constituents, but his actions would have influence from London to Chungking. That is the price of power.

It's difficult to get any ideas of size, the dimensions of a skyscraper or a power house, if you're inside it. I spent the past several years looking at America from the outside. Tomorrow I'm coming home to stay. That is why I have ventured to speak as I have about how America appears from Europe. If I have been wrong, then most of the people I know over here have been wrong too. For it would seem that we are confronted with a choice. A choice between leadership and isolation. Not isolation of our own choice, but the isolation which will be imposed upon us if we travel in one direction and the rest of the world in another.

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EDWARD: (CONTD)

During the last few years I have seen a considerable number of people die with great dignity, but the thing that impressed me most were not the demonstration of physical courage ... that's been a chief commodity in this war ... Many people of many nations, the Spaniards, the Poles, the Dutch, the British, and the Germans, were brave under the bombs. I doubt that the most important thing was Dunkirk, or the Battle of Britain, El Alemain, or Stalingrad. Not even the Limeys in Normandie, or the great blows struck by British and American bombers ... perhaps not even the arrival of the American troops and American power in Europe. Historians may decide that any one of these events was decisive. But I am persuaded that the most important thing that happened in Britain was that this nation chose to win or lose the war ... under the established rules of Parliamentary procedure. It feared Nazism, but did not choose to imitate it. Mr. Churchill remained the servant in the House of Commons. The government was given dictatorial power, but it was used with restraint. And the House of Commons was ever vigilant.

I remember that while London was being bombed in the daylight, the House of Commons devoted two days to discussing conditions under which enemy aliens were detained on the "Isle of Man". Though Britain fell, there were to be no concentration camps here. I remember that two days after Italy declared war an Italian citizen, convicted of murder in the lower court, appealed successfully to the highest court in the land, and the original verdict was set aside. There was still in the land, regardless of race, nationality, or hatred. Representative government, equality before the law, survived. Future generations, who bother to read the official record of proceedings in the House of Commons, will discover that British Army retreated from many places. But that there was no retreat from the principles for which our ancestors fought.

The record is massive evidence of the flexibility and toughness of the principles and traditions we share with the people who live in this island. It will, I think, inspire and lift men's hearts long after the names of most of the great sea and land engagements have been forgotten.

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EDWARD: (CONTD) This reporter, who has not always been right, and who on occasion had the high privileges of sharing the dangers and discomforts of the American Army under the British people, saw Americans and Britains give the reply to tyranny that their history, their traditions, and their ancestors demanded of them. It would be foolish (?) for any reporter to leave this land without acknowledging his debt to the many people who have given him tea, hospitality and information ... And ... on occasion, inspiration. It would be equally unmannerly to fail to acknowledge the debt to those people at home who have written or cabled praise, condemnation or condolences. And now for the last time ... this is Edward R. Murrow in London.

ANNCR: .... Commercial ....

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Mr. Berkeiss

MURROW EXTRA-CURRICULAR "GOOD WORKS"

SHAPE	Dec.1951. Narrated film, "Allianceefor Peace"..."a motion picture dealing with the Western democracies' cooperative answer to the aggressive threat of Communism". Produced by Lt. Sam Goldwyn, Jr. of Eisenhower's SHAPE staff. (Film shown on CBS TV March 18, 1952)
CIVIL DEFENSE	Official films narrated for Federal C.D.Administration: 1951 - "Fire Fighting for Householders" 1951 - "Survival Under Atomic Attack" (appeal for volunteers) 1953 - "Disaster on Main Street" 1951 - Recorded appeal for volunteers which was played in "Transition Room" of Alert America Convoy Exhibit
FORD MOTOR COMPANY	1952 - Narrated public service film "Ticket to Freedom"... "whole purpose is to emphasize the personal responsibility of good citizenship"..."shown to 130,000 Ford employees and made available to schools, film libraries, church groups, women's clubs, civic and community organizations, etc.".
CRUSADE FOR FREEDOM	Sept.3,1951. Narrated 15-min. program "Bells of Freedom" celebrating Crusade's first anniversay....produced by Crusade, carried by CBS, included recorded statements by Gen. Clay, Stassen, Eisenhower, Ambassador Gifford, Mayor Reuter.
THE COUNCIL OF STATE GOVERNMENTS	Dec.4,1952. Addressed Eleventh General Assembly of States... group of State Secretaries of State, etc. (Have copy of speech if you want.) (NOTE: See 1948 or 1949 for speech at Governors' Conference for same outfit.)
AMERICAN AUTOMOBILE ASSOC.	October, 1950. Addressed Forty-eighth Annual Meeting (Have speech).
PUBLIC EDUCATION ASSOC.	April 30, 1953. Chairman of dinner honoring Ordway Tead... conducted interview-discussion with presidents of four City colleges.
ARMED FORCES INFORMATION SCHOOL	June 28, 1951. Addressed students, Flort Slocum, N.Y.

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE	Jan.26,1952. 45th Annual Meeting...participated in stage presentation "To The Living Generation".
	Jan.30,1954. 47th Annual Meeting and tribute to Jacob Blaustein, retiring president. "Report on Human Rights" presentation included excerpt from SIN films on Korea, Radulovich and ACLU. (Have rough script)
RED CROSS	March 1,1953. Introduced 30-min. TV program "Answer the Call" to launch national fund drive.
CBS DOCUMENTARY	May 8, 1953 Narrated "The Green Border"..."a full-hour actuality broadcast"...."the first report on the men and women who have escaped from behind the Iron Curtain, recorded in their own words and voices".
VOICE OF AMERICA	November, 1952. Commentators' Round-Table on the Pres. Elections broadcast...for Word Wide English Unit...with H.V.Kaltenborn, John Daly, Pauline Frederics, Cecil Brown.
NATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR INFANTILE PARALYSIS	May 1952. 15-min. recorded interview program "This is Polio" with Dr. Hart E. Van Riper, Medical Director of Foundation.
CARE	Nov.14,1950. 15 min. program with Ambassador Chang, Madeline Carroll, Paul French announcing formation of Care For Korea committee.
UNITED JEWISH APPEAL	March 1, 1951. Half-hour documentary drama on CBS, "Pioneer '51"...."the present-day development of pioneers building a homeland in Israel". Author of script, Millard Lampell.
ARMY & AIR FORCE RECRUITMENT SERVICE (Governors Island)	1951. Special Armed Forces Day salute on their regular 15 min. program "Stars on Parade"....."the events that led up to Armed Forces Day, 1951"...featuring Murrow and excerpts from "I Can Hear It Now"Albums.
MARINE CORPS	Nov.1950, March 1951, Sept. 1952. Recorded 20-second spot announcements for recruiting.
HERALD TRIBUNE FRESH AIR FUND	Dec.1953 Spot announcement for spring campaign.

MURROW - "GOOD WORKS" 3-3-3

NATIONAL FLAG WEEK

June8-14,1953. Served on honorary Executive Committee; Eisenhower honorary chairman. Appointed by The Star Spangled Banner Flag House Association, Baltimore and Governor McKeldin of Maryland.

KINESCOPE EXCERPTS

SEE IT NOW

Vol. 3, No. 1 (1st half)
September 22, 1953

MR. MURROW: This is the British sector and we are standing just in front of the Brandenburg Gate just at the bottom of June 17th Street. That was the street that was renamed after the riots of June 17th, and the old American embassy is just over here to our right.

Dr. Conant, you make your headquarters in Bonn and come up here occasionally, I assume?

DR. CONANT: Occasionally? I come here a great deal. Indeed, I feel that I am here as much as I am in Bonn, pretty nearly.

MR. MURROW: Why is that? Why particularly to Berlin?

DR. CONANT: Because Berlin here represents the important struggle between the free world and the world of slavery which is on the other side of the Iron Curtain. And here, right in this Brandenburg .... for example, people can go into the east sector from the west, and people from the east sector can come here. Therefore, we are on exhibit, the free world is on exhibit, and they are on exhibit too. And then the--

MR. MURROW: This serves as a sort of test tube, doesn't it, where one can see the reactions on both sides?

DR. CONANT: I don't know as I like that analogy. I would say it serves as a sort of transparency--a window through which we can look into the troubles in the east and they can look into the success of the west.

MR. MURROW: What about the food we have been distributing? Do the people receiving it know that it comes from the States?

DR. CONANT: Oh, yes, there can be no question about that, if for no other reasons than that when they come back to the east zone, they receive pamphlets warning them not to take this food, that it comes from America, that it's capitalistic horsemeat.

* * * * * * *

MR. MURROW: If there is one [redacted] man in Berlin who personifies the toughness, the determination and the steadiness of these West Berliners, it is the Mayor, Professor Ernst Reuther. He was even good enough to come down and show Howard Smith around the bombed-out ruins of the Reichstag.

* * * * * * *

MR. SMITH: Mayor Reuther, regarding your optimism

about the reunification of Germany, how do you foresee that coming about?

MAYOR REUTHER: It can come about only by using every means of pressure, persuasion, strengthening our moral force, and showing to the Soviets that they are not in a position to digest Germany, that it doesn't give sense for them to be obstinate, to stand on a place which is lost for them anyway.

MR. SMITH: What would we do? Would we try to get them into a conference?

MAYOR REUTHER: I think we have to test them--to test them every day, and certainly by the meeting of a conference too. Well, nobody can foresee what will be the outcome of a conference, but the Soviets are not free in their behavior. If nothing comes out, the desperation of our people in East Germany will become greater and their resistance will become greater, and the Russians know that very well.

MR. SMITH: Are we doing the right things? Are we doing enough of the right things?

MAYOR REUTHER: Sometimes I feel that we are acting too slowly. The coordinating of the western world is a very difficult business, I know that; and the strength of the Russians is our weakness, our lack of coordination and lack of

imagination to go ahead and to press them quicker, stronger than we have done before.

MR. SMITH: What do you think about Sir Winston Churchill's idea of a kind of Locarno to give the Russians a guaranty of security?

MAYOR REUTHER: Yes--you know, old Churchill during all of his life has been a man of imagination, and something in his idea was not so bad. It's a pity that the western world is moving so slowly and discussing everything for months and months; we have an expression, "zerreden"--I don't know what that means in English--

MR. SMITH: To speak things to pieces.

MAYOR REUTHER: Yes. Well, we have to overcome this tendency in our own ranks too. But now I beg your pardon, I have to go back to my office.

KINESCOPE EXCERPTS

SEE IT NOW

Vol. 2, No. 27
March 8, 1953

MR. MURROW: Good evening. We did not know that Malenkov was going to succeed Stalin, and we have had no camera crews with him for the past 48 hours. We don't know what kind of job he will do, whether he will have trouble in consolidating his power.

The principal fact about Malenkov is that he is and was Stalin's man, has come up each time Stalin rose to increased power, and so we thought we might find out where he was going by examining a little where he has been, or rather where Stalin has been, because Malenkov is and was Stalin's man and must rule in his shadow.

This is Moscow. The subway--they call it the Metro. Above and adjacent is Red Square, the arena or parade ground that has seen so much Russian history. It is 4,100 miles from Vladivostock and 400 miles from the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin.

The Church is Saint _____, built by Ivan the

Terrible in 1555. The bells you hear was Stalin's funeral dirge, and it was recorded from the Moscow Radio on Friday. The films were shot a few years ago by our Charlie Mack, one of the last U.S. cameramen permitted in Russia. To our right, the Kremlin. Actually, it is a collection of big palaces. This is the nerve center of the Soviet Union. Stalin had his apartment on one of the upper floors. Malenkov will probably occupy those rooms now.

Directly below the Kremlin wall is the sacred shrine of Nicolai Lenin. The other original Bolsheviks are buried beneath the walls.

Red Square did not get its name from the Communists. For the ancient Tartars and Cossacks it was an execution ground whose victims' blood stained its surface red.

This was 1912 when Czar Nicholas II was Emperor of all Russia's extreme wealth and extreme poverty. Nicholas was a handsome, pleasure-loving autocrat who ruled lavishly and badly. This was his son and heir, who suffered from hemophilia and, according to the Czarina, was kept alive by Rasputin's hypnotism.

By 1914 the Russians were at war with Germany. Badly led, miserably equipped, it was probably the worst-fed

army in history. While his tropps starved and gave way before the Kaiser, the Czar held lavish nude bathing parties at his summer palace in the Crimea, and when he was cabled that his armies were dying, cabled back "Can't be bothered by such nonsense. Wonderful here. Hope you are all well. Love. Nick." But there was no love for Nicky in the streets of Moscow or Petrograd on February 22, 1917.

The revolution began in early March. Nicholas abdicated. The firing squads worked overtime. The lucky ones were sent to Siberia. The troops did not stop the mob, but joined them in the streets. The blood-letting was endless as Russians killed Russians.

The first Socialist leader was Alexander Kerensky, whose first official move was to throw open the prisons.

Joseph Stalin walked and stole rides all the way from Siberia, where he had been several times before.

Leon Trotsky, another old Bolshevik, came back from his exile in the Bronx.

Nicolai Lenin, who was to be the father of the new Soviet, came from Switzerland. The German High Command gave him safe passage through the lines in the hope that he could talk the Russians into a surrender.

[Shot of Lenin addressing crowd]: Comrade Red Army men, the capitalists of England, America and France are waging war against Russia. They are sending money and military supplies to the Russian land-owners who are leading troops from Siberia, the Don and the North Caucasus against the Soviet power.

Kerensky pledged his armies to fight on, and they did, for a time. But he was stacked up against the triumvirate of Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin, and on November 7th Russia was virtually out of the war; Kerensky was out; and what has come to be known as "The Ten Days That Shook the World" began.

The first council of People's Commissars was organized and Lenin was the key man. Lenin's bible was Karl Marx. His two chief deputies were Trotsky and Stalin.

The struggle of the first three years was against hunger from within and the combined assaults of the Allied powers from without. Wilson sent U. S. troops into Archangel. The Japanese were in Vladivostock. By 1922 the intervention was over, but the battle against hunger continued.

That same year Lenin was recovering from a stroke, and the battle for his mantle began. Trotsky was, like Lenin, a brilliant mind and a colorful orator. Stalin was cold,

colorless, ruthless, but patient. Lenin knew they hated each other. He died in 1924, in this house in Gorki, without being able to dictate his successor, although both Stalin and Trotsky claimed it.

On the day of Lenin's death, Trotsky was on a train bound for a resort in the Crimea, where he was going because of his health. He heard the news of Lenin's death at a railway station en route, and cabled back, "When is the funeral, I am returning immediately." Stalin cabled back, "Comrade, the Politbureau feels your health is more important. Proceed on your trip." The fact that Trotsky was not at Lenin's funeral doubtless hurt his prestige. Stalin was not only there but organized it, and was the chief mourner. Lenin's widow wanted him cremated. Stalin ordered him to be embalmed, to be preserved forever in the tomb in front of the Kremlin. The Lenin funeral [?] was the first great demonstration in the Red Square. More than four million people waited all day in the bitter 30-below weather. Beards and eyebrows turned white, and a mass of congealed breath arose like a heavy fog. That's Molotov, another early Bolshevik. Massed bands played the Internationale in slow time. And the western world watched and waited for panic to destroy the new Soviet government.

Stalin was now secretary-general of the Communist

Party. Trotsky returned to fight for his political life. But Stalin now virtually controlled the only political party in Russia, and Trotsky's place in that was now being reduced to secondary position.

Three years after Lenin's death, he was sent into exile and Stalin's rise to power was complete and confirmed. That [shot of Stalin] is the nearest thing to a close-up Stalin ever permitted. The pock-marks are from smallpox.

That same year Stalin began to execute one of the dreams for which he had banished Trotsky: the first five-year plan. Industrialization and collective farming began. The Kulaks tried to revolt, but eventually lost their land, and in the interim period famine and hunger returned to kill three million peasants.

In 1935 Joseph Stalin achieved the most complete working majority in history. That's Malenkov on Stalin's left. Through his inquisitors, Andre Vishinsky and Yagoda, he purged most of the early Bolsheviks. Trotsky and Kerensky, now exiled even from Europe, were in New York and Mexico, respectively, and in complete agreement on the purges.

[Shot of Trotsky, reading:] "This trial developed not from Communism, not from Socialism, but from Stalin--that

is, from the irresponsible despotism of the bureaucracy over the people."

VOICE: "What about these reported purges in Russia, Mr. Kerensky?"

MR. KERENSKY: This purges is inevitable consequences of Stalin personal dictatorship.

VOICE: "What are the conditions in Russia today, as you see them?"

MR. KERENSKY: Terrible, and I am sure that the Stalin regime will fall.

MR. MURROW: But in 1939 Stalin's time-table ran into something that neither he nor Lenin had ever counted on. Another dictator had arisen one thousand miles to the west, and Stalin could not ignore Adolph Hitler. This is perhaps oversimplification, but after flirting with both Berlin and London ..... and he had Molotov sign a 10-year nonagression pact with Von Ribbentropp. But in those years, both dictators learned the same lesson--that you can't trust the dictators. This is Joseph Stalin just a few days after Hitler sent his legions towards Moscow. Hero[?], no orator, this is his famous "scorched earth" speech.

This is Stalin's birthplace at Gori in the Crimea,

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where it all began. Now it's a shrine. It's a long way from Gori to Moscow, to Teheran, to Yalta, to Potsdam, to a tomb in the Red Square. The route is littered with the corpses of former comrades and of murdered nations. No one knows how many millions died. Those who lived tried to make Stalin a god. He was extremely cruel, cunning and ruthless. He wanted only the world. He made great and telling use of Lenin as a symbol. Others will so use Stalin. They will rule in his shadow. Their tactics may change, but their objective must remain the same. For unless they are willing to deny their doctrine and their dogma, unless they are willing to reverse their revolution, to commit public political suicide, they must go on down that road that Stalin charted.

It may have been a twist, many twistings and turnings as it has had in the past, but there is no excuse for us not understanding where these evil men propose to end up. For Stalin wrote it in a book, spelled it all out, so that we may all read and see. And this is what he wrote on the subject of Lenin: "But the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the power of the proletariat in one country does not yet mean the complete victory of socialism. After consolidating its power and taking the peasantry into the prole-

tariat, the victorious country can and must build up a socialist society. But does this mean that it will thereby achieve the complete and final victory of socialism? That is, does it mean that with the forces of only one country, it can finally consolidate socialism and fully guarantee that country against interventionism or restoration? No, it does not. For this the victory of the revolution in at least several countries is needed. Therefore the development and support of revolution in other countries is an essential task of the victorious revolution. Therefore the revolution in the victorious country must regard itself not as a self-sufficient entity but as an auxiliary, as a means of hastening the victory of the proletariat in other countries. Lenin expressed his thoughts succinctly when he said that the task of the victorious revolution is to do the utmost possible in one country for the development, support and awakening of the revolution in all countries. These in general are the characteristic features of Lenin's theory of proletarian revolution."

a There you have it: revolution in all countries. That is the word of Lenin, Stalin and of Malenkov. They will obviously settle for the world.

[Commercial announcement for Alcoa.]

MR. MURROW: Another little-known book was in the

news this week--"King Football", written by Reed Harris, now an official of the Voice of America--a book written 21 years ago. Sentaor McCarthy's committee is investigating the efficiency and effectiveness of the Voice of America. It is obviously impossible to present the full hearing of any committee. We have edited this as fairly as possible, dealing with that part that had to do with King Football.

We hold no brief for the book, for Mr. Harris, or for Senator McCarthy. This is merely an example of investigatory technique. The efficiency and the effectiveness of the Voice of America is a legitimate matter of concern for all of us, but whether this interrogation eliminates the basic ... involved, is something you can decide as well as we.

SENATOR McCARTHY: Mr. Reed Harris. Your name is Reed Harris?

MR. HARRIS: That's right.

SENATOR McCARTHY: You wrote a book in '32; is that correct?

MR. HARRIS: I wrote a book, and a lot of this-- ... written books 10, 20, 25 years ago, of which we aren't proud any more, or which we wish we had never written.

SENATOR McCARTHY: The question was: Did you write

a book?

MR. HARRIS: Yes, I wrote a book, Mr. Chairman. I am giving you background in connection with the book. At the time I wrote the book the atmosphere in the universities of the United States was greatly affected by the great depression then in existence; the attitudes of students, the attitudes of the general public were considerably different than they are at this moment. And for one thing, there certainly was no awareness, to the degree that there is today, of the way the Communist Party works.

SENATOR McCARTHY: You attended Columbia University in the early thirties; is that right?

MR. HARRIS: I did, Mr. Chairman.

SENATOR McCARTHY: Will you speak a little louder, sir?

MR. HARRIS: I did, Mr. Chairman.

SENATOR McCARTHY: And were you expelled from Columbia?

MR. HARRIS: I was suspended from classes on April 1, 1932. I was later reinstated, and I resigned from the University.

SENATOR McCARTHY: And you resigned from the

University. Did the Civil Liberties Union provide you with an attorney at that time?

MR. HARRIS: I had many offers of attorneys, and one of those was from the American Civil Liberties Union, yes.

SENATOR McCARTHY: The question was, did the Civil Liberties Union supply you with an attorney?

MR. HARRIS: They did supply an attorney.

SENATOR McCARTHY: The answer is yes?

MR. HARRIS: The answer is yes.

SENATOR McCARTHY: You know the Civil Liberties Union has been listed as a front doing the work of the Communist Party?

MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, this was 1932.

SENATOR McCARTHY: Yes, I know this was 1932. Did you know they have since been listed as a front doing the work of the Communist Party?

MR. HARRIS: I don't know that they have been listed. I heard that mentioned, and read that mentioned.

SENATOR McCARTHY: Now shortly after you were suspended, a Mr. Donald Henderson was removed as a professor at Columbia; is that correct?

MR. HARRIS: That's correct; and I was told that

a major reason for his being so disciplined was that he had supported me in a freedom of the press and academic freedom fight.

SENATOR McCARTHY: I see. And did you know that Mr. Henderson was a Communist at that time?

MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, I did not know that this man had any connection whatsoever with the Communist Party.

SENATOR McCARTHY: Now you very actively defended the right of Mr. Henderson to teach at Columbia at that time?

MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, two weeks ago Senator Taft took the position that I took 21 years ago, that Communists and Socialists should be allowed to teach in the schools. It so happens that nowadays I don't agree with Senator Taft as far as Communists teaching in the schools are concerned, because I think Communists are in effect a plain-clothes auxiliary of the Red Army, the Soviet Red Army, and I don't want to see them in any of our schools teaching.

SENATOR McCARTHY: I don't recall that Senator Taft ever had anything of the background that you've got, sir.

MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, I consider that a most unfair innuendo.

SENATOR McCARTHY: In other words, you apparently have changed your mind substantially since 1932?

MR. HARRIS: I declare I have changed my mind. I am not merely claiming it; I can prove it.

SENATOR McCARTHY: The only thing I want to do at this time, Mr. Harris, is read into the record a number of excerpts from your book, a book which would indicate to me that anyone who has the ideas expressed therein would be completely unfitted for the job that you hold. You wrote a book in 1932. I assume that expressed your feelings as of that date. You were editor of the "Spectator", the Columbia newspaper. I assume what you wrote then expressed your feelings as of that time?

MR. HARRIS: That's correct.

SENATOR McCARTHY: Now I am going to ask you again: At the time you wrote this book, did you feel that professors should be given the right to teach sophomores that marriage--let me quote, "should be cast out of our civilization as antiquated and stupid religious phenomena"? Was that your feeling at that time?

MR. HARRIS: My feeling was that professors should have the right to express their considered opinions on any

subject, whatever they were, sir.

SENATOR McCARTHY: Let me ask you this question again--

MR. HARRIS: That they should have the right to teach anything that came to their minds as being the proper thing to teach.

SENATOR McCARTHY: I will ask the question again.

MR. HARRIS: I will answer yes, but you put an implication on it and feature this thing out of this book, out of context, and it doesn't give a proper impression of the book as a whole. The American public doesn't get an honest impression of that book, bad as it is, from what you are quoting from it.

SENATOR McCARTHY: Let's continue to quote from your writing--

MR. HARRIS: 21 years ago.

SENATOR McCARTHY: We will try to bring you down to date, if we can.

MR. HARRIS: I resent the tone of this inquiry very much, Mr. Chairman. I resent it not only because it is my public neck that you are, I think, very skilfully trying to wring, but I say it because there are thousands of able and

loyal employees in the Federal Government of the United States who have been properly cleared according to the laws and the security practices of their agencies, as I was, unless the new regime... I know I was before.

SENATOR McCLELLAN: Mr. Harris, let me ask you: At the time you wrote the book, you actually believed a professor had a right to teach any theory of life or philosophy of life or government or anything else he thought he believed in?

MR. HARRIS: That is correct, sir.

SENATOR McCLELLAN: Was that the position you took then?

MR. HARRIS: Then, yes.

SENATOR McCLELLAN: Do you still hold that view?

MR. HARRIS: No, sir.

SENATOR McCLELLAN: When did you change?

MR. HARRIS: That was a moulding process.

SENATOR McCLELLAN: At what period in your life, what time, was that when your views began to change on these subjects?

MR. HARRIS: Recalling mental processes and trying to probe those back in your mind is a very difficult thing.

SENATOR McCLELLAN: Well, you have some general idea. You say you're changed. This is--it's 21 years later. What I am trying to determine, is that change just recently or was it immediately afterwards?

MR. HARRIS: It would certainly go back as far as 1935, 1934--something like that.

SENATOR McCLELLAN: All right, 1934 or 5--within two or three years after you wrote the book. You're just chnaged on these subjects; that correct?

MR. HARRIS: That's correct.

SENATOR McCLELLAN: And you entertain diametrically opposite views now?

MR. HARRIS: On the matter of Communists on college faculties, I certainly have diametrically opposed views throughout, yes, I do.

SENATOR McCLELLAN: Just one other question: Do you think this book that you wrote then did considerable harm? Do you think its publication might have had an adverse influence on the public by an expression of the views contained in it?

MR. HARRIS: The sale of that book was so abysmally small, it was so unsuccessful, that the question of its influ-

ence-- Really, you can go back to the publisher. As you can see, it was one of the most unsuccessful books he ever put out. He's still sorry, as I am.

SENATOR McCLELLAN: I think that's a compliment to American intelligence, I will say that.

SENATOR McCARTHY: Whenever we start to expose Communists, it's said we hurt innocent people. Do you know of any innocent people being hurt as a result of the Velde Committee up to this time? ..... You have been talking about how your mind was affected by the teachers at Columbia, and in your book you talk about your friends who were Communists and teachers. Do you think up to this time the Velde or the Jenner Committee have injured any innocent teacher?

MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, I certainly would hesitate to say no at this time. I have not followed the testimony closely enough, but I think the process of putting people in public hearings, many of whom have only slight charges made against them, and subjecting them to public degradation, when they may easily be proved innocent at a later time, is not an American way to carry on the work of the Congress.

SENATOR McCARTHY: Name one of those individuals against whom very slight charges have been made who has been

degraded by public sessions, by either the Jenner or the Velde committee.

MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, I can't do that at this time.

SENATOR McCARTHY: You don't know of any at this time?

MR. HARRIS: I do not, no.

MR. MURROW: Extracts from the investigation into the Voice of America, which speaks to the rest of the world on behalf of all of us. It would seem that an analysis of the actual content of what is said by professional newsmen and experts in the field of public information might give us perhaps as much illumination on the kind of job the Voice of America is doing as does a prolonged discussion of the content of a book called "King Football." Good night and good luck.

KINESCOPE EXCERPTS

SEE IT NOW

Vol 2, No. 18
January 4, 1953

MR. MURROW: Good evening. Any reporter in any medium suffers from a certain sense of frustration as a result of not being able to work behind the Iron Curtain and get his facts firsthand, but thanks to Dick Hottelet, who covers Berlin, who sent us some rather contraband film, and to the help of Alex Kendrick, who covers Vienna, we can at least take you a few hundred yards behind the Iron Curtain.

VOICE: Stand by, Berlin. You see here a very big coal mine which was divided into two parts by the Russians. The poles mark the border. It runs directly through the mine.

MR. HOTTELET: You are looking at the Iron Curtain. It starts on the Baltic Sea with Soviet fighter and speed-boat patrols. From there it winds its way along rivers and through forests, across fields, through factories, coal mines, villages and houses ... barbed wire road blocks ... sudden death or imprisonment for anyone who tries to cross its 900 miles from

the sea to the Austrian border. From there it goes on through Alex Kendrick's speech.

MR. KENDRICK: The Iron Curtain continues. You are looking at it now as it runs south along the Austrian border, cutting off Hungary and Czechoslovakia. This section of it is very heavily mined. Then it goes south farther along the Yugoslav, Turkish and Greek frontiers, and finallyacross the Bosporus where it leads into the Black Sea.

MR. MURROW: The Iron Curtain can be completely soundproof when they want it to be, but in the case of the recent Communist purge trials, they chose to shout across it. Kendrick relays the story.

MR. KENDRICK: Hello, New York. I have the verdict of the Prague purge trial. Yes, they're going to hang eleven of the fourteen defendants, including Clementis, Slansky and Geminder.

MR. HOTTELET: This is Richard V. Hottelet in Germany. The Prague purge is giving the German Communists sleepless nights wondering when Stalin's wheel of fortune will stop at their number. One of the big shots here, Gerhardt Eisler, has just been criticized again as an inept propagandist. Gerhardt Eisler was not always an inept propagandist. In 1949

he jumped bail in New York and fled on the Polish liner "Batory". The British took him off the ship at Plymouth, but did not hold him.....

BRITISH NEWSMAN: Well, Mr. Eisler, what do you think about British justice?

MR. EISLER: Well, I didn't like the way how they took me from the Polish boat, but I like very much the attitude of the British people, and I wouldn't have found in the United States such a decent judge like the British magistrate who set me free.

BRITISH NEWSMAN: And what about your wife?

MR. EISLER: Well, I am very much worried about my wife, because they are persecuting her in a very petty way. But I hope they will let her depart in peace so that she can join me in Germany.

BRITISH NEWSMAN: And what are your future plans?

MR. EISLER: My future plans are to go to Leipzig, become a professor at the Leipzig University, and work there for a peaceful, united and progressive Germany.

MR. HOTTELET: In East Berlin, the Russians hailed him as a conquering hero, one of the prizes of the cold war, and made him propaganda boss.

MR. EISLER (in translation): I do not hate America. I do hate American reaction as I hated Hitler's.

MR. MURROW: And when Gerhardt Eisler did get to Leipzig, it was not as a harmless professor. He staged demonstrations that would have pleased Hitler. When bad weather and inefficiency ruined the potato crop in 1950, it was he who dreamt up the lie that American airplanes had dropped millions of potato bugs. ... The Potsdamer Platz was Eisler's soapbox, and Eisler's loudspeakers played around the clock.

Herr Eisler's propaganda line was not just the .....

[Shot of girls marching with guns.]

Even Hitler did not have the girls carrying guns.

In recent months Eisler's freedom and his future have grown more uncertain. He was forced to confess to heresy and this week both his office and his job were abolished. One could not help looking back to that first press conference in 1949.

MR. EISLER: I am a Marxist, and Marxists do many things.

MR. MURROW: Eisler may next serve Stalin as did Clementis and Slansky.

KINESCOPE EXCERPTS

SEE IT NOW

Vol. 2, No. 14
December 7, 1952

MR. MURROW: Last week in Czechoslovakia, eleven Communists were hanged; three others received life sentences. They were good Communists: they had betrayed their own country. And suddenly they discovered that these men, who had put others to death, were now themselves to be put to death.

This is Prague, capital of Czechoslovakia and for the past two weeks center of the stage for the Communist propaganda show. Just as the Voice of America beams programs into Prague, the Reds send them out. On Wednesday of this week the big news story was that Slansky, Clementis and nine other faithful Communists were executed.

PRAGUE ANNOUNCER: This is the voice of peace, Prague, Czechoslovakia, calling. .....

* * * * * * * *

MR. MURROW: CBS correspondent Alex Kendrick monitored the broadcast too.

MR. KENDRICK: Hello, Ed. I have just heard the

last word on the Prague trial. They have executed the eleven who were sentenced to be hanged, and it seems to me to be a fitting place for a trial of this kind--Prague. It reminds me of a novel called "The Trial" by a citizen of Prague named Franz Kafka, in which the accused man goes through an entire legal process without ever finding out of what he is accused. And now, in this Kafka trial brought to life, the defendants, it seems to me, are guilty of exactly the opposite of what they are accused. They were anti-Titoists; anti-Zionists; anti-Trotskyists; most of them were good Stalinists. But it seems to me there are several very real reasons behind this trial, real purposes behind this trial. I think the first and the most important is the internal purpose--to cover up the shortcomings and deficiencies and failures of the Czech program; to make it seem as if the program itself was not at fault, but merely had been sabotaged by people in high places. And I think the trial also has been connected with the new policy of the Kremlin--the peace policy, the Stalin policy enunciated at the last Communist congress, to join with moderate forces in the capitalist countries, to build united fronts, broad fronts, to get rid of the revolutionary elements among the Communist Parties and bank on the

so-called moderates, and then stand by and watch capitalism go to pieces.

MR. MURROW: Next we went to Dr. Peter Zengel, Lord Mayor of Prague before the war, six years in a Nazi concentration camp, postwar Deputy Prime Minister, a period of house arrest and then escape to the West. We asked him if he knew the defendants.

DR. ZENGEL: Surely, I know all of them, and some of them I knew very well. And I must testify that all of them were real and faithful Communists. I knew them from the period when I was used to fight them in the government and in the parliament.

MR. MURROW: Most of the defendants were Jews. What does this mean, Dr. Zengel?

DR. ZENGEL: As everybody read in the newspapers, the Communist regime had an anti-semitic trend. ... there is no anti-semitism in Czechoslovakia. What does it mean? It means that the Communists would like to .... hold them [Jews or those of Jewish origin] responsible for all the fickleness of the regime in Czechoslovakia. It seems to me that the Communists are now renewing or reviving the sense of the Hitler-Stalin agreement from 1939. It means the coopera-

tion with Nazism. It is not only for the people behind the Iron Curtain, but especially the meaning for the people of eastern and western Germany. But there is also a trend anti-Israel. It seems to me that the play is to gain the Arab nations, and so I am afraid that maybe the Communists now are opening a new diplomatic front.

MR. MURROW: Well, for the past two weeks I have been haunted by the memory of a frail little man standing before the old League of Nations, speaking in Amharic, trying to save his nation and save the peace--Haile Selassie.

For the last two weeks Krishna Menen of India has been trying before the United Nations to achieve peace in Korea. In essence, the Indian plan was that there would be a cease-fire; that immediately all those prisoners of war who wanted to go home could go home; and that in due course the United Nations or a committee thereof would decide what to do about those prisoners who decided that they didn't want to go home.

[Next sequence: Krishna Menen presenting Indian peace plan for Korea.]

KINESCOPE EXCERPTS

SEE IT NOW

Vol. 1, No. 30
June 8, 1952

Lancashire and Bevan

MR. MURROW: This is serious business for Britain's biggest industry. Guns and butter is a factor, but not nearly so much a factor as the fact that the cold war has shut off the great export trade with China, Russia and her satellites. Secretary Butterfield speaks of this.

MR. BUTTERFIELD: We would naturally prefer to trade with the west, but we realize that western countries have already got a large enough textile industry to supply themselves. So that makes it imperative that we should seek trade with the east.

MR. MURROW: Aneurin Bevan, fiery left-wing leader of the Labor Party, also thinks Britain should trade with the east, is carrying too heavy an armament load, and his political following is increasing. We filmed a transatlantic interview with him.

MR. BEVAN: Hello, Mr. Murrow.

MR. MURROW: Good evening, Mr. Bevan. We have a few

questions here we would like to put to you. How do you stand on the subject of British trade with Russia? Are you in favor?

MR. BEVAN: I certainly am, because the economy of the U.S.S.R. is complementary to that of Great Britain. We are badly in need of coarse grains and soft wood timber, that East Russia has in abundance. Russia requires machine goods of various kinds, and these we can provide. I think that the resumption on a much larger scale of trade with the U.S.S.R. would be one of the conditions for promoting peace.

MR. MURROW: Mr. Bevan, our two countries have recently signed a peace agreement with Germany. Where do you stand on German rearmament?

MR. BEVAN: I am against it in the present conditions, because, in the first place, there is no Germany to rearm. Germany is divided between east and west, and until a political settlement has been reached, it would be fatal to rearm the west in Germany.

MR. MURROW: Mr. Bevan, what would you say to those people on this side of the Atlantic who have accused you of being anti-American?

MR. BEVAN: Well, my answer is that a generaliza-

tion of that nature is an American concern. Senator Taft disagrees with the American administration. Is he therefore anti-American because of that? These attempts to try and label people anti-American or anti-French or anti-British, are merely attempts to convey the emotions of nationalities to questions which divide peoples as much as they divide nations.

MR. MURROW: There is a difference of opinion in Britain, as well as in the rest of the free world, about the necessity or the need for trade in nonstrategic materials behind the Iron Curtain. It would seem to depend upon how badly that trade is needed and what the nation involved can get in return for trade with nations behind the Iron Curtain.

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

ED. R. MURROW

Monday, October 27, 1947
7:45-8:00

Hollywood 50
Mr. Murrow
Tues.

ANNCR: Now, Edward R. Murrow.

MURROW: This is the news. The United Nations Political Committee has agreed on a resolution condemning all propaganda that is likely to provoke or encourage any threat to peace. The Russians backed down from their attempt to label the United States, Greece and Turkey guilty of war-mongering. And the United States went along with the compromise resolution. Warren Austin told reporters; "It's wonderful to have us all vote the same way. I hope it's a sign of change in the atmosphere here."

No change in the atmosphere at the Washington hearing on Communism in Hollywood. The House Committee cited screen writer John Howard Lawson for contempt, after he refused to say whether he is a Communist. The Committee also denied Mr. Lawson the opportunity to read a statement. Eric Johnston of the movie industry, charged the Committee with trying to intimidate and coerce the movie-makers. He asked the Congressmen to retract a previous statement that White House pressure was responsible for making pro-Soviet pictures during the war. And he asked them to make it clear to the country that Hollywood is not full of Communists. I want to discuss that in just a minute.

More talk of Communists from Republican Senator Brewster of Maine. He told reporters in Washington that Communists have been responsible for last week's plane crash in Utah and for the forest fires which have swept his state. No evidence, just a belief. Said the Senator; "In these days of ideological warfare, that is the kind of thing we have to watch out for."

Senator Taft in Boston told reporters that he believes the Marshall Plan, as well as a short-range emergency plan to help Europe, will be presented to Congress when it meets three weeks from today. He thinks the special session will last one month.

At the White House today, some of the nation's top business, labor and agricultural leaders, heard an explanation of why it's necessary to help

Europe.

This was Navy Day, and from one end of the country to the other, government spokesmen paid tribute to the Navy's men and ships, and warned; Be prepared.

In France, General de Gaulle wants the National Assembly which meets tomorrow to be dissolved. He wants new national elections. The Communists say he wants to set up a reactionary dictatorship.

In London, Buckingham Palace announces that because of Great Britain's economic crisis, Princess Elizabeth and Lt. Mountbatten will honeymoon in England and Scotland after their wedding. No trip abroad,

A Swedish airliner crashed into a mountain twelve miles southeast of Athens, killing at least 43 persons.

And a Pan-American Clipper with 18 persons aboard is still missing near Ketchikan, Alaska.

Stanislaw Mikolajczyk has disappeared. It seems that he has managed to escape from Poland, altho even that is not certain. A Polish Government spokesman claims there is circumstantial evidence that a foreign power helped Mr. Mikolajczyk to escape. His present whereabouts are unknown.

These are days when a number of people are disappearing in Eastern Europe. But the case of Mikolajczyk has unusual significance. This short, powerfully built, square-jawed man of 46 was the leader of the Polish Peasant Party, himself the son of a peasant. He was for a long time, Prime Minister of the Polish Government in exile in London. He was one of the few members of that government who thought it might be possible to go home and work with the Russian-dominated Polish Government that had been set up in Lubling. He did so. He became leader of the opposition party and a member of the Cabinet. But there was a general election in Poland last year. Many of Mikolajczyk's party leaders were flung into jail. And Mr. Mikolajczyk filed lengthy charges of fraud and irregularities. Mikolajczyk had fought openly against the Polish Security Police and press controls. His political beliefs could properly be

termed those of a Democratic Socialist. He had for some time anticipated arrest and inprisonment. The departure of Mr. Mikolajczyk has brought pleasure to the Polish Government. His party's publications have already been taken over by Left Wing elements and the power of the Peasant Party to oppose the Communists, is probably broken for good. I know, from long conversations with Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, that he honestly thought it would be possible to form a coalition government with the Communists. A government which would guarantee and protect the political rights of the individual Pole. It wasn't possible. This Mikolajczyk is a very tough man. I talked with him the last time he passed thru London and asked him whether he thought he would be safe in Poland. He smiled and said; No. "But" he added, "I will not ever seek sanctuary in the American Embassy." His departure can mean only one thing. He has given up all hope of being able to prevent Poland from falling completely under the domination of the Communists.

And now, this is one reporter's comment on the flow of the day's news. I want to talk for a few minutes about the Hollywood investigation now being conducted in Washington. This is a matter which has produced considerable controversy and some humor. This reporter approaches the matter with rather fresh memories of friends in Austria, Germany and Italy who either died or went into exile because they refused to admit the right of their government to determine what they should say, read, write or think.

If witnessing the disappearance of individual liberty abroad causes a reporter to be unduly sensitive to even the faintest threat of it in his own country, then my analysis of what's happening in Washington may be out of focus. This is certainly no occasion for a defense of the products of Hollywood. Most of that product fails to invigorate me. But I am not obliged to view it. No more is this an effort to condemn Congressional investigating committees. Such committees are a necessary part of our system of government. And have performed in the past the double function of illuminating certain abuses and of informing Congressmen regarding expert opinion on important

legislation under consideration.

In general however, Congressional committees have concerned themselves with what individuals, organizations or corporations have or have not done, rather than with what individuals think. It has always seemed to this reporter that movies should be judged by what appears upon the screen, newspapers by what appears in print, and radio by what comes out of the loudspeaker. The personal beliefs of the individuals involved would not seem to be a legitimate field for inquiry, either by government or by other individuals.

When bankers, or oil or railroad men are hailed before a Congressional committee, it is not customary to question them about their beliefs or the beliefs of the men employed by them. When a soldier is brought before a court martial, he is confronted with witnesses, entitled to counsel, and to cross-questioning. His reputation as a soldier, his prospects of future employment cannot be taken from him unless a verdict is reached under clearly established military law. It is, I suppose, possible that the committee now sitting, may uncover some startling and significant information. But we are here concerned only with what has happened to date.

A certain number of people have been accused either of being Communists, or of following a Communist line. Their accusers are safe from the laws of slander and libel. Subsequent denials are unlikely ever to catch up with the original allegation. It is to be expected that this investigation will induce increased timidity in an industry not renowned in the past for its boldness in portraying the significant social, economic and political problems confronting this nation. For example, Willie Wyler, who is no alarmist, said yesterday that as a result of these investigations, he would not now be permitted to make The Best Years of Our Lives in the way in which he made it more than a year ago.

~~Since~~ Considerable mention was made at the hearing of two films. Mission to Moscow and Song of Russia. I'm no movie critic, but I do remember what was

happening in the war when those films were released. While you were looking at Mission to Moscow, there was heavy fighting in Tunesia, American and French forces were being driven back. Stalin said the opening of the second front was near. There was heavy fighting in the Solomons and New Guinea. MacArthur warned that the Japanese were threatening Australia. And General Hershey announced that fathers would be called up in the draft. Wendell Wilkie's book; One World, was published.

And when Song of Russia was released, there was heavy fighting at Cassino and Anzio. The Battleship Missouri was launched. And the Russian newspaper Pravda published and then retracted an article saying that the Germans and the British were holding peace talks. And ,during all this time, there were people in high places in London and Washington who feared lest the Russians might make a separate peace with Germany. If these pictures, at that time and in that climate, were subversive, then what comes next under the scrutiny of a Congressional committee? Correspondents who wrote and broadcast that the Russians were fighting well and suffering appalling losses? And if we follow the parallel, the networks and the newspapers which carried those dispatches would likewise be investigated.

Certain government agencies, such as the State Dept. and the Atomic Energy Commission are confronted with a real dilemma. They are obligated to maintain security without doing violence to the essential liberties of the citizens who work for them. That may require special and wholly defensible security measures. But no such problem arises with instruments of mass communication. In that area, there would seem to be two alternatives. Either we believe in the intelligence, good judgment, balance and native shrewdness of the American people, or we believe that governments should investigate, intimidate and finally legislate. The choice is as simple as that.

The right of dissent, or if you prefer, the right to be wrong, is surely fundamental to the existence of a democratic society. That's the right that went first in every nation that stumbled down the trail toward totalitarianism,

I would like to suggest to you that the present search for Communists is in no real sense paralleled to the one that took place after the first World War. That, as we know, was a passing phenomenon. And those here, who then adhered to the Communist doctrine, could not look anywhere in the world and find a strong, stable, expanding body of power based on the same principles that they professed. Now the situation is different. So it may be assumed that this internal tension, suspicion, witch-hunting, grade-labeling; call it what you like, will continue. It may well cause a lot of us to dig deep into both our history and our convictions, to determine just how firmly we hold to the principles we were taught and accepted so readily, and which made this country a haven for men who sought refuge. And while we're discussing this matter, we might remember a little-known quotation from Adolph Hitler, said before he achieved power. He said; "The great strength of the totalitarian state is that it will force those who fear it, to imitate it." And now.....

Announcer-Commercial

WORD FOR TODAY

Well, Ernest, this is a stange world we live in: a world of contrasts...made up of many different kinds of people...speaking different languages...people of different backgrounds and different beliefs. It's a great and complex world. And it might be a far happier world if people Everywhere remembered this bit of advice, given more than two hundred years ago by the Frenchman Voltaire: he said, "Think for yourself, and let others enjoy the privilege too. I may disapprove of <u>what</u> you say but I will defend to the death your <u>right</u> to say it."

Goodnight and good luck.